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A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c., &c.

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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

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VOLUME XXXIV. — 1905.

THE RUMMINDEI INSCRIPTION, HITHERTO KNOWN AS THE PADARIYA INSCRIPTION, OF ASOKA.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M A., I.C.S. (RETD).

THE inscription on the pillar which marks the traditional birth-place of Gautama Buddha Śâkyamuni, although perfectly preserved in every letter, has given occasion for much discussion and diversity of interpretation by reason of the strange words which it contains. Prof. Pischel, in a paper published in 1903, has essayed to settle the controversy by the weight of his unrivalled authority as a Prâkṛit scholar, and I propose to place his results before the readers of the *Indian Antiquary*, accompanied by brief comments and a suggested explanation of the technical meaning of one of the two most difficult words.[1]

Following previous accounts, Prof. Pischel entitled his essay 'Die Inschrift von Paḍeriyâ,' or 'The Paḍeriyâ Inscription.' But this nomenclature is not quite accurate, and is open to criticism. Paḍariyâ or Paṛariyâ, not Paḍeriyâ, is the name of the inhabited village nearest to the inscribed pillar. The village stands about two miles north of Bhagwânpur, the headquarters of the Nepalese Tahsîl of that name, and is distant about five miles, in a north-easterly direction, from Dulhâ House in the Bastî District, the residence of Mr. Gibbon. About a mile to the north of Paḍariyâ, a large mound, now cultivated, about two furlongs in length from east to west, and one furlong in breadth from north to south, marks the site of an ancient village or small town, with tanks on the west and south. The Rummindêî mound of ruins, on the west side of which the pillar stands, is about five hundred feet to the north of this site, and is consequently more than a mile distant from the village of Padariyâ. The name Rummindêî, of which a variant form Rupadêî is known to the hill-men, is that of the shrine near the top of the mound of ruins, which stands some forty-five feet to the east of the pillar. The tappâ, or subdivision, comprising a number of villages, including the ruins, also is known by the name of Rummindêî, which means 'the goddess of Rummin,' the ancient Lummini or Lumbini, mentioned in the record on the pillar. I submit, therefore, that the inscription should be designated as that of Rummindêî, or Lumbini, and not as that of Padariyâ. I would add that the topographical details are recorded on page 34 of the late Bâbû Pûrnachandra Mukherjî's *Report on a Tour of Exploration of the Antiquities in the Tarâi, Nepâl* (Archæol. Survey of India, Imp Ser., No. XXVI., Part I., Calcutta, 1901), to which I contributed a Preface. The notes of position given by Dr. Führer are inaccurate, and his errors were naturally repeated by Bühler and myself in publications earlier in date than the Report above cited. The error of Paḍêriyâ for Padariyâ was corrected by Bühler in the 'Additions and Corrections' of *Ep. Ind* Vol. V. (1898-99) p. VI. I have twice visited the spot myself, and can attest the accuracy of Bâbû P. C. Mukherjî's statements. A general plan of the Rummindêî ruins is given in Plate XVIII. of his volume. Two photographic views will be found in Plate XIX., and details are illustrated in Plates VII., XX.

[1] *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preuss. Akad. der Wissensch.*, Gesammtsitzung vom 9 Juli, 1903; 'Die Inschrift von Paḍeriyā,' von R. Pischel.

to XXIII., and XXIV*a*. The map, Plate I., shows all the localities of historical interest between the rivers Bâṇgaṅgâ and Tilâr.

The column has been split by lightning, and the upper part is missing. At the base it is surrounded, at the distance of a foot and a half from the shaft, by a wall, the lower courses of which are composed of very large ancient bricks, while the upper courses are built of smaller and more modern bricks In my preface to Mukherji's *Report*, I remarked that "the pillar, which was prostrate in the seventh century, may have been set up again by one of the Buddhist Pâla kings in the eleventh or twelfth century" Prof. Pischel takes exception to this remark, for the reasons that the pillar has never been removed from its place and that there is no trace of damage or subsequent repair to its lower part. He therefore prefers to suppose that the pillar, after being struck by lightning, was underpinned (*untermauert*), but not in any other sense set up again. The discrepancies in the translations of Hiuen Tsang's account raise some doubt as to the actual condition of the pillar when seen by the pilgrim in the seventh century, that is to say, there is a doubt as to whether the whole pillar was then lying on the ground or only the upper portion of it. According to Beal (*Si-yu-ki*, II. 25), "it was broken off in the middle, and fell to the ground," which rendering suggests that only the upper segment fell. Julien represents the column itself as prostrate, and translates "cette colonne gît à terre, brisée par le milieu" The standing portion of the shaft has never been excavated right down to the base, and if Julien's version is correct, it still seems to me possible that the whole column fell and was set up again If such an event happened, the restorer is more likely to have been one of the Pâla kings than anybody else.

Hiuen Tsang testifies that the figure of a horse was on the top of the pillar, which, as Bâbû P. C. Mukherji has proved, had a capital of the usual bell-shape. The figure of the horse has not yet been found. I willingly accept Prof. Pischel's suggestion that the image was intended to represent the legendary steed Kaṇṭhaka, which Buddha rode when leaving Kapilavastu.

Interpreters of the inscription have naturally been disposed to find in it a reference to the image of the horse, and have translated the word vigadabhî so as to give the required allusion. The version of the earlier part of the record which I printed in *Asoka* (p. 145), and which seemed to me three years ago to be the best supported, accordingly ran as follows:—"His Majesty King Piyadasi, in the twenty-first year of his reign, having come in person, did reverence. Because here Buddha the Sâkya ascetic was born, he had a stone horse made, and set up a stone pillar." In the original the concluding clause (line 3 of the inscription) is:—*silâ vigadabhîchâ kâlâpita silâthabhêcha usapâpitê*. The difficult word is *vigaḍabhî*, which has been variously interpreted as 'horse,' 'she-ass,' 'big sun,' and 'railing' or 'enclosure.' Prof. Pischel shows sound reasons for rejecting all these versions, and translates vigadabhî as an adjective meaning 'flawless,' or 'without defect' (*fehlerfrei*), qualifying *silâ*, 'stone.'

He argues that vigaḍabhî should be analysed into vigaḍa + bhî, the second element being the taddhita suffix bha in the feminine. This affix may be appended to a word without affecting its meaning; as, for example, *sthûlabha* and *guḍabha* are alternative forms of *sthûla* and *guḍa*. *Gaḍa* means 'obstacle' or 'defect' ('*hindernis*,' *antarâya*), and consequently *vigaḍa*, or *vigaḍabha*, should mean the converse, 'free from defect,' just as *vikubja* is the converse of *kubja*. *Gadaka* and *gaṇḍaka* are alternative forms of *gaḍa*, and *gaṇḍa-śaila*, or -*śilâ*, is the technical term for a rough block of stone, with all its defects, as detached from the quarry. A *vigaṇḍa-śaila*, or -*śilâ*, should therefore be the opposite, namely, a block from which all defects and asperities have been removed. *Vigaḍa* may also be regarded as equivalent to *vigalita* in form, and to *nigala* in meaning, the latter word signifying 'faultless.' Hence the clause silâ vigaḍabhîchâ kâlâpita silâthabhê châ usapâpitê simply means that Asôka caused a faultless block of stone to be prepared, and from it had a stone-pillar made, which he erected.

So far as I can judge, this argument seems to be sound, and I am quite willing to accept Prof. Pischel's rendering of the disputed word *vigadabhî*, which is not known to occur elsewhere. But, of course, the criticism of his etymology is a matter for linguistic experts, among whom I do not claim a place. The sense obtained from Prof. Pischel's rendering is certainly natural and reasonable, and I shall be surprised if his interpretation is not generally accepted by specialists in the Prâkṛit dialects.[2]

In the concluding portion of the inscription the difficulty lies in the word **aṭhabhâgiyê**, which, like *vigadabhî*, is peculiar to this record. The question is whether the first element of the compound should be derived from *artha*, meaning 'wealth,' &c , or from *ashṭan*, meaning 'eight.' The scholars who have preferred the former solution were partly influenced by a remembrance of the tradition affirming Asôka's liberality at the birth-place of Buddha, when he visited the spot under the guidance of Upagupta; and in my book I adopted this notion and translated:— "Because here the Venerable One was born, the village of Lummini has been made revenue-free, and has partaken of the King's bounty"; *aṭhabhâgiyê* being taken as meaning 'sharer in wealth.'

Prof. Pischel's reasoning convinces me that this rendering is erroneous, and **that aṭha-should be derived from ashṭan, 'eight,' the compound being interpreted as a technical term of revenue law.** He points out that a village or piece of urban ground bestowed as a grant is called *bhôgagrâma*, and that the term *ashtabhôga* frequently occurs in inscriptions. *Aṭhabhâgiyê* should be regarded as equivalent to *ashṭabhâgya*, and compared with *vimśati-bhâgavân* of the Nadupûru grant.[3] A grant of *bhâgabhôgakara* implied the concession of all the dues claimable by the Government from both the land itself (*bhâga*), and its produce, corn, wood, grass, and the like (*bhôga*). **The frequent use of the term ashtabhôga in inscriptions suggests that land conferred as a bhôgagrâma ordinarily was understood to carry with it eight kinds of bhôga.** The number eight plays a prominent part in grants, and the supposed Sanskrit word *ashṭabhâgya* may be compared with the **technical terms ashṭabhôga and ashṭaiśvarya.**

Prof. Pischel therefore comes to the conclusion that aṭhabhâgiyê (ashṭabhâgya) should be interpreted as meaning 'with eight plots of assessable land' ('acht Parzellen des fiskalischen Landes'). In the text of his essay as printed, there is a puzzling discrepancy. On page 10 the record is explained as stating that Asôka "granted to the village of Lumbini eight plots of the assessable land as common land, along with the remission of all taxes thereon"; whereas the formal translation of the whole inscription on the next page is to the effect that Asôka "made the village of Lumbini revenue-free, and granted to it one-eighth (of the assessable land)." It is obvious that these two interpretations are incompatible. *Aṭhabhagiyê* cannot mean both 'with eight plots' and 'with one-eighth part.' In reply to a reference, Prof. Pischel has courteously informed me that he admits the discrepancy, and desires that in the second passage the words 'acht Parzellen' (eight plots) should be substituted for 'ein Achtel' (one-eighth).

His German version, as amended, therefore runs as follows:— "Der gottergeliebter König Priyadarśin kam zwanzig Jahre nach seiner Krönung selbst hierher und bezeugte seine Ehrfurcht (indem er sagte): 'hier ist Buddha geboren, der Weise der Śâkyâs.' Und er liess einen fehlerfreien Felsblock herstellen und (daraus) eine Steinsaule aufrichten (zum Zeichen

[2] I allow this expression of opinion to stand, as correctly giving my first impression. But I am no longer confident that Prof. Pischel is right. Dr. Fleet has intimated to me that there are objections, which I leave to him or to someone else to explain.

[3] "This *agrahâra*, which contains twenty shares, (and) which was given together with the eight powers (*aiśvarya*), and with the eight enjoyments (*bhôga*), is resplendent, being called Vêrmapura after her name" (v. 31; *Ep. Ind.* III. 292).

dass) hier der Herr geboren wurde. Das Dorf Lumbini[4] machte er steuerfrei und schenckte ihm acht Parzellen (des fiskalischen Landes)."

The English equivalent is: — "King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, came here in person twenty years after his coronation, and testified his reverence, saying, 'Here was Buddha born, the sage of the Śâkyas.' And he caused a flawless block of stone to be prepared, and a stone-pillar to be erected made from it, as a memorial that here the Lord was born. The village of Lumbini he made revenue-free, and granted to it eight plots of the assessable area."

As a grammatically correct 'construe' of the record this version appears unobjectionable, but **I venture to take exception to it in certain particulars** as an adequate rendering of the true sense of the original. For reasons which I have already published, following M Sylvain Lévi, I hold that it is misleading to translate **dêvânaṁpiya** by *gottergeliebter* in German, or 'beloved of the gods' in English. The phrase was **a mere formal title of kings**, and should be rendered by some such title as 'His Sacred Majesty,' not by analysis of its etymological elements. **Piyadasi seems to be similarly a mere epithet or title**, not a personal name, and the entire formula *dêvânaṁpiya piyadasi* is best rendered by 'His Sacred and Gracious Majesty,' or some equivalent formula of European royal style.[5]

Prof. Pischel's interpretation of aṭhabhâgiyê (ashṭabhâgiya) is open to a like objection. Etymologically *ashṭabhâga* means 'eight parts' or 'shares' of land, and the derived adjective means 'with eight parts' or 'shares' of land. But a technical expression of revenue law must have had a more definite meaning, and its adequate interpretation must carry with it a clear idea of the exact purport of the grant. A conveyance of 'eight plots (or shares) of assessable land' has to my mind no definite signification. The expression is far too vague to suffice for the determination of the nature of the grant, and the word **aṭhabhâgiyê must have had a much more determinate meaning fully intelligible to both the officials and the grantees.**

In modern times, as all officers concerned with revenue matters are aware, a village is commonly regarded as a rupee, or unit consisting of sixteen parts, or annas; and in current phraseology a grant of 'eight shares' would mean one affecting half of the village land. But there is no reason to suppose that the practice of treating a village as a unit containing sixteen parts is ancient. Moreover, the words *Lummini-gâmê ubâlikêkaṭê* clearly apply to the whole village, and the supplementary words *aṭhabhâgiyêcha* must be interpreted as emphasizing or explaining the exemption of the whole village from the payment of land revenue and other Government dues.

It seems to me probable that the term aṭhabhâgiyê, 'with eight shares (of land),' was intended to define the grant unmistakably as covering the whole of the village lands. The similar terms *ashṭaiśvarya* and *ashṭabhôga* quoted by Prof. Pischel imply that a *bhôgagrâma*, or free grant of a village, was understood to carry with it privileges known technically as the 'eight *aiśvaryas*' and the 'eight *bhôgas*,' the number eight being held to imply completeness. In other words, the grant of eight *bhôgas* and eight *aiśvaryas* meant that all the incidents of a tenure were conveyed. Similarly, I think that the grant of eight *bhâgas*, or shares of land, should be interpreted as meaning that the grant covered the whole of the lands; that is to say, that a village was regarded in ancient times as a unit of eight parts, not of sixteen, as is now usual. **If this view be correct, the words aṭhabhâgiyêcha mean 'in its entirety.'**

The whole record may, therefore, be freely rendered:— "His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King, having come in person twenty years after his coronation, did reverence, (*saying*), 'Here was Buddha born, the sage of the Sâkyas.' And he caused a faultless block of stone to be prepared,[6] and set up a stone-pillar (*made from it*),[7] (saying), 'Here was the Venerable One born.' And he made the village of Lummini revenue-free, in its entirety."

[4] The final vowel of *lummini* is short.

[5] 'The Meaning of Piyadasi,' *ante*, Vol. XXXII. 1903, p. 235.

[6] and [7] See, however, note 2 above.

CHANAKYA'S LAND AND REVENUE POLICY.

(4th Century B. C.)

BY R. SHAMASASTRY, B A.

Introduction.

THE **Kautalîya Arthaśâstra**, *i.e.*, **"Kautalya's Science of Economics,"** from which the present paper has been extracted in translation with notes, is a work **by Chânakya.** The book itself tells us its origin thus:—

"This *Sâstra*," says the author at the end of the book, "has been written by him who, with knowledge in his head and weapon in his hand, snatched with irresistible force the earth from **Nanda."** And again, while citing his own views in contrast with those of other scholars on controversial points of Economics, the author always uses such phrases as — "But Kautalya says thus," or "Kautalya objects to it," implying thereby that the author of the *Arthaśâstra* was known by the name Kautalya. That **Kautalya** and **Vishṇugupta** are other names by which Châṇakya is known, is a fact with which Oriental scholars are too familiar to doubt, and that Chânakya was the historical personage who put an end to the power of Nanda, is a fact which is mentioned in a number of Sanskrit works: The *Vishṇupurâṇa* [1] narrates, in its prophetic style, that "The Brâhman Kautalya will root out the nine Nandas and will place **Chandragupta** on the throne." In his *Sthaviravalli-charita*,[2] or "Lives of the Jaina Patriarchs," **Hêmachandra** gives us a short account of Chânakya, which, though legendary, agrees with *Vishṇupurâṇa* in making him the destroyer of Nanda and supporter of Chandragupta. In the *Nandisûtra*,[3] a Jaina religious work in Prâkṛitic language, **Châṇakya** is extolled for the success which he achieved as **Finance Minister to Chandragupta.**

Such allusions to Chânakya and his exploits in the works admitted to have been written somewhere between the first and fourth centuries A D. are fairly reliable data for assuming that **Chânakya lived as minister of Chandragupta in the 4th century B. C.**

The genuineness of the Arthaśâstra as the production of Chânakya has been attested by **Dandi** in his *Daśakumâracharitâ*, and by **Kâmandaka** in his *Nîtisâra.*

The *Daśakumâracharitâ*, Pt. II., Ch. 8, of Dandi, says: — "The Science of Politics and Economics was abridged by **Vishnugupta** in 6000 *granthas* for the guidance of the Mauryas, in the hope that a well-digested study of, and administration according to, the precepts of the *Arthaśâstra* will enable a king to conduct his rule with brilliant success. The student of the *Arthaśâstra* follows the advice of **Châṇakya** and begins to study the science. In the course of the study itself, the student is overtaken by old age; for that science comprises in its fold all other kinds of sciences and can never be clearly mastered without a firm grasp of the vast field of knowledge covered by language. If it be granted that, nevertheless, one succeeds in the attainment of a perfect understanding of the *Arthaśâstra*, the very first result of his mastering this science would be to induce him to lose his faith even in his wife and children. Even with regard to the cooking of his own food, he has to gravely decide what quantity of fuel cook a certain amount of rice. . . . . Even after he has had his meal, he will not be free from the fear of poison till his food is well digested. . . . . ."

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[1] P. 186, Chap XXIV., Book IV, of Wilson's translation of *Vishṇupurâṇa.*

[2] *Sthaviravalli-charita* has been edited by Prof H. Jacobi and published in the *Bibliotheca Indica.*

[3] *Nandisûtra*, p. 383, Calcutta Edition.

Such is the sarcastic fashion in which Dandi in the above and succeeding passages deals with Chânakya's work, and one can hardly fail to appreciate the force of his criticisms, when one reads in the *Arthasâstra* such passages as "25 *palas* of fuel will cook two *prasthas* of rice,"[4] and "the king shall partake only of such food as is tasted in his presence by his physician, his attendant, and his cook."[5]

But while Dandi thus treats the *Arthaśâstra*, **Kâmandaka** seems to have esteemed it so highly that he not only based his *Nîtisâra* on the *Arthaśâstra*, but borrowed its very words and phrases for his book.

"Salutation," says Kâmandaka at the beginning of his *Nîtisâra*. "to the creative power of **Vishnugupta**, who extracted the very ambrosia (of political science) from the vast ocean of the science of polity. As this science is very much appreciated by kings, I shall make a brief but clear abridgment of the treatise of that learned scholar, who was well versed in all branches of learning."

It would take up too much space to prove by quotations how far Kâmandaka is indebted to Chânakya even for words and phrases, and it would be hardly necessary, because, as a matter of fact, he employs the *ipsissima verba* of Chânakya, except where the exigencies of metre prevent him. Had Kâmandaka, however, rendered into verse the whole of the *Arthaśâstra* without omitting a large portion of the original, his *Nîtisâra* would, by virtue of its clear and intelligible style, have replaced the archaic and aphoristic prose of the *Arthaśâstra*. But in his zeal for abridgment, he has omitted not only passages here and there in the portions which he has versified, but entire portions of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 14th books. But whatever may be the practical value of Kâmandaka's paraphrase, the fact that his *Nîtisâra* is one of the most popular Sanskrit works, which the people of the island of Bali[6] are reported to possess and is therefore believed to be earlier than the 4th century A. D., goes to prove that the *Kâutalîya Arthaśâstra* must be a genuine production of Chânakya.

With such writers as Kâmandaka and Dandî to quote as witnesses, it is unnecessary to give full references to other Sanskrit writers. It will be enough to note that the *Nandi-Sûtra*[7] of the Jainas, the *Panchatantra*,[8] and the *Nîtivâkyâmrita*[9] of Sômadêva are among the Sanskrit works which allude to the *Kâutalîya Arthaśâstra*.

Considering the widely-spread fame of the work among Sanskrit writers, it seems strange that MSS. of it should be **very rare**. Fortunately for the study of Indian historical subjects, a *pandit* of the Tanjore District of the Madras Presidency, who had in his possession a **MS. of the Arthaśâstra**, together with an imperfect **commentary** on it by **Bhattasvâmi**, was generous enough to hand over the two MSS. to the **Mysore Government Oriental Library**. They are on palm-leaf in the Grantha characters and do not appear to be more than a century or two old The MS. of the *Arthaśâstra* seems to be fairly correct, with the exception of a few clerical errors and omissions of a line or two in some places. The MS. of the Commentary is not only imperfect, extending merely from the 8th to the 36th chapter of the 2nd Book of the *Arthaśâstra*, but it is also very incorrect. As the commentator, Bhattasvâmi, makes references to interpretations which differ from his own, without, however, specifying the names of the commentators, there must have existed a few other commentaries earlier than his own

[4] Chap. XXII., Book II., of the *Arthaśâstra* [5] Chap XXI, Book I., of the *Arthaśâstra*.
[6] See Rajendralala Mitra's preface to his ed. of Kâmandaka's *Nîtisâra*, Calcutta.
[7] P. 391, *Nandi-Sûtra*, Calcutta Ed. [8] *Panchatantra*, Ch. I.
[9] Edited in the *Kâvyamâla Series*, Bombay.

The **Arthaśâstra** is, in its author's own words, "divided into fifteen books, containing on the whole 150 chapters, which in 6,000 *granthas*[10] deal with 180 themes"

The **1st Book** deals with **the training, discipline, and personal safety of kings and their ministers.** The **2nd Book** treats of the several **Departments of State** and of the administrative work carried on in those departments. The **3rd and 4th Books** are devoted to the description of the **administration of Civil and Criminal law.** The **5th Book** describes **the duties of Government servants** towards the king and of those of the king towards his servants. The **6th Book** deals with **rise and progress of States** The **7th Book** treats of the six-fold **diplomacy or policy** of kings The **8th Book** deals with **the vices** to which **kings** are liable. The **9th, 10th, 12th, 13th, and 14th Books** are devoted to the description of **military matters** in their various aspects. The **14th Book** deals with such **measures** as are supposed to secure **peace and plenty** to States. The 15th Book describes the plan on which the *Arthaśâstra* has been composed.

In the following pages translated extracts are headed by a numeral in heavy type and notes relating to them by the word 'Note' in heavy type.

EXTRACT I.

LAND LAWS.

(A) Political Divisions of Land.

1.

The king shall open out new villages, consisting of from a hundred to five hundred houses, and inhabited for the most part only by the Sûdras and other cultivating classes of people. The villages shall be situated in such a way that they should be a league or two distant from each other so that they could help each other against enemies. The boundaries of each of the villages shall be marked by rivers, mountains, forests, natural or artificial caves, artificial contrivances of various designs or by trees *mimosa suma, semul* tree, or by trees whose juice is milky. A fortress of wooden posts shall be constructed round every village at a distance of a hundred yards from it.

2.

The centre of eight hundred villages shall be the seat of a fortress called *Sthânîya.* A fortress, called *Drônamukha,* shall be constructed in the centre of four hundred villages. Two hundred villages shall have at their centre a fortress called *Khârvâtika.* A fortress called *Sangrahana* shall be constructed at the centre of ten villages.

The boundaries of kingdoms shall have fortresses manned by brave soldiers. The entrances of fortified cities shall ever be guarded likewise. The interior portions of kingdoms shall be protected on all sides by hunters, fowlers, mountaineers, and Chandâlas.

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[10] 32 syllables make one *grantha.*

3.

Having divided the country into four districts and having classified the villages as of first, second or third rank, the Collector-General shall register the names of the villages and bring them under one or the other of following heads: —

(1) Villages that are exempted from taxation.

(2) Villages that are military stations.

(3) Villages that have to supply a fixed quantity of grains, money, and raw materials.

(4) Villages that have to supply a fixed number of coolies and quadrupeds.

(5) Villages that have to supply animal and vegetable produce in lieu of taxes.

A Gôpa shall be placed in charge of five or ten villages and shall be answerable to the Collector-General for discharging his duties satisfactorily. It is the duty of Gôpa to maintain the boundary marks, not only of villages, but also of fields, gardens, roads, pasture lands, temples, groves, bathing-places, and countries. It is also the duty of Gôpa to personally supervise the transactions of gift, sale, or mortgage of lands and other properties of the villagers He shall also keep a register giving in detail the number not only of the souls living in each of the houses in the villages in his charge, the people being at the same time classified according to the various castes to which they belong, but also of the slaves, coolies, quadrupeds, and birds that are maintained in each of the houses. He shall also note in the same register not only the amount of taxes and tolls which each of the houses in the villages has to pay to the Government, but also the probable collection of coolies and fines from each of the houses in the villages.

4.

He shall not only enter in the register an estimate of the annual income and expenditure of all the inhabitants, male or female, young or old, in the villages, but also record the nature of their respective professions

5.

A Sthânika shall superintend over the affairs of a district as minutely as a Gôpa does over the affairs of villages Minor Government employés under Gôpas and Sthânikas shall gather not only taxes but also sundry information, both in districts and villages. The accounts and various statements made by Gôpas and Sthânikas shall be compared with those obtained from Government spies who are employed to watch the work of Government servants and the people alike.

(B) Distribution of Land.

1.

Priests, teachers, and other learned Brâhmaṇs shall be given lands which shall be subject to no tax whatever and which shall yield sufficient means of livelihood to the donee. Government servants, such as superintendents of various departments, accountants, overseers of villages, commanders of the army, physicians, veterinary surgeons, doctors of elephants, &c., shall likewise be given lands free, with this restriction, however, that these employés shall neither sell nor mortgage the lands thus freely given to them for service. Those who are willing to pay a fixed amount of tax to the king shall be given waste but fertile lands, their right over such lands being restricted for life only. Lands that are not made fit for cultivation shall not be taken away from those who are preparing them for cultivation. Those who have allowed their

lands to waste shall be deprived of their right over such lands and the same shall be given to others. Waste lands may also be brought under cultivation by Government agency ; for those who do not properly cultivate lands pay less to the king, thereby causing great loss in revenue.

2.

Pasture lands for cattle shall be reserved only in uncultivable tracts. Brâhmans abiding in forests shall be given such portions of forests as are made free from roaming wild beasts. Hermits engaged in making penance shall be given similar forests which shall be called after the names of the Gôtra of the Brâhmans who reside therein. The king shall reserve such forests as are frequented by elephants. He shall also make several forest reserves for procuring various kinds of forest produce mentioned elsewhere.

(C) Concessions to Cultivators.

1.

The king shall help cultivators by bestowing seeds, cattle and money, provided the recipients of such favours pay the Government dues very easily. The king shall take care that the concessions and remissions shown to the cultivators are such as increase the king's treasury but not deplete it ; for a king with depleted treasury will certainly eat into the vitality of the people themselves The king may also allow proper remission only when fresh lands are being laid out for cultivation. He shall have tanks, lakes, &c., constructed either with perennial water or with constant supply of water from other sources. Or he shall provide with land and materials those who engage themselves in such constructions as tanks, temples, groves, &c. In the case of co-operative construction of tanks, &c., substitutes or bullocks of those persons who absent themselves from such works shall carry out the work which the absentees ought to have done. In the case of such co-operative works as entail heavy expenditure, the absentee shall bear a share of the expenditure, but no share of the profits that will accrue from the work.

2.

The king shall exercise rights over fishery and boating in tanks, lakes, &c., and also over the vegetable produce growing on their banks.

The rights of ownership over houses, fields, gardens, tanks, and temples will be forfeited if they are neglected for five years continuously.

(D) Remissions of Taxes on Lands.

1.

Persons who construct new tanks at their own cost will be exempt from being taxed for five years on the lands under such tanks. Taxes will be remitted for four years on the lands under such repaired tanks as would have been otherwise useless. If existing tanks are extended so that more land may be brought under cultivation, taxes will be remitted for three years on the lands newly brought under cultivation. Taxes will be remitted for two years on land which are newly made fit for dry cultivation.

(E) Village Rules.

1.

There shall be constructed in the villages no theatres and other buildings intended for pleasure and play Nor shall dramatic companies, band of musicians, speakers, and other persons of artistic profession disturb the villagers from their peaceful and homely avocations The arrival at, and encampment in, the villages of such people with a view to collect grains, liquids, coolies, and money which can be easily procured in the villages cause serious injury to the occupation of the villagers who will otherwise be always at work in their fields and gardens. Those who encroach upon public or private lands bordering on their own lands shall pay a fine of 12 *paṇas*, provided the encroachment is made in the season of cultivation. But if the encroachment is due to ignorance of exact boundary marks or to such causes as hinder cultivation, the offence shall not be punishable.

(F) Land Sales.

1.

Wealthy kinsmen (*jñâtis*) or neighbours shall have the right to purchase lands brought for sale in auction Neighbours forty in number and owning lands or houses in the vicinity of the land or the house to be sold shall congregate before the land, or in front of the house to be sold, and announce it as being such. While the aged persons of the neighbourhood shall be presiding over the transaction, the auction sale of the land or the house shall be carried out with full description of the boundaries and other particulars and the purchaser shall purchase it only after the auctioneer has loudly called out three times, "who will purchase the land or the house at such a price?" If at this stage of the transaction, bidding commences and the price is enhanced, the enhanced amount, together with the toll on the sale value, shall be paid into the king's treasury. The purchaser shall pay the toll. The seller of lands or houses, the owners of which are absent or unknown, shall pay a fine of 24 *paṇas*.

2.

Cultivators shall mortgage or sell their lands only to cultivators. Persons who enjoy *brahmadêyika* (revenue-free) lands shall mortgage or sell such lands only to those who deserve or are already endowed with such lands. Otherwise the sellers shall pay a fine of 3,000 *paṇas*.

A tax-payer (*karada*) shall live only in such a village as is exclusively inhabited by tax-payers If a tax-payer goes to live in a village of such inhabitants as are not tax-payers, he shall be fined 3,000 *paṇas*.

3.

If a tax-payer acquires property in a village of tax-payers, he shall have the rights and privileges of that tax-payer who has been replaced by him. But the new-comer shall not claim the house of the former occupant. Even the house may be given over to him provided the former occupant does not need it or is not injured thereby. If the owner of a piece of land is unable to cultivate his lands, another may cultivate them for five years and shall surrender the same afterwards on taking such ransom as is equivalent to the improvement he made on the lands. Persons who leave the cultivation of their lands in abeyance by being obliged to sojourn abroad for a time shall not forfeit the right of ownership of those lands.

(*To be continued.*)

THE RELIGION OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLES.

BY THE LATE C. P. TIELE.

(Translated by G. K. Nariman.)

(Continued from Vol. XXXII. p. 300.)

CHAPTER III.

The Founding of the Zarathushtrian Religion and the First Period of its Development.

1. The Zarathushtrian Religion a Reformation.

The religion which we study in the Gâthas and the writings connected with them, and whose subsequent history is embalmed in books indited in a younger dialect, is not the result of a tardy unraveling evoked by the altered environments of a people and consequently what is usually called a natural growth, but an actual deliberate reform. Not, however, that the new faith had no roots in the past. On the contrary, when it voices unfamiliar thoughts, the forms in which they are clothed are borrowed in the vast majority of cases from religious concepts and notions prevailing from remote antiquity. Even the cardinal thought on which it rests, its sharply-defined Dualism, the irreconcilable contest between the power of the Good and the power of the Evil, is based on the old Aryan myth of the wars of light and darkness, fertility and sterility, life and death in a higher and ethical sense The fact is incontrovertible, though we cannot infer from it that the Dualism as such is derived from the same myth.[81] Had it been otherwise, the new doctrine would never have found access to the people Nor is the doctrine, as will be shown later on, introduced from without. Though it may contain many foreign ingredients, it is a growth of the native soil, national in form and origin. It is a germ of the old stock, which has not shot up as a weed, but has been carefully planted and has thriven into an individual tree. The Zarathushtrian creed has not sprung up of its own accord. It was founded. Bearing this fact in mind, we shall be in a position rightly to understand it, and the evidences are not far to seek to every unbiassed reader of the *Gâthas*. The concept that the world is parted into two hostile camps, the empire of perfectly holy spirits and that of absolutely evil creatures, empires which are divided off by a neutral zone which is the theatre of their struggles, may have existed in the East Aryan, possibly even in the old Aryan, mythology, but then not as an unequivocally formulated article of faith, but only as an embryo of one Latterly, myths of an earlier period were transferred to the two spirits. But in the form they both occur in the oldest hymns, they are the philosophical creations of the speculations of religious innovators of a school or sect. This applies before all to the highest God Mazda and his satellites. The Jehova of Moses is not more distinct from the thundering god of the heavens in the desert than is the Mazda Ahura of the *Gâthas* from the celestial deities of light or from any other divinity of the ancient Aryans. The entire scheme no longer represents a natural religion, but is converted into a definite ethical system. At the outset we have to allude to the otherwise inexplicable circumstance that the collective Aryan mythology, the dogma held by the preceding generations, is not touched upon in the *Gâthas*. The *Gâthas* are silent respecting all the old divinities, including Mithra the most prominent among them. But at that time the gods were by no means forgotten. They had obviously still a number of devotees in Iran. And these were so numerous that in a later age people saw themselves compelled to enter these gods once again into the catalogue of adored beings, accommodating them to the orthodox tenets. Mithra was accordingly honored with

[81] Darmesteter's *Ormazd et Ahriman; leurs origines et leur histoire* — Paris, 1877. It is superfluous to observe that subsequently he altogether changed his opinion.

a niche by the side of Mazda, which he had before occupied, and which he has ever kept, among the neighbouring Indians, by the side of Varuna. Again, the *Gâthas* mention none of **the heroes**, several of whom were to be subsequently reinstated as transformed into Zarathushtrian Yazatas. **Yima** is the solitary exception. He is the Vedic Yama, but in the *Gâthas* he becomes a saint of the past and is held up to the Mazda worshippers as a prototype [82]

The place of the old occupants of heaven is now assumed by **Mazda Ahura with his retinue of six Ahuras,** making seven in all — **the Amshaspands** that were to be. And with them was associated Siaosha, the genius of obedience and revelation. In other words, the position of deified beings was ceded to more or less personified abstractions, the least personified being those in the oldest epoch, but not more personified than is wisdom with the Hebrew poets.

One spirit alone, **Armaiti,** the Vedic Aramati, of whom we have spoken above, appears to constitute an exception. But she had already in the East Aryan age a two-fold significance, and one phase of her character was appropriated to the symbolization of a Zarathushtrian idea. The heroes are supplanted by **Zarathushtra himself, his kin and friends.** So far it can be no accident, but only intention. Had the *latria* of Mazda been evolved step by step from the previous popular national religion, we should encounter the favorite gods and heroes of the ancestral creed in shapes however modified.

Not less emphatically it bespeaks the reforming mission of Zarathushtra that the *Gâthas* are altogether silent over **the Haoma service,** which built a principal and uninterrupted factor in the cult of the Vedic Indians, and which, even in Irân, posterity had to reinstall. Not once is mention made of its name. If the Soma-Haoma service originated so far back in the East Aryan times as is generally assumed at present, it is unintelligible, especially in view of the importance attached to it in later Parsiism, how the *Gâthas* completely ignore it,[83] the only alternative supposition being that the silence is of set purpose and is owing to the abhorrence of the exponents of the new dogma for those who were partial to the drink, which was of the essence of their cult. But there are, as already indicated, some grounds for the assumption that the Haoma worship proper had not spread universally among the ancient Iranians, and that it was leagued with Zarathushtrianism after the propagation of the Mazdaic religion into the Eastern countries. This, however, is true only of Soma-Haoma, *i. e.*, of the beverage extracted from plants. The Iranians, too, like all Aryan nations, were probably aware of another immortalizing drink which they quaffed at certain religious ceremonies. Such a peculiar drink as the Soma, distasteful to many, could hardly have been anything but a surrogate for another intoxicating liquor, and (indeed, to my mind, for wine itself or a similar substance discovered by roaming tribes who cultivated no vine and could not obtain it by way

[82] The passage to which I refer is usually interpreted in a totally different manner. *Yasna* 32, 8 · — *aesham aenangham vivanghusho sravi yimaschit ye mashyeng chikshmnusho ahmaheng gaush baga hvaremno. Aeshamchit ā ahmi thuahmi mazda vichithoi aipi.*

The usual rendering of *aenangham* by "evil-doers" and of the second verse as if it told us that Yima first instructed mankind how to eat flesh in pieces, wholly spoils the sense For the latter is a grammatical as well as logical impossibility. Even in the earliest possible times men could not have thrust a whole ox or sheep into the mouth. The Zarathushtra or priest says .—"Vivanghat, son of Yima, heard of this punishment (mentioned in the preceding strophe) and he (accordingly) instructed the human race (to give) us a part of the meat they ate. What comes to me thereof, depends on thy decision, Mazda!"

[The difficulty of the *Gâtha* texts is strikingly illustrated by this passage. How widely divergent is Mill's interpretation, who opines that "the Pahlavi translator hits the true rendering here and recalls Genesis ix., 3, regarding the first eating of the flesh of beasts"! — TR.]

[83] From two passages in the *Gâthas* Martin Haug deduced that the Haoma worship was not ignored but warred against in the old hymns, namely, *Yasna* 32, 2, where for *Shyomam* he would read Saomām (shaomam), and *Yasna* 48, 10, where he corrected the corrupt reading *madahya*, the only one known to him, into *madhahya* which he explained as an intoxicating drink. But *Saoma* among the Iranians can never mean *Haoma*, and as for the second passage in question, the best MSS. have *magahya*, a wholly different thing.

of commerce), esteemed not so much as a favourite beverage as an indispensable constituent in an immemorial cult. We can cite passages from the oldest litanies, which seem to bear on such a cult, at all events on an ambrosial drink. But this is an uncertain test, and at any rate the drink there has not that importance in the divine service, which is assigned to it in the posterior times.

Above all, the unique character of the Gâthas, and the tenets laid down in them, show that the latter have not sprung spontaneously from the popular religion, but have issued from the genius of some (or rather one) thinker. These hymns, though they embrace panegyrics and prayers, are for the most part prophecies, not, however, in the sense of predictions, but in that of proclamations, exhortations, and apologia for a new doctrine and its cult. Let us, for instance, listen to the exordium of *Yasna* 30: — "Now will I proclaim," so it runs, "to you who are assembled here the wise sayings of Mazda, the praises of Ahura, and the hymns of the good spirit, the sublime truth which I see arising out of these sacred flames." This is immediately followed by the exhortation: — "Hear with your ears the best, see with a good mind, make a decided choice, man for man, each for himself, regarding this great Cause, attentive to this our dogma." This is the pervading tone. The sage is not simply a sacred poet inspired by the divine afflatus, who would glorify the solemn cult and the efficacy of the sacrifice by new songs. He is rather the incarnation of Ahura Mazda who has revealed all to him, of whom he constantly inquires, whom he perpetually interrogates.[84]

After the example of Zarathushtra, who declared himself ready for the difficult task of propagating the faith among men, he would preach to all who came from near and far so long as life and strength are vouchsafed to him, and prays to Mazda that men may lend ear to his *manthras*.[85] And when the Saoshyants, prophet-saints, are spoken of, who bring about renovation of the world, this refers — and we shall prove it further on — not to a distant future but to the times gone by, and by the prophet-saints, through whose mouth they voice their thoughts, the minstrels mean the diffusers of the Zarathushtrian doctrine.[86]

They do not meet with a uniform audience or find listeners everywhere. In the seven continents of the world prevails infidelity fostered by the imposture of the Druksh. It is not every one who is prepared forthwith to decide his choice and renounce the fraternity of the *daevas* and the damned.[87] Recalcitrants are numerous, who refuse to give in their adhesion to the new institutes, while they are supported by lying prophets. There are the ignorant who instruct the ignorant; to lend ear to them is dangerous. They kill reason and incite those who pursue their evil counsel to turn pasture into wastes and persecute the pious with the sword.[88] Not seldom the prophets complain of the difficult mission : they have laid to heart the dogma of Mazda through sorrow and suffering. The oppressors of the true faith are unrelenting in their hatred.[89] Repulsed with incredulity by their own friends and kinsmen they sigh under misunderstanding, violence, outrage, and penury. Almost with despondence bewails one of the prophets (the bard no doubt means Zarathushtra): — "Whereto of all the world shall I go, which way shall I turn me?" and he consoles himself with the confidence he has in divine protection and the sustaining hope that he would win over to his side Kava Vishtaspa

[84] *Yasna* 31, 22 ; 33, 13 , 34, 12.

[85] Compare *Yasna* 43, 11 with 28, 4 and 45, 1 and 28, 7.

[86] See *Yasna* 30, 9, where it plainly stands, "may we then belong to you, we who (or so that we) consummate this renovation of the world." Even Spiegel has seen that tradition here cannot be relied upon. Only Darmesteter, as ever, remains true to it. Observe also *Yasna* 31, 2 ; 32, 6 ; 33, 13 , 34, 14, 44, 13; 45, 11 ; 50, 6 ; 51, 3 and 10.

[87] *Daevaishcha khrafashtraish mashyaishcha, Yasna* 34, 5, which mentions not three but only two categories. *Cf Yasna* 31, 12 and 18 , 32, 3, 9, 10, 11 ; 34, 5 , 50, 3 , 51, 14. For unbelief, see *Yasna* 32, 2 , and on the right choice, *Yasna* 30, 2 and 31, 5.

[88] *Yasna* 34, 7 and 8

[89] *Yasna* 34, 7 and 8.

and his entourage.[90] It is evident that the singers merely transfer to the eminent personages of yore what they themselves purposed and experienced.

The object of the reform to which the *Gâthas* testify is two-fold a purification of the religion coupled with the announcement of a new, more ethical theology and an improvement in the social condition by means of a progressive exchange of the nomadic and bucolic life for the more settled occupation of husbandry. With the Gathaic poet, genuinely pious man, ardent cultivator, and just master are only synonymous expressions. To wish to participate in the practice of the good religion, without cherishing tillage, is nothing but hypocrisy. Agriculturists are the only rational people, men after the heart of Asha and Vohumano. Such as abide, but do not co-operate, with them, and follow their own profane avocations, do but promote Aesma or Hatred because of their folly, advance Rama or Jealousy because of their vile language, and further the interests of the *daevas* in general with their deceitful precepts.[91] The two motives are so intrinsically united, that a social reformation arose, which was ultimately wedded to an ethical creed, or rather which entirely reposed on it from its very beginnings. The most primitive records witness to Zarathushtrianism being such a combination. And we may note by the way that it speaks for its relative antiquity. Centuries after Alexander there was no call for the introduction of agriculture into Iran, nor need a life of fixed domicile have been recommended as acceptable in the sight of God. A religious incentive to agricultural pursuits belongs to hoary antiquity. But be that as it may, the Mazda religion has ever retained this peculiar feature of its origin, and whether or not the dogma was subsequently accommodated to other surroundings and other conditions, the active and energetic husbandman remained the type of devout Zarathushtrian. The veneration and the sanctification of cattle common to the Indian and the Iranian have their sources in a much anterior period. But its latest presentment apart, the ancient view assumed a peculiar shape in the scheme inaugurated by Zarathushtra, the symbolic significance of which is still misjudged by many. The reformers here linked themselves to the earlier mythic conceptions which they attempered to the requirements of their *credenda*.

When we reflect upon its semi-philosophic, semi-religious tenor, the doctrine is anything but a poet or thinker's transmutation of popular beliefs. It is a well-conceived and tolerably coherent system, in which the uppermost dignity is accorded to a moral God encircled by beings and spirits commanding homage from man and composing his divine council. But these celestial apparitions are too diaphanous impersonations of the permanent attributes and principal blessings of this Godhead to come within the purview of mythology proper. A system of this description cannot evolve itself gradually among a God-fearing nation, but can only be thought out and preached with the full consciousness of its being the best revelation from on high in a school of divines and sages.

The sketch we intend to give of this system will itself furnish the most convincing proof of it. But a glance at the native country and at the origin and the founder of the Zarathushtrian faith must precede our outline of the reformation.

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[90] *Yasna* 46, 1 *seq*.

[91] See *Yasna* 31, 10 and 33, 3. Of Aeshma and Rama tradition makes hatred and jealousy (*Yasna* 49, 4). The strophe is very difficult. I think that *toi* with which the fourth line begins should be referred back to *yoi* in the first line, that *daeveng* cannot be Nom but is Acc Plur., and that *dregvato daena* is an instrumental form, I would consequently translate: — "They create the *daevas* by the doctrine of the liars" Compare the celebrated colloquy between Geush Urva and Mazda Ahur[illegible] in *Ya*[illegible] 29 and further *Yasna* 31, 1[illegible] and [illegible] See also *Yasna* 47, 2 and 3. — "W[illegible] is manifested by [illegible] of mouth and the works o[illegible] performed by the [illegible]"

The Karapans, who are the great enemies of the pious, are not amicably disposed to tillage and attack the kine and her blessings by their acts and tenets. — *Yasna* 51, 14.

2. Zarathushtra and his Entourage in the Gâthas.

Throughout the *Avesta* Zarathushtra passes for a great reformer, one to whom Ahura Mazda has disclosed his revelation and who communicates the same to humanity. Not less than the views of the learned, the reports of the Oriental and Greek writers differ as to the author of this religion. If, according to some he was a contemporary of Hystaspes, father of Darius, — a view which has obviously resulted from confounding Hystaspes with the Vishtaspa of the Zarathushtrian legends, — in the opinion of others he lived six centuries prior to the beginning of the Christian era, while there are those who would go still farther back. If a few call him a Median, a Persian, or a Medo-Persian, others declare him to have been a Baktrian or even a Babylonian. It is impossible to educe historical facts out of this medley of accounts; and the more so because Herodotus, on whom we may rely with the greatest confidence, makes no mention of Zarathushtra.

The name itself of Zarathushtra is not easy to interpret. Whichever way it is construed we have to recognise an anomaly in the compound word — a deviation from the rules of Iranian phonetics. It is unintelligible how the Greeks came by the formation Zoroastros, as it is against all the Oriental metamorphoses of the appellation, and the one we find in Diodorus is probably borrowed from Ktēsias, *viz.*, Zathraustes, which, however, makes a nearer approach to the original. Semitic derivation (which has been attempted) was foredoomed to failure. It could not surmount the difficulty which lies in the *th* and which is not solved by the suggestion of Sir Henry Rawlinson who would make Zarathushtra equal to the Assyrian Ziruishtar. The name is undoubtedly Aryan, but perhaps it belongs to a stage in the evolution of the language preceding the Iranian we know: hence the uncertainty of its significance [92]

No wonder that the hazy incertitude of the meaning has given rise to the theory that Zarathushtra was no historical personage, but purely a mythical figure, possibly an embodiment of the school or sect from which the new religion issued, or a semi-anthropomorphic image of the god Mithra.

Other scholars hold it impossible to set up anything like a biography of the prophet from the narratives bequeathed to us, and would relegate all that the younger *Avesta* and the later Persian writings relate of him to the limbo of myth. They, however, urge that that view does not preclude the possibility that a real prophet bearing the name once lived and taught and laid the foundation of the Mazdayasnian religion. There are, on the other hand, distinguished Orientalists,[93] who, with Martin Haug at their head, consider Zarathushtra not merely as a historic personality, but claim for him, or failing that for his contemporaries and disciples, to some extent the composition of the *Gâthas.*

First of all to investigate this last hypothesis. Let us admit without further ado that several chants in the Gathic collection are calculated to appear as the authentic production of Zarathushtra himself and his earliest believers. One hymn directly claims him for its author. It is the opening one in the *Gâtha Ushtavaiti* (*Yasna* 43). The minstrel describes how the Deity himself came attended by Vohumano to him and asked, "Who art thou? whose art thou?" Whereupon he immediately answers, 'Zarathushtra,' and expresses his desire "to prove a stern chastiser of transgressors, a friend and a help to the righteous, and to win over

[92] Kern regards Zarathushtra as a star-genius or a light-god and analyses the name into Zara-thushtra which he translates like Windischmann by "gold-brilliance." Most scholars divide the compound into *Zarath* and *ushtr*, finding "camel" in the second component, which occurs also in names like Avaraoshtra, Frasaoshtra, &c., and the first is reduced to *zarat* or *zaradh*, making of the whole "gold camel," or "yellow camel," or "camel-hearted," or "possessing bold camel."

[93] To them belong Bartholomae, Geldner, and William Jackson.

the zealous searchers after the kingdom of God by means of unceasing praise and meditation of Mazda." The object of the hymn lies on the face of it, though it contains passages which have so far resisted elucidation. It depicts the call of Zarathushtra to his prophetic mission. He realises the enormous difficulty of his message, but is prepared for its execution. Ahura Mazda will vouchsafe him support, and Aramaiti will instruct him. This entire narrative, therefore, is reported by Zarathushtra himself. But even in the strophes where he is not mentioned — for instance, where he complains of persecution and misunderstanding and is at a loss whither to wend his way — the speaker and the prophet are identical.

Nevertheless it does not follow that he is the actual poet. **There are found arguments warranting suspicion.** It is patent that to the singer of this hymn Zarathushtra is a sanctified being of bygone ages. We may not believe it, but he declares that he existed from before the creation. At all events the following words are put in his mouth in *strophe* 5 : —

"Thee I conceive as holy Mazda Ahura,
Because at the creation of the world I beheld Thee first,
When Thou didst appoint that deeds and words shall their recompense have
For the wicked evil, happy blessings for the good."

Here then he is so far glorified as to have experienced this apocalypse at the first beginning of things. And this idea recurs again. He is named in numerous passages where he can neither be the poet nor his contemporary. A striking instance is the celebrated dialogue with **Geush Urva**, the soul of the Kine, a personification whose significance we shall discuss in the sequel. Geush Urva laments over her sufferings and beseeches Mazda for a guardian. Mazda responds that Zarathushtra is the only protector ordained to be her lord, her **Ratu**, for he knoweth all the divine commandments. In spite of her appeal for a more puissant caretaker, Geush Urva has to content herself with Zarathushtra.[94]

Fancies of this description do not crop up in the life-time of a person. They are the result rather of his apotheosis decreed by posterity.

In another song along with him we come upon **Vishtasp**, whom tradition makes his patron, Frasaoshtra, whom it makes his father-in-law, who both are already living, if I construe the passage correctly, with Ahura Mazda in heaven, "where Asha is united with Armaiti" (righteousness with true belief), where the sovereignty of the Good Mind prevails, and where Ahura Mazda tenants what we may call his Valhalla (*varedemam*). Vishtasp is counted among the inmates of Mazda's house, and of the **Haechataspa Spitamas**, the house of Zarathushtra, it is claimed that they brought to the believers Asha (righteousness) according to the primordial or aboriginal ordinance of Ahura. It is permissible to expound all this in a metaphorical sense, but taken all in all it produces the impression that the minstrel refers to persons now exalted to divinity whom he pays homage.[95]

Another psalm, which constitutes a whole *Gâtha*, and perchance is of the oldest, contains several allusions to the Zarathushtrian legends.[96]

It would throw much light on the problem, if it was less mutilated and so more intelligible. Still it is plain that it sets forth that Zarathushtra had "recently" proclaimed a reward for the Magavans in the shape of **Garo-demana** or paradise. One can scarcely refrain from hazarding the conjecture that the Zarathushtra here spoken of is not a person, but rather an ecclesiastical or prophetic office. We may instance the places which deal with the gifts with which Zarathushtra must be propitiated.[97]

94 *Yasna* 29, 8, 9.
95 *Yasna* 46, 13—19.
96 The *Gâtha, Vohukhshathra, Yasna* 50. (See specially *strophes* 11 and 15)
97 *Yasna* 46, 13 ; 49, 12 ; 50, 6.

Sometimes he obviously discriminates between the holy saints of yore and himself and his own.[98]

One would almost be inclined to discover in the three names the ideal representatives of the three states, the priest-seers, the rulers and the men, were it not that we have reasons to look upon the legend of Vishtasp's kingdom as of younger date.

The last is the only *Gâtha*,[99] the claim of which to translate us directly to the times of Zarathushtra can be logically sustained.

But unfortunately the greater part of it is in a hopelessly mangled condition[100] and is hard to interpret on this account, as well as because of its many obsolete words. Not more than the opening few *strophes* yield an easy sense. They display as living, besides Zarathushtra, Frashaoshtra and the eldest or the most beautiful of Zarathushtra's daughters, — **Pauruchista Spitami.** The composition is evidently a nuptial song for the prophet's daughter. It treats of her housewife's duties and the bridegroom addresses a few words of monition to the bride.[1] The *Gâtha* is either extremely archaic and hence hard to construe, or very posterior, which should account for its defective formation. I suspect the latter.[2] The way in which the first strophe mentions Zarathushtra does not favor the supposition that here the speaker is a contemporary and shows that he cannot be the bard himself. Most probably it is a marriage-song in which holy men of antiquity are held up to imitation.

Hence for a historical construction the texts lend but scanty support. At the same time positive evidence for regarding the whole as mere myth is equally meagre. We encounter names which would be borne by gods and demi-gods. But those of the kinsmen and the first disciples of Zarathushtra are not of this description. They may indicate mythical beings, but men quite as well. Most are compounds ending with *asp* (horse): Haechataspa was the ancestor, Pourushaspa was the father, of Zarathushtra, — the father is not mentioned in the *Gâthas*, — Jamaspa was his trusty friend, Vishtaspa his patron. The names sometimes terminate in *ushtra* (camel), as Frashaoshtra. Pauruchishta, the name of his daughter, may be an ordinary proper name, just as Spitama, the honorific title of Zarathushtra and some of his relations, which was latterly construed as a patronymic. Spitama, or Spitamenes,[3] and Vishtaspa are acknowledged old Persian names. Not the less can they be applied to common persons. Compounds with *asp* present themselves from ancient times in the names of deities, and the name of Vishtaspa's father, Aurataspa, is one of the epithets of Apam-napat, the god of "fire which resides in water," the lightning god. Maidyo-maongha, another adherent of the prophet's, is called by a name, which, for a man's, is highly suspicious; assuredly it sounds queer to be called "Middle-of-the-moon," or, as I should say, Full-moon. The *pros* and *cons* tolerably hold the balance. But if we are here not on historic ground, we do not also go

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98 *Yasna* 28, 6—8, where Frasaoshtra is emphatically mentioned as "the man."

99 *Gâtha Vahishtoishti*, *Yasna* 53

100 *Strophe* 2 offers the hardest difficulties, and the most mystifying line runs —

Kavacha Vishtaspa Zarathushtrish Spitamo Ferashaoshtrascha.

Are two persons named here or three? If three, what is Zarathushtrish Spitamo? It cannot be Zarathushtra himself, inasmuch as he is already named in the preceding *strophe* and *hoi* here refers to him It follows, therefore, that two men only are spoken of — note that the *cha* is only once repeated — and that Zarathushtrish goes with Kava Vishtaspa and Spitamo with Frashaoshtra For the first, see *Yasht*, 13, 98.

1 [See the beautiful metrical version in Mill's *The Gathas of Zarathushtra in metre and rhythm*, p 191.—TR]

2 Darmesteter sees in the last strophe a germ of the *Ahunavairya* prayer, which, if it was correct, would make the song very old But I would rather assume the reverse — the end of the hymn is a paraphrase of the old prayer.

3 Spitamenes was leader of Sogdian cavalry under Bessos. *Arrian*, III., 28, 16.

beyond the bounds of tradition Not the faintest trace of a single myth is found in the *Gâthas* which were subsequently current in connection with Zarathushtra. There is no vestige in the *Gâthas* of his miraculous birth, his temptation, his struggle with the Evil Spirit, his expected apparition at the end of time The Zarathushtra of the most ancient records is in fact another than the one figuring in the younger works. Here, in general, he is the sublime seer to whom Mazda Ahura imparts his profound wisdom, a sort of Moses, who communes with the Supreme Deity as a man does with his friend. He is the chosen prophet. Occasionally he is raised to a still higher eminence He is no doubt no god or theomorphic man. He is not installed by the side of Ahura Mazda as the head of the mundane, as Ahura Mazda is of the celestial, economy. If he is appointed Ratu or spiritual champion of Geush Urva, that is only a figurative phrase to suggest that his new doctrine is the basis of a more humane social order, though it closely approaches the dogma of his domination of all temporal concerns, for already at the genesis it was he who beheld Mazda and received his revelation. To be brief, his glorification has perceptibly commenced, though it is yet in its undeveloped stage.

The circle of his kindred and staunch followers, so far as the *Gâthas* are concerned, is purely human. Though Vishtaspa[4] has become a king for the *Gâtha* poet (and as such he is invariably viewed from here downwards), his realm is ethereal — Maghahya khshatra; whatever its meaning, science or sagacity according to tradition, or the community of the faithful, according to Geldner and Jackson He is a Kava, which is his constant epithet and which primarily signified nothing save sage or seer for a certainty. And as Kava he was also a poet — a fact which is explicitly stated. He belonged indeed to the Magavans, for he is styled the intrepid, and is ever celebrated as the most intimate friend of Zarathushtra and the defender of his following.

Of the brothers Frashaoshtra and De-Jamaspa, who are called Hvogvas,[5] whatever the import of the term, at least the second seems to have been a minstrel also. But as to the enigmatic Maidhyo-maongha it is distinctly asserted that he volunteered to receive instruction in the canon of Mazdaism with intent to profess the creed all his life. Despite the circumstance that so early as in the old hymns they show lineaments, which time has somewhat helped fade, I do not see why we should deny them all, excepting perhaps Maidhyo-maongha, historic existence. Whether this is true of Zarathushtra also is another question. Similar suspicions have been entertained about persons of undoubted reality. The employment of the term Zarathushtra for priests so frequently in the *Gâthas* and even in the superlative degree, *zarathushtrotemo*, to indicate the arch-hierophant, tends to demonstrate that the expression stands for the personification of a school or denomination of priest-prophets or sages, who in a combined league brought about a social and religious upheaval or a general amelioration. But this inference is not absolutely inevitable. The possibility remains that a person Zarathushtra by name was the great reformer, the story of whose life shrouded in a nimbus of legends, evades successful investigation.

(To be continued.)

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4 Here are the most important passages treating of Vishtaspa mostly along with his other early proselytes: *Yasna* 28, 7; 46, 16; 51, 16. The last is very noteworthy.

5 Hvogva, later *hvova*, is used as a family name, but may mean "well-situate" or "noble." The daughter of Jamasp is also so surnamed in the *Yashts*. De, as used before Jamasp, is usually explained by "wise." For Maidhyo-maongha, see *Yasna* 51, 19.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SYSTEM OF SANSKRIT TRANSLITERATION

SIR, — Although Oriental scholarship is far advanced in Europe, and a great deal has already been done to present Indian lore and literature in the more important of the European languages, it is a matter of great regret that no uniform system of the transliteration of the Sanskrit Alphabet into Roman characters has yet been adapted The system now followed in the publications of the Indian Government is what is known as the Hunterian system The Asiatic Society of Bengal follows a system of its own. The International Congress of Orientalists approved a slightly modified system in 1894, and the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland again modified that system in 1896 and recommended its adoption by all the countries engaged in Oriental studies It is needless to dilate here upon the advantages of a uniform system They are too well known to require any advocacy, much less from a man of my position and acquirements I would, therefore, ask Has not the time yet come when a serious attempt should be made to reduce the different systems now in vogue to uniformity, so that students may be spared the unnecessary difficulty they have to encounter in studying the different systems before they can read Oriental publications perfectly? Personally I am of opinion that it is time that some Oriental Society should take up the work in hand and appoint a committee consisting of the representatives of the different Oriental Societies in Europe and Asia. This committee should study the different systems of transliteration, and either choose one of the existing ones or suggest a new one; the latter, of course, will be an adaptation more or less of the several existing ones. I, therefore, bring this matter to the notice of Oriental scholars and Societies through the medium of this *Journal*, and trust that my request will not be totally disregarded.

In case this request meets with the attention which, I think, it deserves, there is one point which I would at once place before scholars and Societies. It is this In almost all the systems now in vogue ट, ठ, ड and ढ are represented by *t, th, d* and *dh*, and त, थ, द, and ध by *t, th, d, dh*, respectively My suggestion is that ट, ठ, ड and ढ should be represented by *t, th, d*, and *dh*, and त, थ, द, and ध by *t, th, ḍ*, and *dh*, and in justification of this suggestion I would note (1) that *t* and *d* are always pronounced as ट and ड in English and not as त and द and (2) that the तवर्ग letters occur after the टवर्ग ones in Sanskrit, and consequently it is but reasonable that the diacritical marks should be added to the second set, if, of course, it does not sacrifice 'completeness' in any way.

SYAM SUNDAR DAS

Benares.

[I strongly sympathise with the writer, but nearly thirty years' experience has taught me the practical hopelessness of bringing about the reform he very properly desires. — ED.]

MISCELLANEA.

A NOTE ON VIRUPAKSHA OF VIJAYANAGARA.

THE Âlampûṇḍi plate of Virûpâksha was published by Mr V. Venkayya, *ante*, Vol. III. p 224 ff., and was followed by a note in *Additions and Corrections* printed at the beginning of Vol V. (p v). Mr Venkayya points out that the Sanskrit drama *Nârâyaṇîvilâsa* confirms the Âlampûṇḍi plate in declaring that Virûpâksha's parents were Harihara II of Vijayanagara, and his wife Mallâdêvî, the daughter of King Râma. The facts are these: — The plate in question asserts that Mallâdêvî belonged to "the race of Râmadêva," while the drama explicitly declares her to have been the daughter of King Râma, calling Virûpâksha the "daughter's son of King Râma"; and from this Mr. Venkayya deduces that the lady in question was the daughter of King Râmachandra of the family of the Yâdavas of Dêvagiri. But I think it far more likely that the plate is correct and the drama incorrect. Râmachandra reigned from A. D 1271 to 1309, his death occurring in the latter year. The reign of Harihara II of Vijayanagara began, probably, in 1379 A D and lasted till the end of 1399, when he died. It seems quite impossible that he could have married a daughter of King Râmachandra, and therefore I think we must assume that his wife Mallâdêvî, or Mallâmbikâ, though she may have been "of the race of," was not the daughter of, King Râma, — if Râma was identical with Râmachandra of Dêvagiri.

R. SEWELL.

IN MEMORY OF HER LATE MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA (*ob.* 22-1-1901)

The bells send forth their deepest mournful tunes'
The hearts of millions almost stop in beating;
The sea throws furious waves against the shore,
As if to stop her Royal Queen's retreating.

For many millions 'tis a sacred time;
The busiest people stop their daily calling,
The lightning spark goes flashing round the earth
And tells the world the news the most appalling.

'Tis as if Nature's self proclaimed to men
In storm and thunder Listen to the tiding;
"The best of souls God's angels take away,
And you must stop and brave the storms abiding."

No better Queen nor ever monarch was
Than she who was the jewel of her nation;
And never will a better ruler come
To follow in her earthly lofty station.

No better wife, no better mother lived
In all her wide dominions, ruled by love,
May Heaven grant her peace, which earth denied,
In God's eternal regions above!

H. HUMBERT.

Breslau (Germany), 25th January 1901.

Ghantābhir viralair vidārunaravaiś śōśuchyatē v=ābhitō
hṛitpadmair atisamkhyagair api nrinām sōshupyatē duḥkhitaih ।
samrājā saritām cha bhīshanatamai rōrudhyatē-v=ōrmibhī
rōdhōrōdhibhir ātmapālanapaṭō rājñyās svar-ārōhanam ॥

Sarvēshām ayam atidussahō nu kālaḥ
kāryāsthā kvachid api dṛiśyatē na karmathēshu ।
tāditkam pari jagatīm parītya tējō
hrinmarmaspriśam anuvakty=udantam ā samantāt ॥

Nanu hatavidhir ārād garjat=ītthaṁ janānām
stanitamukharavākyair bhō hatāśāḥ kim anyat ।
divi cha bhuvi cha mānyā nēshyatē dēvavrindaiḥ
katham api hṛidi dhairyāch chhōkabhārō 'nuvāhyah ॥

Dhīrāṅglēyasudhāpayōnidhisamudbhūtam nu muktāphalam
rājñī sarvajanāśrayā prabhutayā=nanyā hi Viktōriyā ।
nō bhūtam na bhavishyati priyaguṇāgāram jagatyām tatō
bhūmīpālanabhāgyabhâjanachaṇam vastu dvitīyam dhruvam ॥

Priyē priyatarā kāntā mātā vātsalyaviśrutā ।
n=ōtpatsyatē 'parā rājñyā rāshṭrē kāshthānta-vistṛitē ॥

Yasyai rājasavritty=ēyam vasudhā na sukham dadau ।
dēyāt tasyai sadā śāntalōkādhishthānam avyayah ।

H. KRISHNA SASTRI.

Ootacamund, 23rd February 1904.

THE ORIGIN OF THE EDIBLE LOCUST.

(Tailing Folklore)

BY B. ROYDU, MAHARAJA.

THE tutelary god of herds and flocks among the aboriginal Tailings is called **Mallanna.** He is a tribal god, but the long legend about him appears to be an allegory on the pastoral and agricultural conditions of the people. In this legend Mallanna tends and rears herds and flocks, while his elder brothers become agriculturists and live by tilling the land. He is a princely hero, but a bachelor and very virtuous. Of both heroic and priestly descent, he nevertheless supplies the dairy produce of the world. His elder brothers are married, and his sisters-in-law dislike him, and, desiring to banish him from the family, they drug him and have designs against his life He, however, sticks to the family, because he is treated with great affection by his younger sisters, who are virgins

At last, Mallanna's sisters-in-law stir their husbands against him, until one day, while his brothers are ploughing in the fields and he is tending cattle close by, a quarrel arises and he is assaulted and banished by his brothers. He then proceeds to the woods in which he subsequently lives for many days, wandering far and wide, remote and friendless.

After his banishment, his sisters-in-law arrive in the fields with food for their husbands, and his younger sisters bring rice and milk for him, but find him absent. Learning what had taken place and that he had betaken himself to woods, the younger girls also proceed in the same direction in search for him. Filled with grief and great sorrow, they give way to loud lamentations, call for him, and search everywhere in the woods, but cannot find him. At last, when they are exhausted by continuous lamentations and are overcome with fatigue, they, in utter despair, pray to the gods, and in their brother's name empty their vessels of rice and milk into ant-hills and other holes in the earth. Then, full of grief and sorrow, they return home. The holy rice and milk thus buried becomes animated in the womb of the earth, and, being transformed into the beautiful locusts called *usurl*, which are edible both by man and beast, flew up into the sky.

KASHGAR AND THE KHAROSHTHI.

BY O. FRANKE AND R. PISCHEL.

PART I.

Translated, with the permission of the authors and under revision by them, from the "Proceedings of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Prussia," 5th February, 1903, pp. 184 to 196, by CHRISTIAN A. CAMERON.

1. — The Chinese sources.

By O. Franke.

SYLVAIN LÉVI lately stated, in an essay on the Indian writing running from right to left,[1] that Kharoshṭrī, not Kharoshthī, is its name, and that it means the writing of Kashgar. The commentary (Yin yi) to the new translation of the Avatamsaka-Sūtra (Sin yi Ta fang kuang Fo hua yen king),[2] composed by Hui yuan during the T'ang Dynasty (not earlier than the 8th century A. D.), contains an explanation of the name *Shu-* or *Su-lê* to the following effect "The correct form of the name *Su-lê* is *K'ia-lu-shu-tan-lê*. For long this country has been called by the abbreviated form *Shu-lê*, and it has become customary to substitute another character for the sound *shu*. *Shu-lê* is the name of a mountain of this kingdom, whence it is derived. It is said also to mean 'evil nature' and to refer to the disposition of the natives." *K'ia (K'a)-lu-shu-ta(n)-lê* answers exactly to the Sanskrit word *Kharoshtra*, and as *Shu-lê*, the contraction for it (such contractions are very frequent in Chinese), is an old name for Kashgar, Lévi concludes that "Kharoshtra means the country of Kashgar, and that the Kharoshtrī is most probably the writing of Kashgar." The gloss from which he draws this conclusion is repeated word for word in Ch'an kuan's commentary to the Sūtra mentioned (Bunyiu Nanjio, No. 1589), and also in a compilation by Hui lin, a native of Kashgar, and in the continuation of this work by Hi lin. All these writings belong to the T'ang Dynasty. Buhler's theory that the Kharoshthī was confined to the small district of the older Gandhāra in the north-west of India was confuted already by the discovery of the Kharoshthī manuscripts of the Dhammapada at Khotan, and by Stein's discovery of numerous documents [185] in similar writing, on wood and leather, in places of worship on the Niya River. Now Lévi's discovery would prove not only that the Kharoshthī was the writing of Central Asia,[3] as he says, but that it even originated in Kashgar, and took its name from that town.

Let us now consider what other Chinese sources have to say about the Kharoshthī. In accordance with the Lalitavistara, the Buddhist Encyclopaedia Fa yuan chu lin, an original work completed in 668, mentions, as Terrien de Lacouperie already has shown,[4] 64 systems of writing, of which the first is the Brāhmī, the second the *K'(i)a-lu-sê-t'o* ; on the latter name a gloss remarks that it "means in Chinese ass-lip,"[5] that is, *Kharoshṭha* in Sanskrit. The same work, in describing the different systems of writing, remarks, "The art of writing was discovered by three divine masters · the most famous is *Brahman*, whose writing reads from left to right, the next is *K'(i)a-lu* (abbreviated from *K'(i)a-lu-sê-t'o = Kharoshtha*), whose writing reads from right to left; the least important is *T'sang-kie*, whose writing reads downwards. Brahman and Kharoshtha lived in India, T'sang-kie in China. Brahman and Kharoshtha got their systems from heaven, T'sang-kie constructed his from the footprints of birds, etc."[6] Similarly the Buddhist glossary, Fan yi ming yi tsi, compiled in the 12th century, says, under *K'(i)a-lu-sê-t'o*: "This means in Chinese 'Ass-lip,' it is the name of a great Rishi (Kharoshtha)." In another work on Buddhist technology, Fa kie ngan li t'u, compiled in 1607, the article on Sanskrit contains the remark that "There are 64 systems of writing in the world, the first is the *Brāhmī*, the second the *Kharoshthī*" (*K'ia-lou-shu*).[7]

[1] *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, Vol II. pp. 246 *sqq* — [For a translation of this article of M Sylvain Lévi, see Vol XXXIII above, 1904, p. 79 ff — EDITOR.]

[2] Bunyiu Nanjio, *Catalogue*, Nrs. 87 and 88.

[3] *Indische Palaeographie*, § 7.

[4] *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, Vol. I p 59.

[5] Fa yuan chu lin, chap. 9, fol. 29 r°.

[6] L c. fol 30 v°.

[7] Fa kie ngan li t'u, chap. I. 1, 7, fol. 12 r°.

If Hui yuan's information as to Kashgar were based on fact, we should of course have to renounce this tradition of the Ṛishi Kharoshtha who invented in India an alphabet secondary in importance only to the Brāhmī. Certainly, if the history of speech were to receive [186] something more reliable in its place, the loss would not be great, but Hui yuan and his followers make still stronger demands on our credulity. According to them, the best Chinese histories, dictionaries, geographical descriptions, &c., would have been guilty of an act of unexampled carelessness, so far as Kashgar and its history are concerned. Not one of them, earlier or later than the commentary on the Avataṁsaka-Sūtra, makes the slightest mention of the abbreviation of the name *Shu-lê* from K'ia-lu-*shu*-tan-*lê*.

That *Su-lê* is identical with the district of Kashgar of the present day we should learn, if we did not know it already, directly from the *History of the warlike expeditions of the ruling dynasty,* which says: "Kashgar is the old *Su-lê*, a country in Turkestan existing already at the time of the Han and T'ang Dynasties."[8] The Annals of the Former Han Dynasty (206 B. C. to 23 A. D.) first mention the name; they say: "The Prince of *Su-lê* resides in the town *Su-lê*."[9] We find in the Annals of the Later Han Dynasty (25 B. C. to 220 A. D.) a fairly detailed description of the state of *Su-lê* and of its contests with other Central Asiatic kingdoms.[10] The later chronicles partly give little more information than that embassies came from *Su-lê* to China to pay tribute. The T'ang Annals (618-905 A. D.), which contain a longer description of the country and its inhabitants, say. "*Su-lê* is also called *K'a-sha*," and · "The Prince (of *Su-lê*) bears the name *P'ei-shih* (?) and the surname *A-mo-chih*, he resides in the town *K'a-shih*."[11] These two names plainly point to the Kashgar of to-day.[12] All the information on the subject is summarised by the Pien yi tien in its treatise on *Su-lê*.[13] In the heading of this latter, still another name is given for Kashgar, namely, [187] *Shi-li-ki-li-to-ti*, which Stanislas Julien renders by *Srīkrītati*. Hüan-tsang's Si yü ki, according to the French translation, remarks with regard to the name *K'a-sha* that the kingdom formerly bore the name *Su-lê*, and that this was the name of the capital, but that the correct form was *Shu-li-ki-li-to-ti*, — *Sulê* being a corruption.[14] The same striking remark is repeated, on the authority of the Si yu ki, by the Fan yi ming yi tsi.[15] The great dictionary Pei wên yün fu also gives the name *Su-lê*, adding some other sources of information.[16]

The works which we have mentioned are standard works on antiquarian matters in Chinese literature. Would it not be incredible, under these circumstances, that not one of them should make any mention of the important and interesting derivation of the name *Su-lê* from *Kharoshṭra*, and that all, without exception, should be silent as to the fact that *Su-lê* was the name of a mountain, and that another character had been substituted for the sound *shu*? I cannot bring myself to put the authority of the Buddhist commentator before that of the other works, and as long as his statements are unsupported by further proofs, I cannot avoid the suspicion that his etymology is nothing but the outcome of his imagination. The assertions of Hui yuan must certainly have been known to the learned authors of the Fan yi ming yi tsi, the Pien yi tien and the Pei wên yün fu, but the fact of their not even mentioning them shows what value they attributed to them.

As to the meaning of the word *Su-lê*, for which, with the older pronunciation, we may perhaps have to read *Sulek* or *Surak*,[17] the Chinese sources give no information. We have similarly sounding old tribal names from Central Asia, as *K'u-le* (*Korek?*),[18] *Sha-lê* (*Sorak?*),[19] *Ch'ih-lê*

[8] Shêng wu ki, chap. 4, fol. 19 r°.

[9] T'sien Han shu, chap. 96 *a*, fol. 20 r°.

[10] Hou Han shu, chap. 77, fol 3 v° *sqq.*; chap 118, fol. 16 v° *sqq. et al.*

[11] T'ang shu, chap. 221 *a*, fol 22 r°.

[12] "gar" according to St. Julien (*Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales*, Vol II p 427 note) is a termination meaning 'town,' to many names of places in the dialects of Northern India

[13] Pien yi tien, chap. 56, Shu-lê pu.

[14] *Mémoires*, &c, Vol. II p. 219, note 2.

[15] Fan yi ming yi tsi, chap. 7, fol. 15 r°.

[16] Pei wên yun fu, chap. 102 *b*, fol. 32 r°.

[17] In Tibetan the name is pronounced *Shulik* See Wassiljew, *Buddhism*, p. 55 of the German translation; Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha* (London, 1884), p. 240, note 1.

[18] Pien yi tien, chap. 57.

[19] L. c., chap. 67, K'o-p'an-t'o pu, fol. 1 v°.

(*Tchirek ?*), *T'ie-lê* (*Terek ?*),[20] which may be of Turk-Uigur origin. The traveller Huan tsang, as noted above, remarks that the name *Su-lê* is corrupted, and that *Srikritati* [188] is the correct form. Perhaps a Sanskritist could give us some information about this word

Prof. Lévi's conclusion that the Kharoshthī writing had been the writing of Central Asia, can, in my opinion, no more be considered as borne out by facts. I cannot add much of any importance to the question, but I shall at least bring together what I have learned from the Chinese sources accessible to me. According to them, it is very doubtful if we are entitled at all to speak of *one* writing of Central Asia. The Fan yi ming yi tsi says under *K'a-lu-sê-t'o* (*Kharoshtha*) : "It is also written in the abbreviated form *K'a-lou*. It is the writing of the dwellers in the North border districts." Regarded from an Indian standpoint, this would lead us to the outskirts on the Hindu Kush, and to the fringes of the Karakorum and Kunlun Mountains, in other words, to the border-districts of Eastern Turkestan Whether, like the Brāhmī, the Kharoshṭhī originally by means of the Buddhist writings got into some of the old states on the borders of the great desert, or whether the native tradition, that the district of Khotan was early seized and colonized by immigrants from the North-West Pañjāb, is true, may remain, for the present, an open question. Stein, considering the fact that most of the Kharoshthī documents excavated by him were written in an Indian language, and had no religious character, inclines to the latter belief.[21] Before the question can be solved, a translation of the works already found, and of any others that may be discovered, will be required, besides a thorough search in the Chinese sources It will also be difficult to decide whether the Kharoshthī was used in *Shu-lê* first and in its oldest form, as the fantastic etymology of Hui yuan might lead us to believe. Other and stronger proofs are necessary for this also. Still it is surprising that the peculiar writing of *Su-lê* is several times specially mentioned. In the older T'ang Annals, we find: "They (the inhabitants of *Su-lê*) have the manner of writing of the *Hu*"[22] (We shall have to investigate the expression *Hu* presently.) No such remark is made with regard to the other states of Turkestan. Huan tsang describes the writing of *Su-lê* as follows : — [189] "They (the inhabitants) have borrowed their letters from India. Though they have adapted and changed them, their general form and appearance has remained the same ; their speech and pronunciation however are different from those of all other states."[23] At first sight, this description by the Chinese pilgrim would certainly answer to the Central Asiatic Brāhmī writing better than to the Kharoshthī with its rounded forms, but the impression changes when one compares this passage with others by Huan tsang. In his notes on the districts in the North-West of India about the Karakoram Mountains and the West and South borders of the Tarim basin, he speaks principally of the writing of three states with which that of the others had been more or less identical. These are, the writing of Tukhāra (*Tu-ho-lo*, Tokharestan), of *Su-lê* and of Kustana or Khotan (*Kiu-sa-tan-na*). The first he describes as follows : "The language differs now and then from that of the other states. The alphabet consists of 25 letters, which are combined with each other so that they can be used for all purposes (of expression). Their books are written in diagonal lines, *which run from left to right.*"[24] So here, in the West of Kashgar, at any rate, the domain of the Kharoshthī had ended. On the other hand he says of the writing of Khotan : "The letters follow the manner and arrangement of the Indian writing. Their form and appearance have been slightly changed, but the original has been followed on a whole. The speech, however, is different from that of all the other states."[25] This description seems to suit the Brāhmī writing better still than that of the writing of *Su-lê*. Now Dr. Stein has found Brāhmī manuscripts at Dandan-Uiliq (north-east of Khotan) and at Endere (east of the Niya River), but at the latter place only one, the rest being Kharoshthī documents ; in Yotkan

[20] See Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, p. 265 *sqq.*

[21] *Preliminary Report on a Journey of Archæological and Topographical Exploration in Chinese Turkestan*, p. 51 *sq.*

[22] Kiu T'ang shu, chap. 198, fol. 17 v°.

[23] Si yü ki in Pien yi tien Shu-lê pu, fol. 6 r°. Marco Polo also reports of Kashgar that the inhabitants of this country had a remarkable language (Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Vol. I. p. 169).

[24] L. c. Tu-hu-lo pu, fol. 2 v°.

[25] L. c Yu-tien pu, I. fol. 6 v°.

(west of Khotan) coins with Kharoshthī writing were discovered.[26] From this one would judge, that both styles of writing were in use in the districts of Khotan, and, as it would seem, at the same time.[27] As to whether this holds good also for Kashgar, and whether the two systems perhaps served different purposes, nothing can be decided as yet.

It is a strange coincidence that south-south-west of Kashgar, between the high mountain-chains of the Pamir, there is a country which Huan tsang calls *Kie-p an-t'o*, a name that St. Julien renders be *Kharanda* (?)[28] Of this country, the Chinese pilgrim says "Its writing and its speech resemble as a whole that of the country of *K'a-sha*" (Kashgar),[29] but the great historical work T'ung tien by Tu yeu remarks of this country that it has "also the names *Han-t'o* and *K'o-lo-t'o*.[30] This last designation would be the exact translation of the Prakrit form *Kharōttha, i.e.* Sanskrit *Kharoshṭha*. In agreement with this the T'ang Annals remark, in their description of *Su-lê* : *K'o-p'an-t'o* or *Han-t'o* or *K'o-kuan-t'an* (which would answer to a form *Khavandha*) or *K'o-lo-t'o* lies south-west of *Su-lê*.[31] The T'ung tien continues in its description · "The country lies between the mountain chains of the *Ts'ung-ling* . . . it is bounded on the west by *Hu-mi* (Matotch ?),[32] on the south the boundary is not fixed, on the north it extends to the borders of *Su-lê*, on the north-west to *P'an-han* (?). Its princes come from *Su-lê* and have resided there for generations. The dress, appearance and speech of the inhabitants of this country are similar to those of Khotan, yet there are many differences. Their writing resembles that of the Brahmans "[33] This indeed would seem to be a country which bore the name Kharōttha or Kharoshtha and whose writing bore a marked resemblance to that of Kashgar and Khotan. The remark of the Chinese author "that the writing resembles that of the Brahmans" means nothing else than that it had the appearance of an Indian writing. St. Julien, in his extract from the Sin kiang chih lio (Hydrography of the New Frontier), identifies *Kie-p'an-t'o* or *Ko-phan-tho* with "Selekour or Serlek," *i.e.* Sarikol.[34] Yule has accepted this identification[35] and Stein found it confirmed by his observations in Tashkurgan.[36]

[191] The matter is not simplified by the fact that in the list of the 64 systems of writing in the Fa yuan chu lin, the 23rd sounds *A-sha*, and that under it the explanatory note (each system has such an explanation) "*Su-lê*" is put, the system following being called "Writing of the country *Chihna* (China)."[37] As Prof. Pischel shows below, in the Sanskrit text of the Lalitavistara, *Khāsya* or *Khāshyalipi* stands before *Cīna* as the 20th system. *A-sha* in Chinese would seem to be a very inaccurate rendering for this; no other equivalent, however, comes into consideration Whether, considering this Chinese note together with the old form *K'a-sha* or *K'a-shih*, the term *Khāshyalipi* will have to be taken as "writing of Kashgar," Prof. Pischel will also discuss below.

Finally, as regards "the writing of the *Hu*," of which the T'ang Annals speak with reference to Kashgar, we learn very little from this Chinese statement. By *Hu*, the Chinese historians denote all the people of middle and western Asia, the Indians often being included Wylie regards it as probable, that, by "Writing of the *Hu*," the Uigur alphabet is meant,[38] his authority for this belief being a statement in the Wên hien t'ung k'ao. His opinion is confirmed by the continuation of this work, Sü wên hien t'ung k'ao, which, in a list belonging to the 9th century, of 56 different systems of writing to be found in use in the Chinese empire, puts the *Hu* writing apart beside the Sanskrit alphabet, that is, as either of the Brāhmī or Nāgarī Nevertheless, this distinction is by no means to be relied upon, especially if the chronicler is an orthodox Confucian, who would only designate "the Barbarians" by some collective term. This is shown, *e. g*, by a passage in the Fa kie ngan li t'u, the

[26] *Preliminary Report*, pp 30, 37, 52 and 55.

[27] L. c p. 52

[28] *Mémoires*, Vol. II pp 209 *sq*

[29] L c. K'o-pan-t'o pu, fol 2 v°

[30] In Pien yi tien, l. c, fol. 1 v°.

[31] T'ang shu, chap. 227, fol. 22 v°.

[32] *Memoires*, Vol II. p. 425

[33] T'ung tien, l c, fol. 2 r°.

[34] *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, N S, Vol III. (1846), p. 47.

[35] [illegible] Vol. I p. cxlix., note 5.

[36] L c p. 11.

[37] [illegible] v°

[38] *Chinese Researches*, p. 255.

statements of which are, from other reasons also, not without value to us. The author, a believing Buddhist, pictures to himself the countries of the world lying round the *T sung-ling* (perhaps the Pamir) as the centre. The countries, Tukhāra, Persia, &c., form the Western part of this picture, while to the East "are the districts west of the Gobi, inhabited by the *Hu* and the Tibetans." India forms the South. "One must not," he concludes, "regard the country of the Brahmas as a *Hu*-land, and so produce error. It is a great mistake to denote India by *Hu*. It is also quite wrong to speak of *Hu*-Sūtras and a *Hu*-language ; it should be Sanskrit-Sūtras and [192] Sanskrit-language."[39] It is, therefore, from the quoted statement of the older T'ang Annals, not to be seen, whether the Uigur writing or some other is meant. They also leave it doubtful, if, by the *Hu* living in the districts with which we are concerned, Uigur people are meant. In the 10th century the Chinese name *Hu-lu-tsi* is used for the Uigurs.[40] The question as to which language was most popular in East Turkestan, at that time, when Buddhism flourished, that is, from the 2nd century A. D., whether it was Uigur or another Turkish tongue, is not easily decided, for the history of the West-Uigurs who, at that time, probably were dominant as far as the Western border of the Gobi, is very little known.[41] Perhaps the translation of the manuscripts found by Dr. Stein[42] at Dandan Uiliq (North East of Khotan) and at Endere, in Brāhmī writing, though not in an Indian language, will afford some light. At any rate, from what has been said it may be taken for granted that the Kharoshthī (perhaps in several variations) and the Brāhmī writing were at the same time in general use in the Buddhist monasteries. Whether they were the only two systems of writing, or, whether, later perhaps, the Uigur, which, as Klaproth surmises,[43] was introduced by Syrian Nestorians, existed along with them, must remain an open question.

2.—The Indian Sources.

By R. Pischel.

[192] The name Kharoshthī occurs in Sanskrit only once: Lalitavistara, p. 143, 17, ed. Rājendralāla Mitra, = p. 125, 19, ed. Lefmann. Lefmann writes there *Brāhmī-Kharoshṭī-Pushkarasāriṁ*, Rājendralāla Mitra has it more correctly *Brāhmīm Kharoshṭīm Pushkarasāriṁ*. Lefmann informs me that his manuscripts have *Kharoshṭīṁ*, *Khaloshṭī°* and *Karottī°*, but not *°shṭrī.°* In the translation, p. 182, Rājendralāla Mitra also writes *Kharoshṭí*, and Foucaux, *Annales du Museé Guimet*, tome VI. p. 114, translates "l'écriture de *Kharôchta*" The Pāli original of this passage, unfortunately, has not yet been found. In Pāli the word would sound *Kharōṭṭhī* as in [193] the Ardhamāgadhī in the Samavāyaṅgasutta, p. 55, and the Pannavanā, p. 62, where the manuscripts have *Kharōṭṭhī* and *Kharōṭṭiyā* (Weber, *Indische Studien*, Bd. XVI. p. 399 ; *Verzeichnis der Sanskrit- und Prākṛit-Handschriften der Koniglichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, II. ii. 405, 563). Abhayadeva in the Samavāyaṅga, p. 55, declares that he has nothing to say as to the 18 varieties of the Brāhmī lipi, as he has found nothing about them (*etatsvarūpaṁ na dṛishtam iti na darśitam*) ; and Malayagiri in the Paṇṇavaṇā, p. 61, says that one must learn the alphabets from tradition, if one wishes to know them (*sampradāyād avaseyāh*). It is therefore obvious that the commentators knew nothing about them. Nānakachandra in his Sanskrit translation of the Paṇṇavaṇā, p. 64, repeats the incorrect reading of the text *Kharuṭṭī*. The Pāli *Kharōṭṭhī* might be transliterated *Kharoshṭhī* quite as well as *Kharoshṭrī*. The latter was undoubtedly more natural to the mind of the Indian, as the combination *kharoshṭra* is formulatory. For example we have, Matsyapurāṇa, 240, 24, *kharoshṭrabahulo rājā*, 242, 5, *varāharkshakharoshṭrāṇām* ; Agnipurāṇa, 228, 5, *varāhāśvakharoshṭrāṇām* ; Brahmavaivarttapurāna, 82, 4, *kharoshṭramahishārūḍha* ; 82, 15, *kharoshṭrasaṁyukta* ; Ashṭāṅgasaṁgraha, ii. 12, p. 251, *kharoshṭramahishavāhanaḥ* ; p. 253, *kharoshṭramahishavarāhānyatamena* ; Svapnādhyāya, 25 (Chambers' MS. 608), *kharoshṭramahishaiḥ* ; Bhāratīyanātyaśāstra, xxvi. 14, *kharoshṭrāśvānanāh* ;

[39] Fa kie ngan li t'u, chap. I. 1, fol 8 r°.
[40] Klaproth, *Über die Sprache und Schrift der Uiguren*, p. 49.
[41] Bretschneider, *Mediæval Researches*, Vol. I. pp. 236 and 251.
[42] *Preliminary Report*, pp. 39 and 55.
[43] Klaproth, p. 58.

Manu, ed. Jolly, iv. 115, *śvakharoshtre*, xi. 155, *vidrai ākhakhai oshṭrāṇām*; 12, 55, *śvasūkarakharoshṭrāṇām*, Yājñavalkya, ii. 160, *kharoshṭram*, Vishṇusmṛiti, li. 26, *kharoshṭrākhākamāṁsāśane*; Indische Sprüche,[2] 2043, *kharoshṭramahishavyāghrāṇ*, &c. Among the Dvandva compounds *ushṭrakharam* is given (Gaṇa on Pāṇini, II. iv. 11 ; Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, II. 130). In Pāli *ōṭṭha* is equivalent to *oshṭha* as well as *ushṭra*. If therefore *Kharoshṭra* had been the name for Kashgar, as Lévi says, p. 249, it could scarcely have meant anything else but "the land of the asses and camels," and it would be very strange if, in the translation of *Kharōṭṭha* into Sanskṛit, *oshṭha* rather than *ushṭra* had been thought of. But no manuscript of the Lalitavistara gives *Kharoshṭrīm*. The Prākrit is also opposed to Lévi's opinion. The Prākrit grammarians teach that *ushṭra* becomes *uṭṭa*; only Mārkaṇḍeya gives *uṭṭha* also. From the Ardhamāgadhī I have brought forward many examples for *uṭṭa* = *uṣṭra*, *uṭṭiya* = *aushṭrika*, *uṭṭiyā* = *ushṭrikā* (Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen, § 304). If therefore the name of the writing had been *Kharoshṭrī*, one would expect to find *Kharōṭṭī* and *Kharōṭṭiyā* in the Ardhamāgadhī. But the best manuscripts have °*ṭṭhī* and °*ṭṭhiyā*.

To these linguistic remarks others of a more positive nature are to be added. In the Lalitavistara, the enumeration of the scripts begins with *Brāhmī Kharoshṭhī Pushkarasārī*. The first then is attributed to Brahman, the third to Paushkarasādi. A Paushkarasādi is mentioned in the Taittirīyaprātiśākhya, v. 37, 38 ; xiii. 16 ; xiv. 2 ; xvii. 6 ; in the Commentary on v. 40 ; xiv. 3, [194] and in a Vārttika of Kātyāyana in the Mahābhāshya, iii. 465, and Patañjali calls him āchārya. It is uncertain whether he was particularly a grammarian, as Kielhorn points out (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVI. p. 103 f). There is no doubt, however, that he occupied himself with phonetic questions, from which he might easily pass to the history of writing. He is certainly an old author. A teacher of law, Pushkarasādi, is mentioned by Āpastamba, Dharmasūtra, I. 6, 19, 7, and I. 10, 28, 1, by Hiraṇyakeśin, Gṛihyasūtra, I. 6, 8 (l. *Paushkara*°), and in the Pāli Canon a Brahman Pōkkharasāti comes into notice several times (E. Muller, *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1888, p. 57). Now it seems to me almost impossible that the writing of Kashgar should have been placed between Brahman and Paushkarasādi. This position is rather in favour of the distinct statement of all old Chinese authors,[44] that Kharoshṭha, "ass-lip," was the name of a great saint. Also, in the Jaina enumeration, Kharōṭṭhī and Pukkharasāriyā stand together, though between Bambhī and Kharōṭṭhī are Javaṇāliyā and Dāsāpuriyā or Dāsāūriyā. It is impossible to make out the correct meaning of these two names. It is natural to trace Dāsāpuriyā to Daśapura, so that here indeed the name of a place would stand between names of persons. However, the reading, Dāsāūriyā with *ū*, which is confirmed by very good MSS., makes the derivation from *daśapura*, *daśapūra*, a kind of grass, much more probable ; all the more so because *yavanāla* is also the name of a grass. The writing may have been named so from the form of the letters. At any rate, it is noticeable that, here too, Kharōṭṭhī stands immediately before Pukkharasāriyā.

Analogies to the proper name Kharoshṭha are found in numerous mythical proper names, such as Kharakaṇṭha, Kharakarṇī, &c., and in such names of persons as, Kharanāda, Kharanādin, Kharapa, Kharījaṅgha, Gardabhīmukha, Gardabhīvipīta, Rāsabhasena. The name may be Indian, and the Chinese statement that Kharoshṭha lived in India is in itself not incredible. Perhaps we might even determine more definitely the district to which he belonged. In the dialectical form Kharaosta, the name is found in the inscriptions on the lion-capital of Mathurā (*J.R.A.S.* 1894, pp. 533, 536 ; compare 594 f.). Now *sta* appears for *shṭa*, *shṭha*, in the dialect of the Kharoshṭhī versions of the Aśoka Edicts of Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra (Bühler, *Z.D.M.G.* Bd. XLII. p. 130 f., 274 ; Johansson, *Der Dialekt der sogenannten Shāhbāzgarhi-Redaktion*, II. 17). It is also found in Kharamosta on Scythian coins (Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 9, 20). Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra lie in the extreme north-west of India, and the Iranian [195] change of *sva* into *spa* which occurs in both (Bühler, *ut sup.* p. 146, 276 ; Johansson, *ut sup.* II. 5) shows that Iranian influence was already prevalent there. But the name Kharaosta cannot be regarded as Iranian. Certainly *khara* is found

[44] Compare also Weber, *Indische Studien*, Bd. XXVI. p 400, note 1.

in all Iranian dialects, but *oshṭha* only under the form *aoshtra*, which is given in Jamaspji-Haug, *An Old Zand-Pahlavi Glossary*, p. 8, and should probably be read *aoshta*. Elsewhere in Iranian, *lap, lav, lov* and similar forms are used for "*lip*" (Gray, *Indo-Iranian Phonology*, § 358), while in Indian dialects *oshṭha* prevails (Gray, *ut sup.* § 458, 835), which is also found in Bashgalī under the form of *yūsht* (Davidson, *Notes on the Bashgalī* (Kâfir) *Language* (Calcutta, 1902), p. 107, No. 809). The *sta* in Kharaosta however points to the districts where the writing from right to left, in which also the Avesta is written, is common, and here its inventor must have lived. Kharoshṭha is thus Sanskrit for Kharaosta, and the Chinese tradition proves correct.

As Franke has shown above, the T'ang Annals state that *Su-lê, i. e.* Kashgar, is also called K'a-sha. Now we find in the enumeration of the forms of writing in the Lalitavistara a *Khāsyalipi* or, as Lefmann has it, *Khāshyalipi. Khoshya*° and *Khasya*° are *variæ lectiones*. We have successively *Daradalipi, Khāshyalipi, Chīnalipi*, and, in similar order, the Jainas have under the Mlecchas, *Chīna, Lhāsiya, Khasa, Khāsiya* (*Indische Studien*, Bd. XVI. pp. 332, 397 ; *Verzeichnis*, II. ii. 510). Not only the name *Khāshyalipi*, but the order, which is strictly geographical, makes it probable that the writing of Kashgar is meant. In the Lalitavistara also, immediately after *Brāhmī, Kharoshṭī, Pushkarasārī*, come the writings of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Magadha. Not only are these peoples constantly connected in Sanskrit literature (Bohtlingk-Roth, s.vv.), but the Jainas too place them at the top of the Khĕttāriyā (*Indische Studien*, Bd. XVI. p. 397 , *Verzeichnis*, II. ii. 562) because geographically they are neighbours. If the Kharoshthī had been the writing of Kashgar, we should have expected to find it between Daradalipi and Chīnalipi. But Khāshyalipi, which both by its name and by the Chinese tradition is proved to be the writing of Kashgar, stands there. Compared with this, what Ktesias tells us of the Καλύστριοι need not be taken into consideration. The description of this people is such, that, even if the mythical stories are set aside, no one would credit them with the use of a written language.

Since the brilliant discoveries of Stein, of which he has given an account in his *Preliminary Report on a Journey of Archæological and Topographical Exploration in Chinese Turkistan* (London [1906] 1901), the Kharoshṭhī has become of the utmost importance to Sanskritists. As the collections brought back by Dr. Stein are of great extent and the materials are of a very difficult nature, it will require much time and the combined efforts of many scholars to classify and decipher them successfully. Above all it is to be hoped that the Indian Government will afford Dr. Stein himself leisure to draw the results of his investigations and collections ; a great service would be done thereby to learning.

(To be concluded.)

THE MODI CHARACTER.

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IN the **Gwalior** *Census Report* for 1902, it is said (para. 17) that, among the written characters used for the languages of that State, a "**totally distinct character called Mori**" is used for hand-writing, which corresponds to the Shikasta of Persian. Mr. Bains, the author of the *Census Report*, 1891, thought that Mori was a British soldier's version of Moors, the old 17th and 18th Century Anglo-Indian name for Persian cursive writing. The correct orthography of the word is, however, **Môḍî**, derived from *môḍ*, which means "modification" or "manipulation." Môṛî is a foreigner's pronunciation of Môḍî, like *ghôṛâ* for *ghôḍâ* (horse), *gâṛî*

for *gâdî* (carriage), *jhâṛ* for *jhâd* (tree), and so on. **The Môdî Character is a modification of the Bâlbôdh,** which is substantially Dêvanâgarî.

During the Marâthâ supremacy, the Môdî Character was **introduced by Bâlâjî Avajî,** Chitnîs or Secretary of State to Sivâjî, whose method of modifying the current or orthographic Bâlbôdh was to introduce **changes, based apparently on the Persian script,** and to fasten them **on to forms taken from the Telugu Character** (*vide* Table). Bâlâjî Avajî's ancestors had accompanied the historically well-known pirates Siddhî brothers of Janjirâ on the West Coast to Delhi, where Persian was the Court language, and in this they were well versed. When, therefore, Sivâjî introduced Mârâthî as his Court Language, and Bâlâjî, as his Secretary of State, found it too slow a process to write in the Bâlbôdh character, as each letter had to be headed with a fresh hyphen-like head-line, he cast about for a more quickly-written cursive script and invented Môḍî on the lines above described. This was **known as Chitnîsî Valan,** *valan* meaning "shaping."

In similar circumstances, when the Pêshwâs of Poona usurped the power of the Sâtârâ Rulers, they desired everything to be after their own fashion, and introduced a new *valan*, called the **Bivalkarî,** after a man who slightly changed the shape of Bâlâji's letters by giving them a more rounded form. **All over the Mahârâshttra, both the Chitnîsî Valan and the Bivalkarî Valan are well known.** In the schools the sample copper-plate is called *kittâ*, and the school-boys adopt the **Chitnîsî Kittâ** or the **Bivâlkarî Kittâ** at will.

The modern Poona or Pêshwâ Brâhmans, with their usual keenness for prestige, have invented a purely mythical tradition that the Môḍî Character was brought to India by Hêmâdpant, who went to Laṅkâ with Râvaṇa in his turban along with the *nirmâl* or flowers from the Liṅgam of Siva. This is because every temple of ancient uncemented stone construction is popularly called Hêmâḍpantî, and so anything immemorial, or for which no historical account is at once forthcoming, must also be called Hêmâḍpantî, until the term has become one of reproach in the sense of gibberish or unknown.

I have, through my friends, made every possible search for MSS. in the Môḍî Character anterior to Sivâjî's time, but without success, while Bâlbôdh MSS. before his period are quite obtainable.

Sivâjî could neither read nor write and dictated his orders to Bâlâjî, who always carried a *kalamdân* (pen and ink box) tied to his waist, and had to take down the instructions in haste. This was the origin of the introduction of his cursive form of writing. A story in illustration of its value is told in the Mârâthî histories, where it is said that on a certain occasion Sivâjî gave instructions to his Secretary to write a very important and long *kharîta* or order, but Bâlâjî had no time to write it down, as he had been in constant attendance on his master all the day. That night Sivâjî asked him if the draft was ready, and, in order to avoid being blamed for neglect, Bâlâjî answered in the affirmative. He was asked to read the draft, and being an accomplished courtier he began reading from a paper that was supposed to contain the draft. Sivâjî approved of it and gave orders to have it copied on the Auraṅgâbâd paper generally used for fair copies, but his *mashâl*, or torch-bearer, smiled. This act was considered discourteous in Native Courts, and an explanation was demanded. The poor man hesitated, but was at last obliged to confess that Bâlâjî read the long *kharîta* from a blank paper. In the meantime, however, Bâlâjî had quickly written out the fair copy, and Sivâjî demanded that it should be read to him again and was surprised to find that it was a verbatim reproduction of what had been read to him before from the blank paper. He was satisfied as to the accurate and sharp memory of his Secretary and expressed his satisfaction. The Môḍî Character has, therefore, nothing to do with Moors. except in so far that some of the modifications are apparently taken from the Persian form of the Semitic Alphabet.

TABLE.

Comparative Modifications of the Modi Character.

Bâlbôdh. (Head-lines to Characters separately.)	*Môdî.* (Single head-line to all the Characters.)	*Bâlbôdh.* (Head-lines to Characters separately.)	*Môdî.* (Single head-line to all the Characters.)
क	𑘎	ध	𑘠[6]
ख	𑘏	न	𑘡
ग	𑘐[1]	प	𑘢
घ	𑘑[2]	फ	𑘣
ङ	𑘒[3]	ब	𑘤
च	𑘓 or 𑘓	भ	𑘥
छ	𑘔	म	𑘦
ज	𑘕	य	𑘧[7]
झ	𑘖	र	𑘨
ञ	𑘗	ल	𑘩
ट	𑘘	व	𑘪
ठ	𑘙	श	𑘫
ड	𑘚 or 𑘚	ष	𑘬
ढ	𑘛[4]	स	𑘭
ण	𑘜	ह	𑘮[8]
त	𑘝 or 𑘝	ळ	𑘯 or 𑘯[9]
थ	𑘞[5]	क्ष	𑘎𑘿𑘬
द	𑘟	ज्ञ	𑘕𑘿𑘗

The chief merit of the Môdî Character consists in the addition of **vowel signs**, thus:—

Bâlbôdh.

अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ
a	ā	i	ī	u	ū

क	का	कि	की	कु	कू
K	Kā	Ki	Kī	Ku	Kū

Môdî.

𑘀 𑘁 𑘂 𑘃 𑘄 𑘅

(There is no distinction between long and short *i* and *u*.)

𑘎 𑘎𑘰 𑘎𑘱 𑘎𑘲 𑘎𑘳 𑘎𑘴

(The whole line could be written without lifting the pen for the addition of the 𑘱 or 𑘲.)

[1] No change. [2] No change. [3] Change in the angular shape ङ to 𑘒.

[4] Angular. [5] Note 𑘏 *supra*, the change is in the position of the loop.

[6] The loop is from left to right, and not from right to left as in 𑘏. [7] Mark the loop.

[8] Note 𑘟 and 𑘮 (d and h); the difference is in the rounding of the right-hand upper corner in the first.

[9] Interchangeable with 𑘩 above.

Bâlbôdh.						Môḍî.
ख Kha	खा Khā	खि Khi	खी Khī	खु Khu	खू Khū	[illegible] or [illegible] (Note the shapes of *khu.*)
ल La	ला Lā	लि Li	ली Lī	लु Lu	लू Lū	[illegible] (Note the *lu.*)
ज्ञ Jna	ज्ञा Jnā	ज्ञि Jni	ज्ञी Jnī	ज्ञु Jnu	ज्ञू Jnū	[illegible] (Note that द or *d* is modified to receive the न or *n* to form a compound letter *dna.*)
		के Ke	कै Kai	को Ko	कौ Kau	[illegible]

In writing a continuous line great facility is afforded, as in the case of my own full name given below :—

Roman — Bâlkrishṇa Atmârâm Guptê Sâshṭikar.

Bâlbôdh — बाळकृष्ण आत्माराम गुप्ते साष्टीकर.

Môḍî — [illegible]

YAVANASATAKAM :

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BY PROFESSOR C. CAPPELLER, PH D., JENA.

(Concluded from Vol. XXXIII., 1904, p. 330.)

ANACREON.

46

किं मे तिर्यक्कटाक्षान्सृजसि सुचटुलानश्विके सिन्धुजाते
यां पश्यामि प्रचारे हरितकमदतीं लीलया वल्गमानाम् ।
तिष्ठ क्षिप्रं यथा ते परिमृदुनि मुखे प्रक्षिपेयं खलीनं
पश्यारोढा जनोऽयं तुरगयमनविद्गत्याभिज्ञश्च सादी ॥

PINDAR.

47

मम वाणीमयं तेजो ददौ देवी सरस्वती ।
अन्यद्विश्रुतमन्येषु राजा तु शिखरायते ॥

Ol. I. 177—182.

48

हर्षोत्कर्षेण संभग्नं दुःखशल्यं विनश्यति ।
विधेर्यदि प्रसादेन सौभाग्यं समुपानतम् ॥

ib. II. 35—38.

49

न विनिश्चितमायुरस्ति जन्तो-
र्दिवसो वा यदि सूर्यजात एषः ।
परिणाममुपैष्यति प्रसन्नं
सुखदुःखोर्मिमयो हि जीवनाब्धिः ॥

Cf. v. 77; 82; 85, 92. *ib.* II. 55—61.

50

अंसः कोऽपि मृतानां च धर्मेणास्ति व्यवस्थितः ।
न हि बान्धववात्सल्यं भस्मीभावेन हीयते ॥

ib. VIII. 101—105.

51

प्रथमं सुखजीवनं धनानां
सुजनेषु प्रथितं यशो द्वितीयम् ।
उभयं प्रतिपद्यते जनो यः
श्रिय एष प्रतिभाति वल्लभो मे ॥

Cf. v. 41; Subhâshitam. 92; 115. Pyth. I. 191—195.

52

किं हि कश्चिन्न वा कश्चिच्छायास्वप्नसमो नरः ।
भासा तु दिव्यया स्पृष्टः श्रियं पुष्यति सौख्यदाम् ॥

ib. VIII. 135—137.

ÆSCHYLUS.

53

दैवेनोपानतं यत्स्यात्तत्साम्यमनसूयया ।
अवर्ज्यामप्रधृष्यां च जानता भवितव्यताम् ।

Prom. 103—105.

54

इममेव महाव्याधिमीश्वराणां विचक्षते ।
न सुहृत्स्वपि विश्वासमायातुं हितकाङ्क्षिषु ॥

ib. 224, 225.

55

यस्य नास्ति स्वयं चित्तं शोकभारनिपीडितम् ।
तस्य दुःखसमापन्नानुपदेष्टुं न दुष्करम् ॥

ib. 263—265.

56

दुःखितः स्वयमस्मीति न तस्मादितरान्बहून् ।
क्लेशेष्विच्छामि संमग्नान्सहायान्निजदुर्गतेः ॥

Cf. v. 64; 72. *ib.* 345, 346.

57

वरं मन्ये सकृन्मर्तुं प्रवेष्टुं च यमालयम् ।
न तु सोढुमनिर्भिन्नां नानादुःखपरंपराम् ॥

ib. 750, 751.

58

न दुःस्थितौ नाभ्युदये कदाचि-
त्स्त्रैणं सहायं वरयेत विद्वान् ।
सुखे हि तत्साहसमप्रधृष्यं
भये तु नारी कुलगोत्रनिन्दा ॥

Cf. v. 88; Manu IX. 5. Septem 187—190.

59

नभसि मेघवृते सति मानुषो
भयमितश्च ततश्च विपश्यति ।
दिशमतो विमलामवलोकय-
न्नविरतं सुदिनत्वमितीक्षते ॥

Persae 598—602.

60

धन्वनश्च समुद्राच्च प्रोत्थितानि मुहुर्मुहुः ।
अत्याहितानि चित्राणि पश्यन्ति चिरजीविनः ॥

Cf. v. 23. *ib.* 707, 708.

61

पक्षी कथं विशुध्येत पक्षिमांससमुपाश यः ।
नरो यश्च बलादूहे कन्यां पितुरदायिनः ।

Suppl 226—228.

62

अनीर्ष्यं सुखमिच्छामि न स्यां हर्ता पुरामहम् ।
न च जीवनमापन्नो नयेयं बन्धनस्थितः ॥

Agam. 471—473.

63

रुदन्तमनुरोदितुं विकरुणोऽप्यवस्येज्जनः
परस्य च सुखे भवेत्स्मितमुखो विहर्षोऽपि सन् ।
नरान्तरविदस्तु ये पटुधियो विजानन्ति ते
सुहृत्स्वपि सुहृद्रतां प्रति दशां मनः शीतलम् ॥

Cf. Vikram. v. 90. *ib.* 790—798.

64

अहो विरलता नृणां सहभुवं
जनेऽभ्युदयिनि क्षमां विदधताम् ।
विषं हि हृदये द्विधा दहति नो
निजाश्च विपदः परस्य च सुखम् ॥

Cf. v. 56; 72; Subhâshitârṇ. 277. *ib.* 832—837.

65

अस्त्यतृप्तिर्हि सौख्यस्य न कश्चित्सुमहानपि ।
विविक्षन्तीं गृहे लक्ष्मीमपेहीति निवारयेत् ॥

ib. 1331—1335.

66

कुलतन्तुं वितन्वद्भिः पुंसामचिरजीविनाम् ।
कीर्तिरुद्ध्रियते पुत्रैर्जालं तुम्बीफलैरिव ॥

Choeph. 505—507.

67

बहूनि सुविभीषणानि जनयत्युपस्थे मही
तिमिंगिलगिलादयो जलनिधौ प्लवन्ते झषाः ।
पतन्ति च नभस्तलाद्बहुविधा महोल्काः क्वचि-
द्वने च मृगपक्षिणो ऽनिलवशात्त्रसन्त्युल्बणात् ॥
नरस्य तु महामदः कथयितुं कथं शक्यते
स्त्रियाश्च मदनोत्थितं हुतवहोपमं साहसम् ।
वियोजयति यज्ञनौ सहचरौ व्रतस्थौ पुरा
पशूनिव च मिश्रयत्यसमसायकोन्मादितान् ॥

Cf. v. 81; Bhartṛ. I. 59; 61; III. 55; Kathâs. LI. 204. *ib.* 585—601.

68

मैथुनं खलु दंपत्योर्दिव्यधर्मप्रतिष्ठितम् ।
गरीयः शपथादुग्राद्रक्षणीयं च मेनिरे ॥

Eumen. 217, 218.

69

नानोपायैर्विमुच्येरन्बन्धनानि दृढान्यपि ।
पीते तु रुधिरे भूम्या जीवनं न निवर्तते ॥

ib. 645—648.

70

वृथैव माता जननीत्यवाचि
पिता यथार्थं जनयत्यपत्यम् ।
रेतो दधद्यद्विधिवद्गृहीत-
मियं बिभर्त्याप्रदिनं च सूते ॥

Cf. Manu IX. 35. *ib.* 658—661.

SOPHOCLES.

71

न सुप्रतिष्ठितानाहुरल्पकान्महता विना ।
महांस्तु विधृतो ह्रस्वैरुन्नतिं प्रतिगच्छति ॥

Aias 158—161.

72

कष्टात्कष्टतरं यस्य स्वयं शोकजलार्णवे ।
निमग्नस्य न सन्त्यन्ये समानार्तिपरिप्लुताः ॥

Cf. v. 56; 64. ib. 260—262.

73

अचैतन्ये स्थितं मन्ये जनस्य परमं सुखम् ।
बालो यावन्न जानाति हर्षशोकौ यमावमू ॥

ib. 554, 555.

74

कालेन सृज्यते सर्वं कालेन ह्रियते पुनः ।
इत्यनाशा न कर्तव्या निःसंख्या हि दिने क्षणाः ।

ib. 646—648.

75

सत्यमेवास्ति तद्वाक्यं मानुषेषु यदीरितम् ।
अदानान्यरिदानानि नार्थकानि च कर्हिचित् ॥

ib. 664, 665.

76

द्वेषणीयस्तथा शत्रुर्यथा भावी सुहृत्पुनः ।
तथा चैव प्रियः सेव्यो यथा द्वेक्ष्यन्ननागते

ib. 679—682.

77

तत्तद्बहुविधं मर्त्यो यावज्जीवति पश्यति ।
भविष्यं तु न जानाति प्रियं स्यादथवाप्रियम् ॥

Cf. v. 49; 82; 85; 92. ib. 1417—1419.

78

अवितथं तदवाचि पुरातनै-
र्यदहितं हितवन्मतिविभ्रमात् ।
विधिहताय विभाति शरीरिणो
तदनु नाशपथं प्रतियाति सः ॥

Cf. Râm. VI. 8, 15; Pañchat. III. 183; M. Bh. II. 2680. Ant. 621—625.

79

किं नु किंचिद्धि पुत्राणां मण्डनं भुवने वरम् ।
समृद्धस्य पितुर्भाग्यात्पितुर्वा सूनुसंपदः ॥

ib. 703, 704.

80

आश्चर्याणि बहूनि सन्ति न तथा किंचिन्मनुष्यो यथा
यो नौभिः प्लवते महाजलनिधिं वातोद्धतं दारुणम् ।
पृष्ठे यश्च वसुंधरां भगवतीं देवीं क्षमाशालिनीं ॥
गोयुक्तेन विदारयत्यविरतं सीतां हलेनोत्कषन् ॥
जालैर्यश्चपलान्मनोऽधिकतया गृह्णाति घोरे वने
क्षुद्रांस्तैर्मृगपक्षिणो झषकुलं यश्चोद्धरत्यर्णवात् ।
तेनोत्कृष्टधिया नरेण महिषो वाजी च केशान्वितो
द्वावेतौ वनचारिणावदमितौ दान्त्वा युगे योजितौ ॥
बुद्ध्या यः समचिन्तयद्व्यवहृतिं धर्मांश्च वास्तुक्षितः
शीतान्वर्जयितुं दिवश्च तुहिने ग्रीष्मे सुतप्तांश्छरान् ।
किं नासौ कृतवान्करिष्यति न वा मृत्योर्य उग्रं वशं
मोघीकर्तुमशक्नुवञ्जनरुजान्व्याधीन्वभञ्जौषधैः ॥

ib. 332—364.

81

ईशेशानां समरविजयिन्काम संकल्पयोने
मृद्वोर्नक्तं स्वपिषि सुसुखं गण्डयोर्यस्तरुण्याः ।
हित्वा ग्रामांस्तरसि च जलं वारिधेः को नराणां
को देवानां तव न गमितो लक्ष्यतामायुधानाम् ॥
औत्सुक्येन प्रचटुलदृशां लम्भयन्नङ्गनानां
धर्मासक्तान्मनसिज नरान्कारयस्यप्यकार्यम् ।
सीदस्यन्तः परिषदि सह प्राज्ञिभिर्मन्त्रिभिस्त्वं
मल्लश्चैव प्रतिभटगलेऽनङ्ग पादं ददासि ॥

Cf. v. 67; Bhartṛ. I. 59; 61; III. 55; Kathâs. LI. 204. *ib.* 782—800.

82

को हि द्वित्रानपि प्राज्ञो दिवसान्परिकल्पयेत् ।
न हि श्वोऽस्ति ध्रुवं तावद्यावदद्य न यापितम् ॥

Cf. v. 49; 77; 85; 92. Trach. 943—946.

83

जनानां धर्मशीलानां निकषः कालपर्ययः ।
एकेनैव मुहूर्तेन प्रकाश्यन्ते खला नराः ॥

Oed. Tyr. 614, 615.

84

सर्वेषामपि शल्यानां मध्ये हृदयभेदिनाम् ।
न तथा बाधते किंचिद्यथा दुःखं स्वयंवृतम् ॥

ib. 1230, 1231.

85

मनुष्योऽस्मीति जानेऽहमध्रुवं श्वोदिनं मम ।
यथा तव यथामुष्य यथान्यस्य च कस्यचित् ॥

Cf. v. 49 ; 77 ; 82, 95. Oed. Kol. 567, 568.

86

आयुर्दीर्घतरं य इच्छति जनः प्राज्ञेतरं वच्मि तं
नानादुःखदमेव तद्दिनदिनात्प्रोत्तारितं जीवनम् ।
तृप्तिः का हि भवेत्पथि श्रमवतो दूरे यदन्ते स्थितो
मृत्युर्मौनमयः समस्तभुवनद्विष्टश्च मोक्तापि सन् ॥

ib. 1212—1223.

87

भावाच्छ्रेयानभावो यदि तु विधिवशात्प्राप्यते जन्म भूमौ
सद्यो मर्तुं द्वितीयं चलमनसि गते यौवने किं हि शिष्टम् ।
ईर्ष्यालोभावकृष्टं कलहरणवधैरायुरत्येति पुंसां
भोगैर्यावद्विहीनानभिभवति जरा सर्वशोकस्य योनिः ॥

Cf Bhartr. III. 50 ; 51. *ib.* 1224—1238.

EURIPIDES.

88

यथैवाकुशलाः सन्ति साधने हितकर्मणाम् ।
एवं दुष्टेषु कार्येषु बहूपायाः सदा स्त्रियः ॥

Cf. v. 58 ; Manu IX. 5. Med. 407, 408.

89

को हि निश्चिनुयादर्थं सत्यासत्यं च निर्णयेत् ।
उभयोर्वचनं यावत्पक्षयोर्नावधारितम् ॥

Herakl. 179, 180.

90

मौनमाचरितुं नित्यं विनयं च विरक्षितुम् ।
न च गन्तुं बहिर्गेहाद्भूषणं योषितां परम् ॥

ib. 476, 477.

91

न कोऽपि मर्त्यो भजते स्वतन्त्रता-
मेको धनस्यैति हठस्य वाश्रयम् ।
धर्मेण वा पौरजनेन वापरः
स्वैरप्रचारात्सततं विरुध्यते ॥

Hek. 864—867.

92

ध्रुवं न किंचिन्न यशो न सौष्ठवं
न कामवस्थां प्रतिपत्स्यसे स्वयम् ।
एवं हि देवा विदधुः प्रियाप्रियै-
रस्माकमायूंषि हविर्बुभुक्षया ॥

Cf. v. 49 ; 77 ; 82 ; 85. *ib.* 956—960.

93

न कस्यचिन्मां प्रति किंचिदन्य-
त्प्रियं भवत्यात्मनि जन्मदेशात् ।

मनो हि धीश्चिद्धृदयं च सर्व-
मपह्नुवानस्य च नद्भुतानि ॥

Cf. v. 15. — Phoen. 358—360.

94

न हि कश्चिन्मनुष्याणां धनस्य सदृशो गुणः ।
पात्रतां येन गच्छन्ति बलं चाप्रतिमं भुवि ॥

Cf. Hitôp. I. 115. — *ib.* 439, 440.

95

अकृत्रिमं सत्यवचः स्वभावतः
स्फुटार्थतां याति पटूक्तिभिर्विना ॥
व्यलीकवाणीगदवत्पदे पदे
महौषधानामुपयोगमर्हति ॥

ib. 469—472.

96

आचारो यदि भेत्तव्यो राज्यार्थेनैव भिद्यताम् ।
शेषे धर्मपथः पाल्यो न च हेयः कदाचन ॥

Cf. v. 9. — *ib.* 524, 525.

97

भूयो भूय इति प्राज्ञो न ब्रूयान्न च चिन्तयेत् ।
तेन यज्जीवनायालं मानसं परितोषयेत् ॥

ib. 534, 535.

98

येन भार्या सती प्राप्ता सुखं तस्य सनातनम् ।
गृहे गृहबाहिश्चाधिं ददाति कुकुटुम्बिनी ॥

Cf. Sakunt. v. 93. — Or. 602—604.

THEOCRITUS.

99

मा विषादं गमस्तात श्वो हि श्रेयो भविष्यति ।
आशा धारयति प्राणान्मृता एव निराशकाः ॥

Cf. Râm. III. 71, 5. — IV. 41, 42.

100

द्रुमाणां तुहिनं कष्टं निम्नगानामवर्षणम् ।
पाशबन्धो विहंगानां श्वापदानां च वागुरा ॥
यूनो मृगदृशां चिन्ता भगवन्बलसूदन ।
नाहमेकः सकामोऽस्मि नारीसक्तो भवानपि ॥

Cf. Kathârṇ. 575. — VIII. 57—60.

METRES.

Slôka 1—44, 47, 48, 50, 52—57, 60—62, 65, 66, 68, 69, 71—77, 79, 82—85, 88—90, 94, 96—100.
Aupacchandasika 49, 51.
Upajâti 45, 58, 70, 93.
Vamsastha 91, 92, 95.
Drutavilambita 59, 78.
Jalôddhatagati 64.
Mandâkrântâ 81.
Prithvî 63, 67.
Sârdûlavikrîḍita 80, 86.
Sragdharâ 46, 87.

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M.A.

(Continued from Vol. XXXIII. p. 297.)

H

(To be continued.)

KASHGAR AND THE KHAROSHTHI.

BY O FRANKE AND R PISCHEL.

(Concluded from page 27.)

PART II.

Translated, with the permission of the authors and under revision by them, from the "Proceedings of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Prussia," 9th July, 1903, pp 735-745, by CHRISTIAN A. CAMERON.

1. — The Chinese Sources.

By O. Franke.

IN an earlier essay, published in the Proceedings,[1] R. Pischel and I expressed our doubts as to the explanation of the name *Shu-lê* (Kashgar) as an abbreviated form of *K'ia-lu-shu-tan-lê* = *Kharoshtra*, given by Sylvain Lévi, in virtue of a Chinese gloss. Since then, by the kindness of Prof. Ed. Chavannes of Paris, I have received a copy of the parts of the Chinese text on which this explanation is based. I find from a perusal of them, that our doubts are fully justified, and that the explanation is not tenable. The gloss is first found in the commentary by Hui yuan to the new translation of the Avataṁsaka-Sūtra (Sin yi Ta fang kuang Fo hua yen king yin yi), Japanese edition, Vol XXXIX. fasc. 10, fol 121 r°, and is repeated almost word for word by Hi lin in his continuation of the Yi tsie king yin yi of Hui lin, Japanese edition, Vol. XXXIX. fasc. 8, fol. 11 r°.

The translation of the two portions presents no difficulty. It is as follows:—

1. "**The country Shu-lê.** The correct name is *K'ia-lu-shu-ta(n)-lê.* Since early ages, this district has been known by the abbreviated form *Shu-lê*, and, besides, the correct character for the sound *Shu* has been erroneously supplanted by another one. [736] This name denotes a mountain in that country, hence its origin. It is also translated 'Land with bad character.' The character of the people of that country is indeed full of roughness and malice, hence the name."

2. "**The country Shu-lê.** This is the corruption of a Sanskrit expression, the correct form is *K'ia-lu-shu-ta(n)-lê*, which means 'Land with bad character.' The character of the inhabitants of this country is full of roughness and malice, hence the name. It is also said that in this country there is a mountain *K'ia-lu-shu-ta(n)-lê*, and from this mountain the designation has been taken."

In the first place, the question is, what is *K'ia-lu-shu-ta(n)-lê* or, as we read more correctly in the old pronunciation, *K'a-lu-shou-ta-lê*? From a phonetic point of view, no objections can be raised to this combination of sounds being taken as an equivalent of the Sanskrit expression *Kharoshṭra*, but so much the more from a material one. First of all, such objections may be drawn from the words of the text itself, which gives us two hints for the interpretation. Firstly, Hi lin expressly says that we have to deal with a Sanskrit (*fan*) expression, and secondly, both portions of the text give as translation either the term *wu sing* = "bad character," or the name of a mountain. These assertions positively exclude the possibility of the combination *K'a-lu-shou-ta-lê* representing the word *Kharoshtra*. For the combination *Kharoshtra*, which, as Prof. Pischel has shown (p. 25 f. above), is quite a common term, means simply and solely in Sanskrit "ass and camel," but never "bad character." The Chinese Buddhists were in the habit of translating Sanskrit expressions very exactly, and we have no right to ascribe such caprice to them in this case. J. Halévy lately tried[2] to remove the difficulty which the interpretation of the Chinese word presents, by regarding it as a transcription for the Iranian word *khrafstra* ("bad"). The Chinese assertion, however, that we

[1] [Translated, page 21 ff, above. — ED]

[2] *Le Berceau de l'Écriture Kharoṣtrî.* Separate impression from the *Revue Sémitique.*

have to deal with a *Fan*, that is, a Sanskrit word, contradicts this idea. I have already shown (p. 24 f. above) how particular the Chinese Buddhists were in reserving the name *Fan* for "the country of Brahma." In these circumstances, it only remains for us to look for another suitable Sanskrit word. Such offers itself immediately, if we only adhere to the text. The combination *K'a-lu-shou-ta-lê* evidently [737] answers to a Sanskrit expression, whose first component is *kalusha*, that is, "dirty," "unclean," "impure," in a figurative sense, but about whose second half there may be difference of opinion, as seems to have been the case with Hui yuan, Hi lin, and their contemporaries. In my opinion, either *kalushântara* or *kalushadhara* has the best claim to consideration. The first, = "impure heart (having)," corresponds exactly with the *wu sing* of the Chinese; and *dhara* = "bearing," which is found at the end of numerous compounds, could quite well be taken to mean here "bearing the character." On the other hand, *dhara* is also "mountain," so that *kalushadhara* = "Mountain of Sins" is not an inappropriate name for a mountain. In objection to this identification, it may perhaps be said that *shu* or *shou* does not exactly correspond with °*shān*° or °*sha*°. In answer to that I would say: Among the different ways of pronouncing this character *shou*, K'ang-hi's Dictionary, besides the sounds *shu* and *shuo* (the Cantonese *shok*), gives the sounds *sung* and *sun* which have both a nasal termination From this it follows that the sound *shou* had, or at any rate could have, a nasal element in the termination; it was therefore more fit for rendering the Sanskrit °*shān*° than the character *su* which, according to K'ang-hi, had no nasal element. Of course, the Sanskrit sound could have been reproduced more exactly; but as the first sound in the ordinary name *Shu-lê* must not be obliterated, the commentator was limited in the choice of characters. This remark of Hui yuan alone, that the character for the sound *shu* had been erroneously supplanted by another one, would render the whole etymology very suspicious, even were its defects not proved by a series of other arguments, which have been partly mentioned by Prof. Pischel and myself, and will partly be more closely investigated below I have not the slightest doubt that the pretended contraction of *Shu-lê* from *K'a-lu-shu-ta-lê* is nothing but a pure invention, made probably with a certain purpose by Hui yuan or by somebody else. Perhaps the etymology might be a satire on the bad qualities of the inhabitants, who have no very favourable testimony from other sources. Huan tsang says of them: "The character of the inhabitants is rough and violent, they are full of malice and cunning, their civilisation is thin and superficial, [738] their acquirements imperfect and shallow."[3] And Marco Polo calls the inhabitants of Kashgar "a wretched-niggardly set of people."[4] Perhaps the etymology has been invented as a counterpart to another, which, as mentioned already (p. 22 f. above), is found in a note of Huan tsang's work,[5] and is repeated in the Buddhist glossary Fan yi ming yi tsi and in the Pien yi tien; I mean the explanation of the name *Shu-lê* as a corrupted abbreviation of *Shi-li-ki-li-to-ti* Stanislas Julien has interpreted this combination of sounds as *Śrîkritati*, a name which has not yet been explained. Hui yuan's etymology seems to me to give a hint for a solution of the riddle. As a counterpart to the *kalushadhara* = "bearing impure disposition," I read *Shi-li-ki-li-to-ti* as *Śrîkirîṭadhi* = "bearing the diadem of happiness." It need hardly be said that this earlier etymology has no more weight than the later, with the sole difference that *Shu-lê* or, as the Tibetans read, *Shulik*, seems less artificial as an abbreviation of *Shi-li-ki-li-to-ti* than of *K'a-lu-shu-ta-lê*. Moreover, the note above mentioned cautiously adds to its statement a *yeu*, to the effect that "it seems as if" (*Shu-lê* were such a corruption).[6] Be this now as it may, the important fact remains that Hui yuan and Hi lin have never thought of an identification of *Shu-lê* with a name *Kharoshtra*. From the following we shall learn that all those etymologies, whatever their meaning, can be nothing but an Indo-Chinese play on words.

[3] Si yu ki, chap. 12, fol. 13 v° (Japanese edition). [4] Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Vol I. p. 169.

[5] It is doubtful, however, whether this note was added by Huan tsang, or by Pien ki, the editor of the Si yü ki and contemporary of the former, or whether it is a later interpolation. Compare St. Julien, Notice bibliographique sur le Si yü ki, p xxv. f

[6] Si yu ki, chap. 12, fol. 13 r°.

If, apart from all that has been said, we wished to believe that the name *Shu lê* had been contracted from *kharoshṭra* or *kalushāntara* or *Śrīkṛitadh*, the hypothesis would be that these fuller Indian names were older designations of the country, and that they had been introduced from India, or at any rate by persons acquainted with Sanskrit. Now, how do the historical sources stand as to such a fact? We owe our earliest information about the states of Central Asia to the Chinese ambassador and traveller Chang k'ien who stayed there for about 13 years, from about 138 B. C, [739] and penetrated as far as Bactria and Persia, as also to the famous General Pan ch'ao who, from 73 A. D., laboured for 31 years for the spread of the Chinese political influence to the mountain-chains of the Belur-tag, and played a prominent part in the wars of the states of the Tarim basin. The detailed reports of these two have been used by the authors of the Annals of the Former and the Later Han Dynasties, and, as they are the statements of eye-witnesses who had acquired a thorough knowledge of those regions and their inhabitants, they are undoubtedly the most reliable historical material that we can possibly possess. Now, in these reports, which relate to the time from the second half of the 2nd century B. C,[7] the state *Shu-lê* plays a not unimportant part; it was indeed at that time one of the largest and most important of the states in Middle Asia, which numbered over 50, and whose names at that time changed almost as often as their boundaries. Everywhere we find for this country only the name *Shu-lê*, and nowhere is there any suggestion of an older and longer designation. If such ever did exist, it must have fallen into disuse as early as the 2nd century B. C., and must therefore have come from India centuries before. But of course it is out of the question that there was so early and so close a connection between this country and western Central Asia. Even if older trade relations had existed, such an intellectual connection can only have been brought about by the Buddhism of Kashmir and the Kabul country, which, at that time, had a vigorous proselytizing power. For, *Shu-lê* was not an old Indian colony as Khotan seems to have been according to the local tradition, related by Huan tsang,[8] but, as we learn from the testimony of Chang k'ien, it was founded by the same people, which, about 150 B. C., was forced to the south by the *Yueh-chih* flying before the *Hiung-nu*, and which then took possession of the country *Ki-pin* in North India.[9] These people were called by the Chinese, according to a gloss of Yen shih ku (579-645), *Sok*. This very important statement is found in the Annals of the Former Han Dynasty, chap. 96ᵃ, fol. 10 v°, [740] and reads as follows: "The race of the *Sok* has extended far and formed a series of states. From *Shu-lê* to the North-West, all belonging to the states *Hiu-sün* and *Kun-tu* are old tribes of the *Sok*."[10] I hope to be able before long to explain at greater length, in a treatise on the Indo-Skythians of Central Asia, who these *Sok* were, and what is meant by the states *Hiu-sün* and *Kun-tu*. Here I need only say that in the Chinese annals, the *Sok* appear as neighbours of the *Wusun*.

Now, the question when this old *Sok* state of *Shu-lê* came in closer connection with India, may be answered by the counter-question when Buddhism was introduced into *Shu-lê*. Klaproth, in his *Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie* (p. 166), remarks that "towards the year 120 A. D. the king of *Shu-lê* was dethroned by the *Yueh-chih* and that his subjects accepted the religion of Buddha." Unfortunately, the source from which this statement is taken is not given, and in the oldest reports, relating to the dethronement of the king of *Shu-lê* and the appointment of his relation by the *Yüeh-chih* between 114 and 120 (Annals of the Later Han, chap. 118, fol. 17 r°), no mention is made of the acceptance of Buddhism. The fact, however, is not improbable, for Chang k'ien, who, according to his biography in the "Han Annals" (chap. 61,

[7] T'sien Han shu, chap. 96ᵃ, fol 20, Hou Han shu, chap. 118, fol. 16 v° *sqq.*; and chap. 77, fol 3 v° *sqq.* and elsewhere

[8] Si yü ki, chap. 12, fol 15 r° *sqq.*

[9] I entirely agree with Messrs. Lévi and Chavannes who say that the *Ki-pin* of the Han-Annals means Kashmir (*Journ. As* tome VI. 1895. 'L'Itinéraire d'Ou-K'ong')

[10] The statement is also given in the *Wên hien t'ung k'ao*, chap. 337, fol. 20 r°, and is translated by Rémusat (*Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, I. 205).

fol. 1 r° *sqq.*), must have arrived at the court of the *Yueh-chih* about 125 B. C., found them already in possession of Bactria, and over a hundred years after the division of this country into five principalities, they seized, as the Annals of the Later Han (chap. 118, fol 11 v°) report, Afghanistan, the Kabul countries and Kashmir. That the *Yueh-chih* then worked specially for the spread of Buddhism in the North and East, we learn not only from Indian,[11] but also from Chinese sources. In the year 2 B C., according to the "Wei Annals," Ts'in (?) king hien, the assistant at the Court of Sacrificial Worship for the Imperial Ancestral Temples, during a mission to the king of the *Yueh-chih* learnt Buddhist Sūtras. "Thus, in China people heard (of the doctrine) but did not believe in it."[12] The [741] "Sui Annals" mention a Śramaṇa of the *Yueh-chih*, named Chih ch'an, in the years 168-188, who translated several writings for the Chinese,[13] also another Śramaṇa of the same people, named Dharmaraksha (l. c. fol. 34 r°), who, "in the years 265-274 had travelled in the different countries in the West, and had brought to Lo yang (in Honan) and translated numerous Buddhist Sūtras. Since then the Buddhist doctrine spread rapidly into the East." The sending of Buddhist writings from Turkestan is mentioned by the "Sui Annals" (l. c.) as early as 76-88 A. D.

It is, therefore, not improbable that the country *Shu-lê*, at the time of the enthronement of its king by the *Yueh-chih* between 114 and 120 B. C, received Buddhism from them, if it did not possess it already; at any rate, it seems to me that this must be accepted as the latest period for the introduction of the Indian cult. The latter may have also reached *Shu-lê* by another way, that is, by Khotan, which, according to the legends related by Hüan tsang (see above), seems first of all the Central Asian states to have received Buddhism direct from Kashmir, and to have been in closest connection with India. Klaproth (*Tabl. Hist.* p. 182) considers it as probable that Buddhism spread from thence to Central Asia, and this belief seems to be supported by the remark of a Tibetan history of Li-yul (= Khotan) that the king Vijayasimha of Li-yul married a daughter of the king of Ga-hjag who **helped to spread Buddhism in Shu-lik (= Shu-lê).**[14] According to the same work, the successor of Vijayasimha, by name Vijayakīrti, undertook with Kanika a campaign to India.[15] Tāranātha mentions a king Kanika of Ṭili and Mālava and says that he is not identical with Kanishka.[16] It will be very [742] difficult to decide whether this same king Kanika is meant in the Tibetan work and when he lived, in the list in the introduction of Tāranātha's history of Buddhism, he is placed considerably later than Kanishka.[17] Nevertheless it is possible that if the Tibetan statement is true, the time of the introduction of Buddhism into *Shu-lê* may be slightly different. Hüan tsang relates of Khotan that "most of the 5,000 Bhikshus there studied the Mahāyāna-doctrine,"[18] and of *Shu-lê* that there the doctrine of the Sarvāstivāda school of the Hīnayāna held sway,[19] a fact which does not point to a close connection between the two places.

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[11] Compare Koppen, *Die lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche*, p. 12, Tāranātha, *Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, translated by Schiefner, p. 58-59, Wassiljew, *Buddhismus*, I. p. 43-44 (German ed)

[12] Wei shu, chap 114, fol. 1 v° This extract, which is also of great importance for the history of Buddhism in China, was first mentioned by Rémusat, Foĕ Kouĕ Ki, p. 39, and has been frequently discussed since Comp Panthier, *Examen méthodique des faits qui concernent le Thian-Tchu ou l'Inde* (*Journ. As.* 1840, p. 14) Specht, *Études sur l'Asie Centrale*, p 39. Sylvain Lévi, *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes* (*Journ. As* 1897, p 14 *sqq*). Specht, *Les Indo-Scythes et l'époque du règne de Kanichka d'après les sources Chinoises* (*Journ As.* 1897, p 166 *sqq.*) Lévi, *Note additionelle sur les Indo-Scythes* (*ibid.*, p 527, note 1), and *Missions de Wang Hiuen-Tse dans l'Inde* (*Jour. As.* 1900, p 451 *sqq.*) Vincent A. Smith, *The Kushān Period of Indian History*, in the *Journ. R As. Soc.* 1903, p. 24, note 3. I shall give further details as to the translation elsewhere.

[13] Sui shu, chap. 35, fol. 33 v°.

[14] Li-yul-gyi Lo-rgyus-pa, fol. 443 r°, given by Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 240

[15] L c p 436 v°. [16] S Schiefner, p. 89 *sq.* [17] L. c. p 2

[18] Chap. 12 fol. 14 v° The text has *to* = "the most," not "all," as St Julien (*Mémoires*, &c, Vol. II p 224) and Beal (*Buddhist Records*, &c, Vol II p. 309) have translated. According to fol. 435 r° of the Tibetan source, the doctrine of the Sarvāstivādin had also been introduced into Khotan (Rockhill, p. 239).

[19] Chap. 12, fol. 13 v°

From these statements it may be presumed that the Skythian-Turkish people, which inhabited *Shu-lê* as well as most other countries of the Tarim basin, received the knowledge of Sanskrit or of the dialects spoken in North India, at any rate of the Indian writing, together with the Buddhist Sūtras. Perhaps also some elements of culture were introduced through trade from Baktria, since already at the time of Chang k'ien the highway to Baktria and Ferghana[20] led through *Shu-lê*. The Sanskritising of the name *Shu-lê* to *Śrīkritiṭadhi*, of which the Si yu ki, and that alone, informs us, was probably done by native Buddhists, learned in Sanskrit. Others have, as a counterpart, then created *Kalushāntara* or *Kalushadhara*. But these etymologies, appearing suddenly almost a thousand years after our first information about *Shu-lê*, cannot of course claim any value. With reference to the name *Shu-lê*, which will have to be read *Sulek* or *Surak*, I have already pointed out[21] similar names of peoples in Central Asia, as *Korek*, *Sorak*, *Chirek*, *Terek*. I might also add, that, as the biography of Pan ch'ao informs us, the Chinese General drove out a king enthroned in *Shu-lê* by the State *Kuei-tsze* (Kucha) and put a native called Chung in his place. But a gloss from The Continuation of the Han Annals (Sü Han shu) says he was called Yülek (Yü-lê), a name which was replaced by the Chinese Chung (the loyal).[22] [743] Hirth also, in his treatise "Über Wolga-Hunnen und Hiung-nu," calls attention to the Alanish names Addac and Candac, and compares them with the Hiung-nu names Sugdak, Ellac and Hernac.[23]

We must give up the idea, as irreconcilable with all the information at our disposal, that the Kharoshthī (or Kharoshtrī) writing originated in Central Asia and took its name from a country *Kharoshtra* there. So far as the Chinese sources are concerned, there is no trace of a *Kharoshṭra* country in Central Asia, and I attach no more value to the name *K'o-lo-t'o*, = *Kharōṭṭha*, for a district, in the present Sarik-kol (l. c. p. 190) than I do to the etymologies of *Shu-lê*. That name is first found in the historico-political Encyclopædia T'ung tien, compiled at the end of the 8th century by Tu yen, and, as J. Halévy (l. c. p. 11) believes, with regard to Kashgar, may have been introduced by Indian Buddhists. Whether it was given to the country on account of the *Kharoshṭhī* writing, as that French savant believes, I do not venture to decide. As long as we have nothing better to put in place of the Indian and Chinese tradition as to the naming of the *Kharoshṭhī* writing from the old sage Kharoshtha, the matter must rest as it is. It is to be regretted that Wassiljew could not remember the source in which the Buddhist legend of the first astronomer Kharoshtha is told. Wassiljew regards[24] Kharoshtha as the Indian form of Xarustr mentioned in the chronographical history of Mekhitar of Airiwank.

2. — The Indian sources.

By R. Pischel.

From Franke's statements it seems clear to me that *Kharoshṭra* was never the name of a country. I believe that Franke is correct in seeing the Sanskrit *kalusha* in the first component of *K'ia-lu-shu-tan-lê*, and that there is much probability that the Sanskrit *antara* is correct for the second part. We might also perhaps suggest *uttara*, as a word *kalushottara*, "full of badness," [744] comes nearer to the older pronunciation *K'a-lu-shou-ta-lê* than *kalushāntara*, though the translation of the Chinese certainly points to *antara*.

[20] T'sien Han shu, chap. 96a, fol. 20 v°. [21] L. c. p. 187. [22] Hou Han shu, chap. 77, fol. 4 r°.

[23] *Sitzungsberichte der Kongl. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1899, Vol. II. fasc. II. p. 257, note 1.

[24] See Schiefner's *Tāranātha*, p. 30 *sqq.* of the additions.

In the first paper I overlooked the point that the name of the writing is found not only in the Lalitavistara but also in the Mahāvastu, I. 135. Senart reads there *Brāhmī Pushkarasārī Kharostī*, and remarks, p. 484, that *Kharostī*, if the reading is correct, "can only be regarded as a geographical name, perhaps outside India, — judging from the form of the word." Senart here agrees with Lévi's explanation, against which I have endeavoured to show that the circumstances rather point to our having the name of a person to deal with. Senart's reading *Kharostī* is only a conjecture. Among his MSS., N. A. C. M. and L. read *Kharostrī*, B. has *Kharāstrī*. All MSS. therefore have °*strī*, which seems to agree with Lévi's explanation of the word. Bendall has kindly looked into the Cambridge MSS. of the Mahāvastu and Lalitavistara as well as into the MS. of the Mahāvastu belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society, and he affirms that the MSS. of the Mahāvastu read *Kharostrī*, and those of the Lalitavistara read *Brāhmī-Kharoshṭī-Pushkarasārim* (the oldest MS. °*sālim*) as in Lefmann's edition. So the readings *Kharostrī* and *Kharoshṭī* stand opposed to each other. Bendall further draws my attention to the fact that in the Nepalese writing the only difference between *sta* and *stra* is that the curve in *stra* goes a little further to the left than in *sta*. Interchange of the two signs is therefore very possible. Indeed there are many cases of it in the Mahāvastu. In I. 73, 14, C M. read *sasta* for the correct *śastra*; in I 100, 7, B. N. A. read *trastro*, L. M. read *trasto*, C. read *tasto*, in I. 182, 12, all MSS. have *sastyāgāra*, instead of *sastryāgāro*, in I. 192, 11, N has *śāsta* for *śāstra*; in III. 1, 6, both MSS. have *sty*° for *stry*°; in III. 62, 16, instead of the correct *śāstā*, B. M. have *śāstrā*. In other groups of letters also, *r* is often found wrongly. So, in I. 117, 13, *grotrena* for *gotreṇa*; in I. 119, 3, *grotro* for *gotro*; in I. 224, 2, *śrīghram* for *śīghram*; in I. 364, 7, *śushkrā*° for *śushkā*°; in III. 127, 15, *sāhasriko* for *sāhasiko*; in III. 251, 5, *prāgr eva* for *prāg eva*; in III. 329, 12, *prātrā* for *pātrā*; in III. 380, 2, *sagrotram* for *sagotram*. On the other hand, *r* is by mistake wanting in some variations Thus, besides in the case already given of *stra*, for example, in I. 137, 14; 138, 1, °*rāshṭah* for °*rāshṭrah*; in I 280, 16, *rāshṭā* for *rāshtro*; in III. 400, 2, *śotriya*° for *śrotriya*°, and others. As *Kharoshṭī* (so the MSS.) stands to *Kharostrī*, so stands *ishṭikā* to *istrikā* which are constantly interchanged in the Mahāvastu and Lalitavistara, so that it is often difficult to choose between them (Senart, Mahāvastu, I. 563 to 244, 5). The readings of the MSS. therefore cannot decide the matter, especially as the Mahāvastu MSS. are very corrupt, and all go back to one manuscript. Just the names of the scripts are very much corrupted [745] in the MSS. of the Mahāvastu, as the *variæ lectiones* show. Thus the oldest Chinese tradition always remains the one standpoint for deciding the right name of the writing running from right to left. As to that, it does not matter whether *Kharoshṭha* is a historical person or not. With Franke I believe that with regard to time it is quite impossible to see the writing of Kashgar in the *Kharoshṭhī*. At the time of Aśoka, as the inscriptions of Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra show, it was well known in Kabulistān and the Upper Indus valleys. But, that Kashgar had at that time so highly developed a culture that its writing could affect the old culture land of Kabul and the Indus, is contradicted on every side.

To what I have remarked in the first article (p. 25 f.) about the formulatory combination of *khara* and *ushṭra* to *kharoshṭra*, I will here add, that Vāmana, Kāvyālaṁkāravṛitti, 5, 2, 28, has the following Sūtra: ‖ *na kharoshtrāv ity ushṭrakharam iti pāṭhāt* ‖ : — "One must not say *kharoshṭrau* as the Gaṇapāṭha prescribes *ushṭrakharam*." If *kharoshṭrau* is not found in the Mahābhārata, *kharoshṭram* is, not *ushṭrakharam*, 2, 51, 13, as also in Manu and Yājñavalkya (p. 26 above). In the Lalitavistara, 306, 6, is °*aśvoshṭrakhara*°, while Aśvaghosha, Buddhacharita, 13, 19, has *aśvakharoshṭra*, as most works written in verse, doubtless under the influence of the metre, which must also have dominated in cases like Rāmāyaṇa, 6, 53, 5, Bombay ed., *nāgair aśvaiḥ kharair ushṭraiḥ*. Finally, as to *sta* for *shṭha*, and *sva* for *spa*, (p. 26 f. above), let me refer to the rich collections by R. Otto Franke, Pāli und Sanskrit (Strassburg, 1902), p. 114 and 117, where, with reason, particular consideration is given to the change of *śva* into *śpa*.

CHANAKYA'S LAND AND REVENUE POLICY.

(4th Century B. C)

BY R. SHAMASASTRY, B A

(Continued from p. 10.)

EXTRACT II.

REVENUE.

(A) Sources of Revenue.

1.

The Collector-General shall supervise the following sources of income in the kingdom.— Forts, country parts, mines, gardens, forests, quadrupeds, and traffic.

2.

The several sources of revenue in forts are as follows: — Tolls, fines, weights and measures, jails, currency, passports, excise, slaughter-houses, oils, *ghî*, salt, goldsmiths, commerce, courtezans, gambling, house-building, artisans, gate dues, religious institutions, and special taxes levied on the people called Bahârikas.

3.

The several items of income from country parts are the following: —

(1) Produce from Crown lands (*sîta*).
(2) Taxes received in the shape of grains (*bhâga*).
(3) Taxes levied for religious purposes (*bali*).
(4) Taxes received in the shape of coins (*kara*).
(5) Taxes on boats, ferries, and ships (*tara*).
(6) Taxes on traffic (*vartani*, *sulka*, *vyâji*, &c.).

4.

The several items of income from mines are the following: — Gold mines, silver mines, diamond mines, mines of rubies, &c., pearl fishery, coral and conchs, metals such as iron, copper, &c., salts and other mineral compounds derivable from mountains and other sources.

5.

The different varieties of gardens yielding revenue are the following:— Flower gardens, fruit gardens, and vegetable gardens.

6.

The several sorts of forests are the following: — Forests of beasts and elephants, timber forests, and forests yielding various kinds of raw produce.

7.

The various kinds of taxable quadrupeds are the following. — Cows, buffaloes, sheep, goats, asses, camels, horses, and mules.

8.

The two kinds of taxable items in traffic are the following: — Commodities conveyed on land and commodities conveyed by water.

Note.

It is clear from the above that the business of the Collector-General was very onerous, and that though the number of taxes was very numerous, taxes that were really of profit to the kingdom in those days were very few. Those taxes which were a source of considerable income are dealt with at length in the *Arthaśâstra*, the items of little or no income being passed over with a description in one or two sentences. We will next see how these several taxes were collected and what kinds of taxes were levied on the several kinds of taxable things.

The first item of income in forts is tolls and fines, and Châṇakya has devoted two chapters to the description of the modes of levying and collecting the tolls and fines.

(B) Collection of Revenue.

1.

The Superintendent of Tolls shall have a Toll-house constructed near the gates of forts, the door of the Toll-house facing either the east or the north and with the flags of the king hoisted. Four or five toll-collectors shall ever be ready to register the names of the merchants coming there with their merchandise. They shall also register 'who they are; whence they come; what amount of merchandise they have brought and where for the first time (the) Government stamp-mark has been made on their merchandise or they have obtained a pass.' In case of their having brought their merchandise without a pass, they shall pay a fine of twice the amount of the toll that is to be paid on their merchandise. Those that bring their merchandise with false pass shall pay a fine of eight times the amount of the toll due on the merchandise.

In case of stamp-mark being effaced or pass torn, the merchants shall have to stay for an hour near the Toll-gate after their arrival. In case of altering stamp-marks or passports or of passports missed or not obtained, they shall pay a fine of one and a quarter of *paṇas* on every bullock-load of merchandise they have brought.

2.

When merchandise has been properly brought to the Toll-gate, the owners shall exactly state the quantity and value of the merchandise and call out thrice, 'who will purchase *this* quantity of *this* merchandise for such and such a price?' The purchaser shall have the merchandise for that price. If bidders happen to increase the value, the increased amount of the value, together with the toll, shall be paid into the king's treasury. In case of the merchants lessening the value of the merchandise, fearing lest they have to pay a heavy amount of toll on it, the excessive amount realised by bidding shall be paid into the king's treasury, or eight times the amount of the toll due on the merchandise shall be paid. The same rule shall be applied in the case in which merchandise of a good quality is sold at the rate chargeable for merchandise of bad quality. The same rule shall hold good in the case of hiding the most precious and most valuable merchandise and selling it as that of ordinary kind for fear of paying a heavy toll on it.

3.

If a purchaser increases the value of a merchandise beyond its real value, lest it fall into the hands of another purchaser, the increased amount shall be paid into the king's treasury, or twice the toll shall be paid. If the Superintendent also takes part in hiding the value of any merchandise, he shall also be punished with a fine of eight times the toll due on the merchandise.

4.

Much discretion should be shown in determining the amount of toll on merchandise of inferior quality and of such merchandise as deserves favourable concessions.

5.

Merchandise that has without permission passed the flag of the Toll-gate shall pay a fine of eight times the amount of toll on it. The passers-by on the road shall recognise whether a merchandise has or has not paid the toll on it.

6.

Commodities intended for marriage, presentation to kings, storage in king's granaries, religious purposes, confinement of women, and ceremonials shall be let free from tolls. Persons uttering lies in such cases shall be subject to the punishment inflicted for theft.

7.

Persons who smuggle merchandise with that on which toll has been paid and who manage to carry two sorts of merchandise with a pass obtained only upon one sort, shall pay a fine equivalent to the amount of toll due on it. Persons who, swearing by the cow-dung for their veracity, smuggle merchandise shall pay a fine of 3,000 *panas* Weapons, armour, metals, carriages, precious stones, grains and quadrupeds shall be sold outside the Toll-gate free of toll. Sellers of the above articles inside the forts shall pay a fine of 3,000 *panas* and lose the value of the commodities also.

8.

The Superintendent of the Border shall receive one and a quarter *panas* as a tax called *vartani* on all traffic passing the border. He shall receive a *paṇa* on a load of merchandise carried by single-hoofed quadrupeds, half a *paṇa* on a load carried by quadrupeds with double hoofs, and one-sixteenth of a *paṇa* on a head-load.

9.

The Superintendent of the Border shall do his best to restore to the owners the merchandise which is known to be carried by thieves The Superintendent of the Border shall examine the superior or inferior quality of the merchandise coming to the border country, provide the merchant with a pass and seal, and send him to the Superintendent of the Toll. The king's spy in the guise of a merchant shall gather information on all kinds of merchandise arriving at the border and send the same information to the king. The king will send this information to the Superintendent of the Tolls long before the arrival of the merchandise in question at the Toll-gate. Then the Superintendent shall tell various merchants on their arrival at the Toll-gate that such and such a merchant has been predicted by the king as having brought such and such an amount of merchandise of such and such a nature, and that hiding is useless with a king of such prophetic power.

10.

Merchandise of inferior quality shall pay a fine of eight times the toll due on it if its quantity, &c., is concealed. Merchandise of superior quality shall all be confiscated if its quantity, &c., is concealed. The king should strictly prohibit the traffic of such commodities as are either dangerous or useless to the country. He should encourage the traffic of such as are of great benefit to the country. He should also see that seeds of all sorts are not easily obtainable.

(C) Rates of Toll.

1.

Commodities may be of two kinds, local or foreign, to be imported or exported either for religious or trade purposes. Commodities to be imported shall pay as toll one-fifth their value.

2.

In the case of flowers, fruits, vegetables, roots, turnips, pepper, seeds, dried fish, and flesh, the toll shall be one-sixth of their value.

3.

In the case of conchs, diamonds, precious stones, pearls, corals, and necklaces, the value and the amount of toll on them shall be determined by persons who are familiar with such transactions and can estimate the time, labour, and capital that are necessary for the production of such commodities.

4.

In the case of white garments, *sâ*ı*s*, silk-garments, arsenic oxide, asafœtida, metals, pigments, minerals, sandal of various kinds, raw produce of various kinds, wines and other intoxicating liquids, ivory, skins, woollen cloths, and carpets, the toll shall be from one tenth to one-fifteenth their value.

5.

In the case of coloured garments, cotton threads, sandal cakes, medicines, timber, bamboos, clothing made of fibre, leather, earthen pots, grains, oils, salts, alkalies, intoxicants of inferior quality and cooked rice, the toll shall be from one-twentieth to one-twenty-fifth their value.

Note.

From the above rules and regulations, it is clear that tolls on commodities were levied only when they were brought for sale and that toll was paid only when there was actual sale. Cultivators and manufacturers could, therefore, carry their commodities from the places of production to their stores or granaries without paying any toll on them. This would naturally lead to smuggling and people would be clever enough to purchase commodities far outside the forts and bring them as their own and not intended for sale. To ward off this evil, the ancient legislators forebade, on penalty of a heavy fine, the sale of commodities in the places where they were manufactured.

6.

Sale of commodities shall not be carried on in the places where they had been grown or manufactured. Purchase of minerals and other commodities from mines shall be punishable with a fine of 600 *paṇas*. Persons purchasing flowers and fruits in gardens shall pay a fine of 50 *paṇas*. Persons purchasing vegetables in vegetable gardens shall pay a fine of 100 *paṇas*. Purchase of grains in the fields where they are grown shall be punishable with a fine of 150 *paṇas*.

7.

Apart from payments near the Toll-gate of tolls and gate-dues on all kinds of traffic brought for sale, all kinds of vegetable produce that seek admission into the forts, whether for sale or not, shall pay a *paṇa* and a quarter as *atyaya*, fine for unknown guilt.

8.

Tolls on commodities shall generally be determined by taking into consideration whether the commodities are old or fresh and where and how the commodities have been manufactured.

(D) Weights and Measures.

Notes.

Coming next to weights and measures, we can easily imagine from the following rules and regulations that the revenue which Indian kings of yore realised from Government monopoly of weights and measures[11] could not be less than the revenue derived from tolls. Traders were forbidden, on penalty of a heavy fine, to have their own weights and measures, whether they might be true or false in the sense of their being or not being equal to those of Government manufacture. This is not all. Traders were required on penalty of a fine to have their weights and measures stamped afresh every day on payment of a fixed charge for stamping.

[11] [All this shows that there was really hardly any money in circulation, where this was or is the case, the only way of making commercial profit or of controlling revenue is to control the weights in use, and such control always exists where commerce is carried on in kind, even by savages. The merchant has his "weight in" and "weight out," the difference being his profit The king has his "royal weight" differing from the merchants' weight, the difference is his revenue. It is all quite understood by those who use it and sounds much worse than it is in practice. With a general currency in coin the processes are called "difference in buying and selling price" and "tax" — ED]

1.

The value of a *drôna*[12] "shall be a *pana* and a quarter, that of an *âdhaka*, $\frac{3}{4}$ths of a *pana*; that of a *prasta*, $\frac{6}{16}$ths of a *paṇa*; and that of a *kutumba*, $\frac{1}{16}$th of a *paṇa*."

2.

Measures of the same name used in measuring liquids shall be purchased at double the above rate. The value of a set of weights shall be twenty *paṇas*, and the value of a balance $\frac{3}{4}$ths of the value of a set of weights. The charge for stamping the balance every day shall be $\frac{4}{16}$ths of a *paṇa*.

3.

Negligence in having the day's stamp-mark shall be punished with a fine of $27\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇas*. Traders shall pay $\frac{1}{64}$th of a *paṇa* as charge for every day's stamp-mark on their measures.

(E) Municipalities.

Note.

Coming next to municipalities and jails as a source of revenue, we see a number of enactments forbidding, on penalty of heavy fines, various kinds of nuisances. Accustomed as we are in India to modern municipalities, which raise their revenue mainly from house-taxes and tolls and water-rates, and rarely from fines imposed for nuisances, we should not be led to think that in the absence of house-taxes and water-rates, municipal revenue derived from fines for nuisances must be of little or no value, especially if we take into consideration the official oppression and suspicious treatment to which people were subjected in those days.

1.

The Nâgaraka, or the Superintendent of Fortified Cities, shall register the arrival into, and departure of persons from, the city under his charge. He shall also have a register of the inhabitants, giving in detail the number of males, females, their castes, *gôtras*, names, professions and the number of quadrupeds kept by each of them, and the income and expenditure of each individual. He shall submit a report stating the arrival of hermits, ascetics, and *pâskandis* at the city. It is his duty to see that artisans, merchants, and other people are, as a rule, living in particular localities assigned to them. Violation of the rule fixing time and place for commerce shall be duly reported. He shall also make a report about such persons as are either spendthrifts or of cruel nature. The Superintendent as well as the inhabitants shall make a report stating the arrival or departure of guests at or from the houses of the inhabitants. Failure on the part of the inhabitants to observe the above rule shall be punishable with a fine of three *paṇas* for a night, provided no theft occurs during that night.

2.

As a precaution against fire, the inhabitants are strictly ordered to cook outside the houses; if necessary, during the summer, to have water stored in five earthen pots kept in a row in front of every house, to have in readiness axes, winnowing baskets and other instruments, and to remove from the vicinity of houses haystacks, straw-mats, &c. Failure to do this shall be punished with a fine of $\frac{1}{8}$th of a *paṇa* Persons whose profession requires constant use of fire shall live in a row in a particular locality assigned for them The heads of families shall take their beds to the door of their houses or shall sit by thousands in a row on mats spread on the road in front of their houses.

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12 [This is of great interest. The scales can be shown in the following ways —

1	2	3
$\frac{1}{16}$ paṇa = kutumba.	6 kutumba = 1 prastha.	6 kutumba = 1 prastha.
$\frac{6}{16}$ paṇa = prastha	2 prastha = 1 âdhaka.	12 kutumba = 1 âdhaka.
$\frac{12}{16}$ pana = âdhaka.	$1\frac{1}{3}$ âdhaka = 1 pana	16 kutumba = 1 paṇa.
$\frac{20}{16}$ paṇa = drôna.	$1\frac{1}{4}$ pana 1 drôṇa.	20 kutumba = 1 drôṇa.

The scale is based on the *pana* of 13 kutumbas, and, taking the *drôna* as a *sêr* of about 96 *tolas*, it is the scale that under many names and minor modifications has been the scale for all India in gold, silver, and copper through all time to the present day — ED.]

3.

Persons that do not go to help their (neighbours) in extinguishing the fire that has broken out, shall pay a fine of twelve *panas*. Persons carelessly causing fire shall pay a fine of twenty-four *paṇas*. Persons throwing dust on the road shall pay a fine of $\frac{1}{8}$th of a *pana*. Persons committing nuisance on roads, in bathing places, near reservoirs, temples and palaces shall pay a fine of one *pana*. Persons throwing carcasses of animals on roads shall pay a fine of from three to six *panas*. Persons carrying dead bodies on other than fixed paths shall pay the highest penalty, *viz*, three thousand *panas*. Cremation of dead bodies in other than fixed localities shall be punishable with a fine of twelve *panas*. Persons wandering in the streets at night for purposes other than midwifery, medical treatment, cremation of dead bodies, &c., extinguishing fires, or without passports, shall be punished with a fine adequate to the nature of their guilt.

(F) Jails.

1.

Prisoners who are young, old, or afflicted with disease shall be set free on the days of full moon and on the days which are assigned to their birth-star.

2.

Prisoners may be released on ransom being obtained either from charitable persons or from the relatives of the prisoners. Once in a day, or once in five days, prisoners may be set free on their having done a prescribed quantity of work, or on being sufficiently whipped, or on receiving an adequate amount of ransom.

Prisoners shall also be set free on the occasions of the king's acquisition of a new country by conquest, of installation, or coronation of princes, and on the occasions of the birth of princes.

(G) Currency.

Note.

Before entering into the question of premiums or discounts charged in the days of Châṇakya on coins of private or foreign mintage, it is necessary to know something about the metals used for coinage in those days and also the proportional value between the several coins then current.

The proportion between the several coins, their weight, and the amount of alloy used in each of them will be clear from the following table : —

	Names of the Coins.	Alloy.	Value in terms of *gunja* seeds, *i. e.* seeds of the *abrus precatorius*.
Silver.	1. Paṇa	$\frac{4}{16}$ copper, $\frac{1}{16}$ lead...	= 80 *gunja* seeds = $\frac{80}{122}$ of a *tola* = approximately $\frac{2}{3}$ of our modern Rupee.
	2. Ardhapaṇa ..	Do. ..	40 *gunjas*.
	3. Pâda	Do. ..	20 do.
	4. Ashtabhâga ..	Do. ..	10 do.
Copper.	1. Mâsha	$\frac{1}{4}$ alloy	5 do.
	2. Ardhamâsha ..	Do.	$2\frac{1}{2}$ do.
	3. Kâkaṇi	Do.	$1\frac{1}{4}$ do.
	4. Ardhakâkaṇi ..	Do.	$\frac{5}{8}$ *gunja*.

What particular metal was used as alloy in the copper coins is not clearly stated. All that Chânakya says about it is, that copper coins, *mâsha*, &c, must contain one part of an alloy in four parts by weight of the metal coined. The commentator of the *Arthaśâstra*, however, stated that the alloy was silver.

Whether gold was also coined in addition to silver and copper, is a point about which the *Arthaśâstra* is not quite clear.

In Bk. 2, Ch. 19, dealing with weights and measures, the *Arthaśâstra* refers to three gold pieces, *mâsha* = 5 *gunjas*, *suvarna* or *karsha* = 16 *mâshas*, and *pala* = 4 *karshas* It is not, however, stated whether the above pieces were current as coins or merely as weights.[13]

(H) Price of Grain.

Note.

It is interesting to note the price of grain in the market of those days, there being sufficient clue in the *Arthaśâstra* itself to determine this. In Bk. 5, Ch. III., which treats of the amount of annual salaries paid or payable to various Government employés of those days, the *Arthaśâstra* states that: "Grain may be substituted for money at the rate of one *âdhaka* of grain (perhaps rice) for a *man* of 60 *paṇas* per year." This seems to mean that an employé receiving 60 *paṇas* per year or 5 *paṇas* per month could be paid in grain at one *âdhaka* per day.

According to the table of weights and measures, given in the *Arthaśâstra*, one *âdhaka* is found to be equal to 50 *palas* or $\frac{50 \times 80 \times 4}{122}$ *tolas*. This, expressed in the modern Madras *sêr* of 24 *tolas* weight, is equal to $5\frac{1}{2}$ *sêrs* nearly. Accordingly, a Government employé received either 5 *panas* = $\frac{10}{3}$ British rupees or 165 *sêrs* of grain *per mensem*. This makes the price of grain to be $49\frac{1}{2}$ *sêrs* per modern rupee.

(I) Premia on Exchange.

Note.

According to the *Arthaśâstra*, when the ancient kings received cash for grain sold by them or fines in cash, they claimed 13 per cent. as premium on the cash and one-eighth of a *paṇa* per cent. as compensation for the loss the Government incurred in testing the fineness or the prescribed standard of the coins. Whether the premium was charged on all kinds of coin indiscriminately or only on coin issued by foreign kings and local personages is a question which the *Arthaśâstra* does not sufficiently explain, but the commentator says it was charged only on coin of private or foreign mintage. The claim was made up thus: 8 per cent. as *rûpikâ*, 5 per cent as *vyâji*, and one-eighth of a *paṇa* per cent. as *pârîkshika* or testing charge.

1.

The Superintendent of Salt shall in time recover from the contractor of salt the amount of money for which a lease to manufacture salt was given to him, and also one-sixth portion of the salt manufactured as tax. The Superintendent shall realise from the sale of the salt received as tax from the contractor the value of the salt, 8 per cent. more as *rûpikâ*, 5 per cent. more as *vyâji*, and one-eighth *paṇa* per cent. as *pârîkshika* or testing charge on the sale-proceeds of the salt.

2.

With regard to foreign salt brought for sale into his jurisdiction, the Superintendent shall receive one-sixth portion of the entire salt so imported and 5 per cent. more as trade-tax on the remainder of the imported salt. He shall realise from the sale of these two portions of the salt, thus received, the value of the salt, 8 per cent. more as *rûpikâ*, 5 per cent. more as *vyâji*, and one-eighth of a *paṇa* per cent. as testing charge.

[[13] This gives a scale, 5 *gunjas* = 1 *mâsha*, 16 *mâshas* = 1 *karsha*, 4 *karshas* = 1 *pala*. — ED.]

3.

The purchaser of the remainder of the foreign salt shall pay the necessary toll. Besides the toll, the same purchaser shall also pay as much compensation as is necessary to cover the loss the king might incur in not finding customers for his own salt. The purchaser who fails to fulfil the above conditions shall be punished with a fine of 600 *paṇas*.

Note.

With regard to premium charged, when fines were paid to the Government, it seems that a premium was charged on all coin, whether of State, private or foreign mintage.

4.

Because of the natural wickedness of the people and because of the mutable nature of the minds of kings, it is quite just to levy *rûpikâ* and *vyâji* in this wicked world. The king shall receive on all kinds of fines 8 per cent. more as *rûpikâ* and 5 per cent. more as *vyâji*, in addition to *rûpikâ* on all fines exceeding a hundred *paṇas*.

(J) Passports.

1.

Travellers shall receive from the Superintendent of Passports a pass at one *mâsha* per pass, whenever they want to enter into, or go out of, a king's dominions. Persons travelling anywhere in a king's territory without a pass shall pay a fine of 12 *paṇas*. Persons with false or forged passes shall be punished with a fine of 1,000 *paṇas*. Foreigners travelling in a king's dominions without a pass shall pay a fine of 3,000 *paṇas*. The Superintendents of Pasture Lands shall examine passports. Pasture lands shall be instituted in places of danger.

(K) Excise.

1.

The Superintendent of the Excise Department shall centralise or decentralise, as it suits requirements, the trade in wines, liquor and other intoxicating drugs. Both purchasers and sellers of liquor in places other than fixed localities shall pay a fine of 600 *paṇas*. Liquor shall not be carried out of villages or cities, nor shall liquor-shops be closely situated. Liquor shall be sold only in such quantities as are not likely to cause workmen to be careless in their work, loss of temper in good people (*aryas*) and excitement or fury in enthusiasts. In such cases, it shall either be issued only in moderate quantities, or they shall be made to drink in the shop itself.[14]

2.

Persons coming to liquor-shops with anything wrongly obtained by them shall be arrested outside the shops. Likewise shall spendthrifts be seized outside the shops. The price of liquor, fresh or old, shall never be enhanced, nor shall old and injurious liquor be sold. Such liquor shall be given free of charge to coolies and slaves, or to horses and pigs.

3.

Liquor-shops shall consist of many comfortable rooms, furnished with cots and chairs. The drinking places shall possess such comforts as changing seasons require, always having garlands of flowers, scent and perfumes. The spies stationed in the liquor-shops should do their best to know whether the expenditure incurred by various persons in the shop is natural or unnatural. They should also mark fresh customers. Liquor-dealers shall be held responsible for the safety of the jewellery of persons who fall asleep in the shops in consequence of intoxication. They shall otherwise pay as much fine as the loss of jewellery is calculated to cost. The dealers shall also do their best to understand the disposition, manners, and behaviour of men that with their beautiful mistresses fall asleep in closed rooms in consequence of intoxication.

14 [An instance of ancient "on" and "off" licenses. — ED.]

Note.

After explaining the various processes of manufacturing different kinds of wine and liquor, Châṇakya goes on to lay down some rules restricting the sale of foreign liquor.

4.

Foreign liquor shall pay 5 per cent. toll on the sale. The Superintendent shall also receive 5 per cent. more as *vyâji* on the sale-proceeds of foreign liquor. By taking into consideration the tax, the toll, and the *vyâji* which foreign liquor-dealers have paid to the Government, the Superintendent shall determine the amount of compensation which they have to pay to the Government to make up the loss in the sale of local produce.

(L) The Slaughter-house.

1.

The Superintendent of Slaughter-houses shall punish with a fine of 3,000 *paṇas* those who kill beasts that have been declared to be under State protection, and the same punishment shall be dealt in the case of slaughtering, caging, or molesting the birds, fish, and various quadrupeds living in reserved State forests. The Superintendent shall receive one-sixth portion of the beasts that are being taken for slaughter. He shall receive one-tenth portion of the birds and fish slaughtered or to be slaughtered.

2.

Such living animals as birds and deer thus taken by the Superintendent shall be let free in the reserved State forests. The Superintendent shall forbid, on penalty of a fine of 1,000 panas, the slaughter or molestation of the following animals:—Elephants and horses living in the seas and oceans, fishes having the form of man, bulls, asses, all kinds of fish in tanks, lakes and rivers, and birds such as heron, &c.

3.

Butchers shall sell fresh and boneless flesh of animals that have just been killed. With regard to bony flesh, they shall give towards compensation as much more flesh as is equivalent to the weight of the bone. False balance shall be punishable with a fine of eight times the value of the flesh sold by it. The calf, the bull, and the cow shall not be slaughtered. The slaughter of these shall be punished with a fine of 50 paṇas. The same fine shall be meted out to those who kill animals with unnecessary pain.

4.

Rotten flesh, flesh with bad smell, and the flesh of animals that have died suddenly shall never be sold. Wild beasts, quadrupeds such as deer, elephants, &c., and fish may be killed or caged, provided that they are not living in State reserves of forests.

(M) Oil.

Note.

It was the duty of the Superintendent of Agriculture to gather not only various kinds of agricultural produce but different sorts of oil-seeds, both from the Crown and private land. Out of the oil extracted from the oil-seeds thus gathered, such quantity of oil as was necessary for use in the palace was stored and the rest sold.

(N) Butter.

Note.

It was the duty of the Superintendent of the State Cows to attend to the affairs of State cattle. He had to receive and remit to the king's store-house or treasury the quantity of *ghî*[15] collected, and also the miscellaneous income from the sale of cattle, milk, wool, &c.

[15] [Butter clarified by boiling and so preserved.— ED.]

For a hundred cattle composed of an equal number of old cows, milch cows, pregnant cows, bulls, and calves which a herdsman had to rear with proper care, he had to pay to the king 8 *varâkas* or 229 *sêrs* of *ghî* per annum.

The Superintendent of Cows had also to supervise the operation of shearing the sheep once in six months and to send the wool to the store-house of the king.

Though the rules laid down by Châṇakya with regard to the classification, branding, grazing, milking, &c., of the cows, sheep, &c., are interesting, they are not included here for want of space.

(O) Salt.

Note.

The manufacture of salt was a Government monopoly. It was sometimes manufactured by Government agency and was often leased out to private contractors according to the convenience of the king. It has been already shown that soon after the crystallization of salt out of sea-water, it was the duty of the Superintendent of Salt to recover the value of the lease agreed upon, together with one-sixth portion of the salt manufactured.

(P) Goldsmiths.

Note.

Goldsmiths were regarded as the most dishonest of people, given to open robbery. They were not, therefore, allowed, in the days of Châṇakya, to set up their shops wherever they pleased. It was the duty of the Superintendent of Gold-work to have goldsmiths' shops opened in one or more fixed localities and supervise the working of gold and silver jewels for the king and the people alike. The rules prescribed by Châṇakya with regard to various kinds of ornamental work, the loss of gold resulting from the various kinds of operations and melting, the payment which goldsmiths had to receive for the work they did, and the punishments for fraudulent proceedings, are all very interesting and require more space than is now possible.

(Q) Commerce.

1.

It is the duty of the Superintendent of Commerce to distinguish between inferior and superior kinds of commodities, and to fix the rate at which they are to be sold, by taking into consideration the demand and supply of the commodities, their growth either in land or water, their conveyance either by land or water, the nature of their production and distribution, and the labour and capital spent in manufacturing them.

2.

He shall restrict to one market the sale of such commodities as are of constant supply and thereby raise the rate of their price. If the demand for them is still not affected, he shall enhance the rate still more. Commodities of local manufacture shall be sold in one or more fixed places and those imported in many markets. This restriction shall, however, be made dependent on the convenience of the people.

3.

Such large profits as are ruinous to the people shall be abandoned. No restriction shall be imposed on the supply of such commodities as are constantly demanded, nor shall their sale be confined to one market Such of the king's commerce as is not restricted to one market may be sold by Government merchants at a fixed rate, they being bound, however, to pay compensation for the loss that might occur in such pedlary.

(R) Taxes on the Sale of Commodities.

1.

The Superintendent of Commerce shall receive for the Government one-sixteenth of those commodities which are sold by cubical measure; one-twentieth of those which are sold by weighing in balance, and one-eleventh of those which are sold by computation.

2.

Merchants dealing with the king's commerce shall put the sale-proceeds in a locked wooden box with a small opening left in its upper part. They shall hand over the charge of this box, together with the balance, weights and measures, to the Superintendent of Commerce when the eighth division of the day-time has struck. They shall also state how much has been sold and how much is in stock.

(S) Sale of Imported Commodities.

1.

With regard to the commerce of commodities imported into the kingdom, the Superintendent shall consider the demand, supply and price of such commodities and see whether there can be left any margin for profit after the following charges are met on the commodities: —

(1) Toll (*śulka*).
(2) Road Cess (*vartanî*).
(3) Conveyance Cess (*âtivâhika*).
(4) Duty payable at Military Stations (*gulma-dêya*).
(5) Ferry Charges (*tara-dêya*).
(6) Payments and provisions to coolies (*bhakta*).
(7) The portion payable to the king (*bhâga*).

2.

If he finds no profit, he shall arrange for a reasonable profit either by prohibiting the sale of the king's commerce for a time or by giving in barter such valuable merchandise as will yield reasonable profit to the foreign merchants in foreign countries. He may either arrange for the conveyance of one-fourth of the foreign merchandise by land which is cheaper than conveyance by water. He may also issue instructions to the Superintendents of Forests, Boundaries, Forts, and Country-parts to show such concessions to the foreign merchants as will be found necessary.

(T) Courtezans.

1.

The Superintendent of Courtezans shall employ in the king's palace, on a salary of 1,000 *paṇas* per annum, two courtezans of good breeding and noted for their beauty, youth, and accomplishments. The property of deceased courtezans shall pass into the hands of their daughters. In the absence of any daughters, their property shall be taken by the king. If a courtezan and her sons employed in the king's palace desire to free themselves from attending the court with a view to live independently, the courtezan shall pay a ransom of 24,000 *paṇas* and her son 12,000 *paṇas*.

2.

It is the duty of the Superintendent to fix payments which a courtezan has to receive for a day from any person courting her, the portion of ancestral property which a courtezan has to receive from her mother and others, the income which she should acquire in the year, the expenditure which she has to incur in the year, and the probable gain she is likely to earn in future. The Superintendent shall forbid extravagant proceedings in all courtezans.

Courtezans who place their jewels in the hands of other persons than their mothers shall be punished with a fine of 4¼ *paṇas*. Courtezans who sell or mortgage their ancestral property shall be punished with a fine of 50¼ *paṇas*.

3.

Courtezans shall be punished with a fine of 24 *paṇas* for insulting those who court them, with a fine of 48 *paṇas* for beating them, and with a fine of 51¾ *paṇas* for cutting off their ears.

4.

Courtezans shall make a report to the Government not only about the income they have earned and are likely to earn, but also about the persons who have been courting them.

5.

Dramatists, players, singers, and other musicians that have recently come to the kingdom shall pay 5 *paṇas* for holding their performances. A courtezan shall pay to the Government two days' earnings in a month.

6.

Professors who are capable of teaching music, playing with musical instruments, dancing, writing, painting, garland-making, shampooing, and other accomplishments shall be provided with maintenance by the king. They shall accordingly train dramatists, players, painters, &c.

(U) Gambling.

1.

With a view to seize foreign spices, the Superintendent of Gambling shall centralise gambling and punish with a fine of 12 *paṇas* those who gamble in places other than fixed localities. Gamblers bringing complaint to the king shall be severely punished. My preceptor is of opinion that of the two, the winner and the loser in gambling, if the former complain, he shall be punished with a fine of 1,000 *paṇas*, and if the latter, with a fine of 2,000 *paṇas*, since, without knowing how to gamble, he gambles, and, unable to endure his loss, complains to the king. I, Kâutilya, cannot bring myself to agree with my preceptor; for, if the punishment of the loser be doubled, then no gambler will complain to the king. The majority of gamblers are too clever in false play to be honest. Hence a person noted for his character and honesty shall be appointed as Superintendent of Gambling. The Superintendent shall supply the gamblers with dice at one-fourth of *mâsha* for a pair as hire. If any gambler substitutes by trick his own dice for those thus supplied, he shall be punished with a fine of 12 *paṇas*.

2.

Fraud in gambling shall be punished with a fine of 1,000 *paṇas*. A loser claiming or attempting to get back the wager is culpable and shall be subject to the punishment of theft.

3.

The Superintendent shall take five per cent. of the wager from the several winners, shall also receive the hire for which the dice, &c., have been supplied, and also the amount chargeable for providing water, room, and the licence for gambling.

4.

The Superintendent of Gambling shall also have the power of executing the sale or mortgage of properties and shall be punished if he neglect to forbid all kinds of tricks by sleight of hand in gambling.

(V) Buildings.

Note.

The only way of deriving any revenue from buildings in forts was through fines imposed in cases of violating the rules laid down with regard to forms of buildings and sanitation.

There are rules binding the house-owners to keep the gutter of their houses in such condition as to allow a free passage to gutter-water, to construct raised platforms in front of their houses, and to leave open for common use the places where fire was worshipped or grain was ground or pounded. Violation of the above rules was punished with various kinds of fines.

(W) Artisans.

Note.

Under this head are included merchants, painters, washermen, dramatists, singers and other persons of artistic profession

Strict rules with fines were laid down prescribing the way in which the artisans had to work and receive payments or wages for their work either from the Government or from private citizens. The revenue realised from this source was on ordinary occasions through fines and on occasions of emergency through special taxes.

(X) Religious Institutions.

Note.

It is a fact beyond controversy that ancient India was more devout than modern India. The numerous temples and the voluminous religious literature now in existence in India are standing monuments of the deep religious earnestness of the ancient Hindus. The treasure hoarded, therefore, in temples and other religious institutions must necessarily have been an immense quantity, compared with which the present value of the jewelry now in stock in the various temples of India falls into insignificance.

We shall see, when we come to deal with the special taxes levied by ancient kings to meet emergencies, how ancient Hindu kings and their ministers entertained no scruples whatever in utilising the sacred treasure for their war and other purposes.

(Y) Gate-dues.

Note.

Apart from the tolls levied on merchandise there was a tax imposed on traffic on entrance into forts. The amount of gate-dues or *dvârâdêya* was equal to one-fifth of the toll paid on the merchandise. This was not, however, a strict tax since it might be remitted as occasions required.

1.

Dvârâdêya shall be one-fifth of the toll or it may be remitted as it suits the place and the parties concerned.

(Z) Special Tax on Bâhirikas.

Note.

Who the Bâhirikas were and what was their profession is a point on which little or nothing is known. Whether they were mercenary soldiers or a banking class like the Jews, cannot be determined. That they were a wealthy class and that some of them lived in a city called Nalanda, situated near the famous town Râjagriha in Magadha, is plainly alluded to in the *Sûyaḍâgamasutta* of the Jaina Literature.

1.

The Bâhirikas shall not be let loose to proceed with their work of destroying cities and countries. Either they shall be kept in a fixed locality in the country or a special coercive tax be imposed on them.

(To be continued.)

THE RELIGION OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLES.

BY THE LATE C P. TIELE.

(Translated by G. K. Nariman.)

(Continued from p. 18.)

3. The Minstrel-Prophets.

It cannot be positively determined whether the poets of the *Gâthas*, when they speak of the **Saoshyants**, mean themselves by the expression, or whether, as when they introduce Zarathushtra speaking, it is only a peculiar form and the *saoshyants* too were hierophants of former days. The appellation literally conveys the sense of the "useful ones," "those who promote growth and felicity," the "redeemers," and here it can be best rendered by "**absolving prophets.**" In the later *Avesta* the term denotes the **saviours to come,** one or more redeemers, who will rise at the termination of the world and bring to pass the renovation of all things. But we do not meet with this expectation in the older texts.[6] There the *saoshyants* are prophets of an anterior age or of the present. Ahura taught them the dogma whose fruit is good actions, whereby they become friends, brothers, fathers, to the lords of houses.[7] Vishtasp and Frashaoshtra pave the way for the doctrine. The *saoshyants* become the fosterers of peace, the saviours of the land, wise of thought and benevolent of purpose and by consequence the most redoubtable adversaries of Aeshma, the great fiend. "How shall I learn," cries out one of the minstrels, "whether Thou rulest over these too, who menace me with horrors and violence?" and justifies his inquiries by adding, "The *saoshyants* must know what shall prove their happiness," which shows that he counts himself among the redeemers of mankind.[8]

They bear other titles besides this. One calls himself a **zaotar** of pious rectitude. *Zaotar* is the old Aryan designation for priest, the Sanskrit *hotar*, who afterwards appears as the officiating priest and reciter at the *soma* or *haoma* sacrifice. Another rejoices in the name of **ratu,** known to Ahura Mazda. Perhaps at this period the term connotes, *inter alia*, lord spiritual in general as contra-distinguished from *ahu*, or lord temporal. Subsequently the name came to be appropriated to the second of the officiating priests, the assistant of the *zaotar*. Perhaps it was applied to all the seven, who once assisted him, and whose functions were later transferred to a single individual.[9] Again they assume the title of **mathran,** or inspired oracles, a name which dates from the East Aryan period, though the term analogous to it we encounter, not in the *Vedas*, but in classical Sanskrit. By *mathrans* were meant nothing more or less than the prophets. But Zarathushtra also is so styled, the friend of Mazda. The *mathrans* pray that the Deity may give right direction to their thoughts and words just as He did regarding their predecessor and chief.[10]

[6] In mentioning the *saoshyants*, only once does the future seem to be spoken of. In *Yasna* 46, 3 it is asked when the "Increasers of the days" (those who grant a long life?) will appear to save the world of Asha, the wise *saoshyants* with their effective doctrines. But in the first place here are meant teaching prophets and not the miraculous beings of the eschatology, and, secondly, in the next *strophe* they themselves are called the saviour-prophets, the expectation, therefore, obviously refers to the nearest future.

[7] *Yasna* 45, 11. *Deng-paiti*, which occurs here, can be explained in two ways either as equal to Sansk. *dampati*, householder, or "wise" or "wise prince." Cannot *deng* be the Gathic form of *danghu*, and consequently the word mean *danghupaiti*, lord of the country? *Danghu* and its derivatives do not occur in the *Gâthas*. The poets often invoke the protection of princes.

[8] Compare *Yasna* 53, 2; 48, 12 and 9, 34, 13.

[9] The celestial intellects are also called *ratus*, especially in the younger *Avesta*, *Vispe ratavo*, "all lords." *Neriosangh* translates it on a single occasion (*Spiegel*, 42, 6) by *guru*, or spiritual preceptor. *Cf.* the prayer *yatha ahu vairya, atha ratush ashatchit hachâ.*

[10] *Yasna* 50, 5 and 6 The correct translation of these *strophes*, so far as I know, is given by Geldner alone in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, 1885, 28, p. 259.

Athravan, the familiar appellation of the priest in later times, does not appear in the body of the *Gâthas*. But this term, which signifies fire-priest, is of universal occurrence in the posterior *Avesta*. Is this also the case with the not less well-known word "magian," under which denomination, according to Herodotus, the priests of Persia passed, and whom he characterises as one of the Median clans? It has been attempted to read this name in a couple of sentences in the younger *Avesta*, but the word there used most indisputably expresses a totally different idea.[11] In the *Gâthas*, however, in some places the *magvans* are mentioned in whom Martin Haug saw the magians that were to be, and whom he attempted to bring into *rapport* with *maga*, which is so repeatedly met with. This view is now surrendered by all scholars. Most of the exegetes are with Haug, when he attaches to *maga* the sense of "the great emprise," "the mighty cause," while others are for a "league," "a fraternity of the devout"; but all are agreed that *magvans* mean "magnates, the reputable," or, in the primary import of the word, "the generous" or possibly the "members of the union." On this point the last word is not yet pronounced It is of superlative interest for the history of the Zarathushtrian religion, and is of equal consequence with respect to the question whether the magians are of foreign extraction and, if so, of Babylonian origin. Repeated and careful investigation of the problem before us has satisfied me that the hypothesis of the **alien origin of the magi,** which at one time did not strike me as inadmissible, is reared on too unsolid grounds to be any longer upheld. It takes its stand merely on Jeremiah xxxix. 3, which records that Nebuchadnezzar, on his invasion of Judea, was accompanied, among others, by the Rab-Mag, in whom those who adopt the traditional interpretation behold the supreme head of the magi. But in the first place the equivalent for sorcerers and wizards in the Babylonian and the Assyrian is entirely different, and secondly this Rab-Mag is positively ranked among the "princes" or the "grandees" of the king of Babylon by Hebrew writers. Further, we have the old Summerian vocable *mag*, which was assimilated with the Assyrian and is explained by "great," "mighty," "brilliant," "lord," or "prince," but never conveys the meaning of priest or enchanter. These magi have nothing in common with the Medo-Persian magians, nor in all probability with Rab-Mag.[12] Supposing Rab-Mag really was the head of the magians he must have entered Babylon from Media. But that is not likely.

The identity of the *magavans* with the magians is not proved, nor is it established that the word is cognate with *maga*, in respects other than etymological. In both the passages where they are mentioned the most appropriate signification is "mighty" or "able" — those whose support and countenance the evangelists most needed.[13] *Maga* on the contrary appears to be a technical phrase. In ascertaining its meaning, we must bear in mind that it is also employed in an unfavourable sense. A poet who might well stand for Zarathushtra hopes that men may hearken to the preaching of his followers and reject the impurities of the *maga*, through whose inimical potency it is that the **karpans,** or purblind priests of the *daevas*, and through whose science it is that the tyrants of the land, exercise their influence over such a wide circle.[14] As against this we have "the great providing *maga*" and "Vohumano's *maga*," as whose best friend Vishtasp is celebrated and over whom he obtains his sovereignty.[15] Here the notions of both "great work" and a "compact" harmonise with the context, but not the second one there, where it is used in an unfavourable sense.

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[11] See the remarks in my treatise on the age of the *Avesta*.

[12] This hypothesis has been elsewhere exhaustively controverted by me

[13] *Yasna* 33, 7. Though the first line is very difficult, nevertheless the words, *e g.*, *ya sruye pare magauno*, can hardly mean anything but "so that I may be listened to by the magnates," and in the third line we have what the poet desires of the magnates, namely, that he might perform public sacrifices and prayers. *Yasna* 51, 15 mentions the (heavenly) reward which Zarathushtra had taught or promised to the maghavans.

[14] *Yasna* 48, 10. Is *urupayeinti* derived from *pa* + *uru*? In *Yasna* 53, 7 also the word seems to bear an unfavorable sense, but the passage is obscure.

[15] In *Yasna* 46, 14, *mazoi magai* refer to *urvatho*.

I fancy maga is to be construed rather in the sense of potency or efficiency — a miraculous or supernatural power of the priests, and hence finally as magic itself: a power wielded by the Zarathushtrian *vates* as well as the hierophants of the *daevas*, the only difference being that the former practised it for good objects, the latter to encompass nefarious designs. The Medo-Persian *magus* can very well be derived therefrom, but there is no evidence that it was formed at the time of the composition of the *Gâthas*. Accordingly the magians are entirely absent from the body of the *Avesta*, though perhaps they owe their name to an ancient Avestaic idea.

By whatever title we characterise them, the minstrel-prophets possess a lofty conception of their peculiar function, their avocation and the sublimity of their dogmas. Although, unlike the seers of old, whom they remember with reverence, they are not of the number of the founders of the faith, and although they delight in putting those seers before themselves, before even Zarathushtra to whom Mazda has disclosed his lore, it is hard to draw the line between where they address or exhort in their names and where they preach on their own initiative. At least quite as often they lay claim to the distinction of "redeemers of the land." And it is not that they are not conscious of being favoured with special divine communication: they themselves declare the fact with no uncertain voice. To behold the deity with their eyes and to confer with him shall be permitted to them, should they invoke in righteousness the best spirit and ever foster tillage. Mazda and Asha illumine their intelligence through the holy Mind, so that they discern what is right. Their dogma is the dogma of Mazda. The most secret of principles are divulged to them and in their comprehension of things spiritual they are likened to the Godhead.[16] And this communion with Mazda is the intercourse of friend with friend.[17] Like the Rishis of the *Vedas* they "saw" their songs. "Now will I proclaim," begins one of the poets endowed with prevision, "to those who are approaching intent (on instruction) what great gifts are bestowed on the knowing, the eulogiums and sacrificial psalms of Vohumano (appointed) for Ahura well-meditated in devoutness (*asha*) and clearly perceived in the heavens."[18] It is admitted, however, that they have woven these hymns to the Ahuras, and have dedicated themselves to the minstrel's art (*men gairé*) and their lives to prophecy agreeably to *asha*. It is at all events manifest that the hymns are pregnant with extraordinary potency. A *manthra*, or maxim of magical efficacy, springing from *asha*, or true piety, opens the way to bliss and athanasia (*haurvatat* and *ameretat*.) With the *manthras* the seer proceeds to the Chinvat Bridge which leads to elysium,[19] or brings the celestial intelligences from their abode to the earth to succour the believer. In figurative language, which reminds us of the *Veda*, a bard sings: "Now will I yoke the swiftest steeds of your glorification that are strong by the good Mind to gain the bridge of Heaven, O Mazda and Asha. Be thou be carried by them (mount them) and come to my help."[20]

On the other hand, damnation is the close of life for those who will not conduct themselves according to these teachings. The *manthras* enable those who recite them to control the wicked, the transgressors, and the Lie-demons. The *manthras* slay the Druksh, who deserve death, for assassins are they. The apostles of evil counsel kill by their preachings the reason of life and rob men of the longed-for blessings of Vohumano. Murderers of the revealed wisdom are these tyrants with their sorcery. They corrupt the respected of men by extolling unto them a life of sinfulness. Indeed, the opponents are portrayed in awful colors as the antagonists of the faithful who can advance only the reprobate, waylay the good in forests, menace the God-fearing with the sword, despoil the householders, men and women, of their

[16] *Yasna* 31, 8; 33, 6; 45, 1; 48, 3, &c.

[17] The whole of the beautiful song in *Yasna* 44 (*Gatha Ushlavaiti*), the *strophes* of which begin with the words (*tat thwa peresa eresh moi vaocha ahura*), "This I ask thee, tell me aright, Ahura," is a prayer to God for revelation in questions which bear themselves, so to say, the answers.

[18] *Yasna* 30, 1.

[19] *Yasna* 44, 17

[20] *Yasna* 50, 7.

possessions, and, which is the worst, beguile the pious from the path to Vohumano, the benignant intelligence, the true Order.[21]

And those who dispense these great blessings and avert great calamities in virtue of the power with which God has gifted them are entitled to appreciation and assistance. The Creator of the world does not reveal his mystery to man direct, but through the medium of *asha* (which has here the meaning of the cult), so that the remaining classes receive their knowledge through the priests and prophets. However supreme the importance attaching to the duty of a good king to rule with prudence, and of a husbandman to till the soil for the maintenance of all, the ecclesiastical life is the best one can assume.[22] And the priests therefore have high claims. Those who repudiate these and deny the eloquent man (*erezhukhdha*) his due, know full well what penalty awaits them which there is no escaping. One bard goes so far as to specify how much his merits have earned for him — ten pregnant mares and a camel — but he vows to consecrate it all to Mazda [23] Actual *danastutis* or grateful panygerics for presents received from patrons by the sacerdotal caste, which so frequently are to be met with in the *Vedas*, there are none in the *Gâthas*. However, a few litanies come very near to them. They that insure felicity for all, themselves merit good fortune. It lies on men in easy circumstances to provide for the well-being of those who disclose to them the true doctrines. Must they not receive the choicest part of the bounties — they who show the right way to salvation in both the worlds, here and hereafter, and the paths that lead to the real world where Ahura dwells?[24]

But this surely is not the prevailing tone of the *Gâthas* The echoes that we perceive in these scanty remnants of the Zarathushtrian literature, these texts transmitted with insouciance, in places wholly unintelligible, are those of a grim struggle, a profound conviction and faith, a real religious enthusiasm, a courageous but not hopeless passion for the creed. In an ecstatic outburst the poet declares :—

"I will predict. Lend me your ears — ye who from near and ye who from far come coveting salvation. Everything must now be pondered over in public. Not a second time shall the prophet of mendacity corrupt the world by the wicked teachings which his false tongue directs . . . . I will proclaim what the all-wise Mazda Ahura has told me in the beginning of the world . . . . of all the best the greatest that which the Holiest has revealed unto me, the Word which is the best for man to hear. He that obeys this my word and attends to it to him shall come Haurvatat and Ameretat and Mazda Ahura himself with the works of the good Mind." [25]

But the forms in which this belief is expressed is Oriental and antique in its essence. It would be without justification to see in the consciously artistic composition of many of the hymns evidences of their late origin. They are obviously the product of a school of priestly minstrels who energetically strive not only for the propagation of their purer faith and their

[21] *Yasna* 32, 9—11. Comp. 45, 8, 28, 5, 44, 14. [These are some of the many stanzas scattered throughout the Gathic texts breeding an intense spirit of righteous hatred against all that is evil in a strong contrast with the mild virtues of Buddhism, which, in guise of the so-called theosophy, have been attracting not a few Parsis oblivious of the essentially virile nature of their *practical* faith. Leaving aside the hybrid products of theosophy we can scarcely conceive of two religious systems so fundamentally different as those embodied in the precepts of Zarathustrâ and of Buddha. — TR]

[22] *Yasna* 43, 9; 48, 5. [Let the good kings obtain the rule. Let not the evil monarchs govern us, (but let the righteous gain the day and rule us) with deeds done in a good discernment, O thou pious wisdom, Aramaiti ! sanctifying to men's minds the best of blessings for (their) offspring. Yea, for the Kine, let (Thy) toil be given and may'st thou cause her to prosper for our life. — S. B. E XXXI p 155.] Darmesteter has correctly seen that in the above, three classes of people are spoken of, *viz.*, prince, priest and peasant.

[23] *Yasna* 44, 18 and 19.

[24] *Yasna* 43, 1—3. These *strophes* seem to be only a prelude to the song proper in which Zarathushtra appears speaking and announces the revelation received from Mazda. They seem to have been added later on.

[25] *Yasna* 45, 1—6.

higher culture, but with a naïve candour for the interests and the supremacy of their status, and who do not dissociate personal advantage from the triumph of their cause.

4. The Mother-country of the Zarathushtrian Religion.

The question of the birth-place of the Zarathushtrian religion does not coincide with that of the locality in which the books of the *Avesta* were, we do not say, committed to writing, but composed and perhaps for a prolonged space of time continued to be handed down by word of mouth from one generation to another. The books might issue from very varying countries. The most archaic texts, the *Gâthas*, were in all likelihood first chanted in a place where the language of the minstrel was current. But this is just the problem: Where was this language spoken? The several books, as everyone knows, are not of equal antiquity and are written in a double dialect, one more ancient than the other. Of the later body of writings much could very well have been indited in lands where the vernacular was different, but where the employment of the old sacred tongue in which the creed was originally enunciated was considered necessary to the composition of religious scripture. In a few of the youngest portions traces of Persian influence have been actually discovered. Should we even definitely settle the area of the Gâthic dialect, that would not prove that Zarathushtrianism took its rise in that region. It is possible for it to have been promulgated there by the saintly prophets and yet to have its origin in another quarter. The point at issue is: Where are we to look for the nativity of the Zarathushtrian faith?

It is a difficult question to solve. We lack the necessary documents, and the *Gâtha* texts betray not the faintest trace of geographical allusion. All that can be laid down with certainty is that Persia proper cannot be the original habitat of the Mazdayasnian religion. The speech obtaining here is indeed akin to the Avestaic or Baktrian, but is actually different. Therefore all the other provinces of Iran are open to examination. No wonder that in the scarcity and the unreliability of the data the views of the researchers on the point are widely divergent. While one of them believes he can bring forward evidence in support of East Iran, particularly Baktria, another champions Media, and a third points to the North-West, contending that the religion spread from the South-West of the Caspian Sea from Atropatene that was to be, and extended over the rest of Iran.

It is not possible here to recapitulate all the arguments even in their main outlines. They are co-related with the hypothesis respecting the age of the *Avesta*, though not so that they stand or fall together. We cannot more than stop a moment to glance at a few.

Those who are for the East Iranian theory find eminent support in the first *fargard* or chapter of the *Vendidad*, of which we have already spoken before. But waiving the surmise, which it involves, that the author of the chapter drew upon an earlier document of an exclusively geographical nature, granting for the moment that all the countries catalogued in the *fargard* are comprised in East Iran, supposing also that all the names of places occurring in the *Avesta* refer to East Iran (which is far from established), — still it would not follow that the new faith originated in East Iran. It may there have attained to its earliest growth and may have seen the light elsewhere. If we take into consideration that the *Vendidad* ranks but with the younger components of the body of the *Avesta* literature, that the writer of its opening chapter, in its present condition, had in view not a description of the mother-country of his religion, or the history of its dissemination, but simply a survey of the Mazdayasnian world of his day and that before all it was his object to recount the injuries which the counter-creations of the evil had inflicted; further, that to him Airyana-vaejo, the primeval abode of the Aryans, belonged to the region of legends; and lastly, that the existence of other countries was not unknown to him, — then we shall no longer jump to the conclusion that the Zarathushtrian reformation was consummated in East Iran.

Much less has to be set forth in favor of the Great Media or Media proper hypothesis. It states that the reform movement appeared after the *latria* of Mazda had pre-existed, though in a different guise; that it was a natural religion gradually developed from the old Aryan faith and had long been diffused over all the countries comprised in Iran. The reformers of this ancient Mazdaism must then have been the Magians about the time of Darius Hystaspes. Faithful to the religion of his ancestors he would have nothing to do with the protestants, and, having slain the pseudo-Bardiya, Gaumata the Magian of Media, he persecuted his comrades, and, according to his own testimony, abolished the innovations which the *magush* had introduced into the cult during his reign. The complaints so loudly uttered in the *Gâthas* refer to his sacrilege.

Now this assumption is a tissue of improbabilities. The whole *Avesta* militates against it. Is it conceivable that the Magians have been the founders of the religion of Zarathushtra, the Magians who are not once mentioned in all the sacred scripture from its oldest to its latest component? Is it conceivable that Media was the birth-place of the reform, and yet neither this country, nor its capital of Ekbatana, famed from time immemorial, should chance to be mentioned? With the solitary exception of Ragha, the seat of the priesthood situtate on the farthest confines of Media, what we come upon are almost exclusively cities and principalities of East and North Iran. Supposing Darius's treatment of the Magians can be labelled persecution, that persecution partook more of the nature of politics than of religion, except perhaps for the fact that the king restored the ancestral sanctuaries of the Persians, which the Magians, possibly in a puritanical zealotry for the Mazdayasnian faith, appear to have closed. Darius was, according to the evidence of his own inscriptions, a Mazda-worshipper, and a Mazda-worshipper is a Zarathushtrian, though not necessarily always of rigid orthodoxy. Mazda may have occupied the place of a nature-god, say like Varuna, or may have supplanted the latter, but *as* Mazda he has never been a nature-god, but belongs exclusively to the Zarathushtrian system. On all these grounds this hypothesis, so elaborately advanced by its latest advocate Dillon, must be rejected. The names of two Median kings long before Darius, and of a Persian prince of the 7th century B. C., justify the inference that these were already pious Zarathushtrians, and that there is every reason to believe that the Aryan language of Media was not essentially disparate from the Old Persian. We do not comment on the impossibility of a reform in the times of Darius Hystaspes having for its object the replacement of nomadic existence by a life of settled avocations.

Nothing remains then but to look for **the cradle of the Zarathushtrian innovations in the north or north-west of Iran**, from whence it probably spread first to the east and south-east of Baktria as far as India, then to the south down to Media proper and Persia It is difficult to speak with greater precision. **Airyanem-vaejo, the "cradle of the Aryans,"** could be regarded as the parent land of the Aryans, because it is mentioned the first among the countries created by Mazda in *Vendidad*, 1. It was a very real land, though the memory of it was so blurred that legends and myths had made it their own. It had come to be confounded with the mythical locality of the Paradise Lost, where met together Ahuramazda and the *yazatas* with Yima, the first king of mankind, and where Zarathushtra conversed with the Godhead. It is characterised as **the country of the good daitya** (*vanghuyao daityao*), wherein the younger *Avesta* sees a river, in which the evil-spirit created a formidable hydra. *Daitya*, however, can scarcely connote anything save either "institution," "law" or "creation"; and we must recognise that the "good law" or "the good creation" is a strange name to bestow upon a river. Probably it indicates the old order of the world established by Mazda, the law of the pre-Zarathushtrian believers, which Zarathushtra came to revive. **The actual parent-land of the Aryans,** not the one confused with the paradise, **is identified, with reason, with Atropatene (Atropatkan, Azerbaijan)** on the south-west coast of the Caspian. This district is looked upon with considerable sanctity, its name denoting the "descent of fire." According

to one tradition Zarathushtra was born there And it was from here that issued the renaissance of the Mazdayasnian religion under the Parthian monarchy. It is not improbable, therefore, that the Zarathushtrian faith arose there.

Much less probable is the tradition that **Ragha** in the north-east of Media was the birth-place of the Prophet, or, in other words, of the Mazda-worship. Ragha was a city of the priesthood and that of great antiquity. In the Sassanide times the supreme Magi resided there, and long before this, when the *Vendidad* was written, it was governed by a high priest, the Zarathushtra or the **Zarathushtrotemo,** with no secular prince over him ; from which we can without difficulty explain the tradition which makes it Zarathushtra's birth-place. But the principal seat of the sacerdotal community of a religion is not *ipso facto* the spot where it first saw the light. Such is seldom the case. And in the enumeration of the lands created by Mazda, Ragha is mentioned in the first *fargard* of the *Vendidad*, neither in the first place nor next after the Aryan stem-land, but in the middle of others.

(To be continued.)

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M.A.

(Continued from p. 40.)

280, ii; ann. 1704: *s. v.* Naik (b), 470, ii; ann. 1758: *s. v.* Telinga, 694, ii; ann. 1785: *s. v.* Oojyne, 487, ii, *s. v.* Pundit, 561, i; ann. 1790: *s. v.* Baya, 56, i, *s. v.* Nard, 473, ii; ann. 1793: *s. v.* Durbar, 255, i; ann. 1799: *s. v.* Jowaulla mookhee, 354, ii, *s. v.* Lingam, 395, i; ann. 1808: *s. v.* Suttee, 670, ii; ann. 1810: *s. v.* Mugg, 455, ii; ann 1817: *s. v.* Ghee, 283, i; ann. 1818: *s. v.* Cubeer Burr, 215, i; ann. 1823: *s. v.* Thug, 697, ii; ann. 1827: *s. v.* Juggurnaut, 357, i; ann. 1835: *s. v.* Siwalik (d), 642, i, twice; ann. 1838: *s. v.* Swamy, 671, ii; ann. 1846: *s. v.* A Muck, 15, ii, twice; ann. 1864: *s. v.* Comorin, Cape, 184, ii; ann 1868: *s. v.* Lubbye, 399, ii; ann. 1871: *s. v.* Suttee, 671, i; ann. 1872: *s. v.* Bahaudur, 759, ii; ann. 1873: *s. v.* Pial, 533, ii; ann. 1874: *s, v.* Chiretta, 156, ii, *s. v.* Tucka, 716, ii; ann. 1876: *s. v* Bowly, 83, i.

(To be continued.)

BOOK-NOTICE.

ALTIRANISCHES WÖRTERBUCH, VON CHRISTIAN BARTHOLOMAE STRASSBURG; K. TRÜBNER; 1905.

IT cannot be considered a lack of respectful gratitude towards the work done by the elder generation of Iranian scholars, if the younger Iranists think it necessary to continually, by unremitting labour, revise the fundamentals on which these studies rest. The editions of the Avesta texts by Westergaard and others have been replaced by that of Geldner; the translations of Darmesteter and other scholars have taken the place of Spiegel's work The year 1904 has brought us two of the most important achievements of this kind Some months ago the Encyclopedia of Iranian Research, published by Professors Geiger and Kuhn, has been completed, by which we are enabled to survey the rapid progress realized since the publication of Spiegel's "Eranische Alterthumskunde." And just now the long and eagerly-expected **Altiranische Wörterbuch of Professor Bartholomae** has appeared, which comprises both the language of the Avesta and the Ancient Persian of the cuneiform inscriptions.

This new work has been preceded by the Glossary of Justi, published in his "Handbuch der Zendsprache;" a most admirable representation of the knowledge available forty years ago. Now during these forty years the studies on which the composition of a dictionary must be based, have greatly advanced in all directions. I shall refer only to one of them: the increased exactness and depth of researches in the domain of historical grammar, and more especially of historical phonology, have enabled the interpreters of the Zoroastrian texts to avail themselves of the comparison of the most ancient Indian dialect, the language of the Veda, with a degree of precision and safety unattainable in former times.

Among the scholars who have worked in this field, Professor Bartholomae himself, as is well known, occupies one of the foremost places. In his Dictionary, as in all his Avestan researches, he constantly looks towards India, towards the Veda, and is intent on not giving up any profit that might be derived from Indian sources. He does not at all neglect to carefully record the native tradition on the meaning of Avestan words and phrases. But on the whole, we may, I believe, correctly describe his position in the old contest between the partisans of tradition and the partisans of comparative grammar, by stating that he thinks it right to examine both witnesses, and that for the most part the testimony of comparative philology appears to him to be the more important and trustworthy. With a never-failing carefulness he has expounded word after word in a space of 2,000 columns, he has given the passages in which each word occurs; he has translated the more important or difficult of these passages; and he has added etymological material, historical and mythological discussions, — compare, for instance, the articles Zarathushtra, Mithra, &c., — and copious references to modern linguistic and philological literature. And lists of tense-stems, nominal and pronominal stems, and indeclinables, have been added, similar to those given in Grassmann's Rigveda Dictionary and in Whitney's Index Verborum to the Atharva-Veda.

It is impossible, of course, fully to appreciate the value of a work like this so shortly after its publication. The experience of many years and of many workers will be needed for ascertaining that it has rendered the service for which it was destined. But we have the right to look forward to such a trial with full confidence. And we venture to express the hope that also such Parsi priests and scholars as desire to take cognizance of the results of European research, will avail themselves of this dictionary. The German language in which Professor Bartholomae has written, will scarcely prove to them an insuperable impediment.

Kiel, H. OLDENBERG.

WHITE HUNS AND KINDRED TRIBES IN THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.

BY M. AUREL STEIN.

THE paper here presented is the translation of a Hungarian lecture delivered by me in 1897 at Budapest before the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, which some time before had done me the honor of electing me among its Corresponding Members. This lecture was subsequently published in the *Budapesti Szemle* of August, 1897, under the title '*A Fehér Hunok és rokon törzsek indiai szereplése.*'

My object was to present the general reader with a sketch in broad outline of the main ethnic factors which, during a long and memorable period of Indian history, influenced the political destinies and cultural conditions of the fascinating borderland between the Hindukush and the Indus. I was fully aware that this sketch in its original garb was bound to remain practically inaccessible to students outside Hungary. But being obliged to concentrate what leisure I could spare from official duties, first on my work dealing with the History of Kashmir, and subsequently on my explorations in Chinese Turkestan and the elaboration of their results, I did not feel justified in spending time over the translation of a paper which could offer but little that was new to fellow-scholars directly co-operating in that field of research.

At the same time I realized that a synopsis, such as I had endeavoured to give in my lecture, would probably be of some use to those interested in the history of the Indian N.-W. Frontier. I was hence glad when a reference made to me by Mr. H. A. Rose, C.S., who is charged with the revision of the *Imperial Gazetteer* for the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province, led to a translation of my lecture being prepared for his use by a young English scholar, Mr. J. W. Jeaffreson. I have carefully revised this translation for the purpose of the present publication, but I have not attempted to supplement or to modify the contents on any essential point.

Since the original lecture was written, fresh materials for the critical study of the period treated have been secured mainly through the efforts of two distinguished scholars. M. Ed. Chavannes, whose unsurpassed knowledge of Chinese historical records is opening up ever fresh sources of critically-sifted information to the student of ancient Central Asia and India, has in his recently-published work, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux* (published by the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, 1903), collected a rich store-house of accurate and authentic data concerning the Western Turks. It was this nation which for nearly a century succeeded to the Central-Asian dominion of the Ephthalites and for a time extended its supremacy also to the Kâbul Valley. M. Chavannes' researches have thrown full light on a remarkable episode in the history of that region, when the Chinese, in consequence of their triumph over the Turks, were able, for a brief period, about the middle of the seventh century, to include territories lying even to the south of the Hindukush nominally within the administrative organization of their empire.

Dr. J. Marquart, in his *Ērānšahr* (Berlin, 1901), has investigated numerous questions of great importance for the historical geography of the old Indo-Scythian territories between the Oxus and Indus, with an exceptional command of the most varied Oriental sources and with remarkable critical sagacity. His results cannot fail to affect our views concerning the successive ethnographical and political conditions of that region in a variety of details.

It would have been impossible to do justice to the numerous interesting historical facts which the researches of these two scholars have elucidated, without a considerable expansion of my paper. On the other hand, such study as I have been able to make of the new materials has not furnished ground for modification in essential points of the views embodied in my paper, and I have therefore thought it best to leave the latter as it was written in 1897.

The history of the borderland where ancient India, Iran, and Central Asia met, will never lose its special attraction for me. But any future assistance towards its elucidation which I may be able to render, must depend on the extent of the leisure accorded to me, and on the fulfilment of long-cherished hopes for antiquarian exploration on the spot.

Ever since European research began to interest itself in the ancient culture and history of India it has devoted special pains to tracing out the story of the relations between the Indian and Western civilisations. In spite of the great space, both geographical and intellectual, which would seem to intervene, such connections are to be met with even from quite early times. Perhaps the most interesting portion of their record is that period of about a thousand years, which begins in the 1st century B.C. with the foundation of the so-called Indo-Scythian dominion and bears as its distinguishing mark the subjection of the extreme North-West of India to tribes which came from regions of Central Asia.

This period witnessed the unparalleled spread of Buddhist doctrine towards the North and East. At this epoch the legends of India, as indeed not a few of the acquisitions of Indian civilisation, passed through an Iranian medium to the races of the distant West. The fertilising power of this contact with the West has left its mark upon Indian civilisation in spite of the rigid conservatism of the latter. Of this we have ample proof in the quantity of words, conceptions, and knowledge which found their way at this very period into the Sanskrit language and literature. Still better and really tangible evidence of this contact survives in the beautiful coins and sculptures executed during the first centuries of this period in the Kābul Valley and on the banks of the Indus under the immediate influence of Greek and Roman art.

Three great civilisations — the classical, the Indian, and the Iranian — have crossed one another in that region, which, for brevity's sake, we may term the North-West Frontier of India, and which includes, besides the territories immediately bordering on the Indus, the eastern part of modern Afghanistan.

The great historical importance of this interchange of civilisations would in itself suffice to render interesting a survey of the nations and dynasties then dominant in this region. As we shall see, it was their ethnic character which greatly furthered that remarkable exchange of cultural influences. It may seem a bold undertaking to attempt such a survey within the narrow limits of this paper, for the historical period to be treated is not only one of great extent, but it also shows great diversity as regards the races which bore the leading part in it. For sufficient excuse we must point to the nature and, also, to the scantiness of the data as yet at our disposal for dealing with it.

Little more than half a century ago this fascinating period of Indian history was shrouded in utter darkness. Notwithstanding the vast extent and diversity of the ancient literature of India which has come down to us, its poverty in truly historical works, or even in references of an historical character, is extreme. Throughout the whole of this literature the only information we can glean as to the Indo-Scythians and the White Huns, though their power lasted for centuries, is to be found in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the Sanskrit Chronicle of Kashmir. A reference to my translation and commentary of this work will show how meagre even these few scanty references are. Their true significance has been recognized only since modern European research has brought to light elucidatory evidence from other sources. Such sources are provided for us in the official Annals of the Chinese dynasties and in the records of those Chinese pilgrims whom pious fervour led across the barren steppes and snow-clad mountains of Central Asia to visit the sacred Buddhist sites in far-off India. The remaining historical material at our disposal must be gathered from the coins and inscriptions of the Indo-Scythian monarchs and their successors. In the collection and elucidation of these latter

sources of information great progress has been made during the past few decades by Indologist scholars in Europe.

The evidence gleaned from these varied sources belongs to widely different times and can only therefore be utilized to full advantage if we compare our data and complement them with each other On this account it seems best to treat this remarkable period of Central-Asian domination over North-Western India as one whole. We may thus hope more readily to realize its historical and ethnological importance even though our sketch must be confined to broad outlines.

The epoch which interests us here opens with the dominion of the Indo-Scythians. This power was the destroyer and the heir of the Greek principalities which, during the last two centuries before the commencement of our era, had sprung into existence to the south of the Hindukush range and along the course of the Indus. This much we know from the evidence of coins and scattered references among classical authors that the Greek kingdom which had developed in Bactria from the military colonies left behind by Alexander the Great, extended its power, about 200 B. C., to the south-east of the Indian Caucasus or Hindukush. The territories thus occupied had for a brief period formed part of the empire of the great Macedonian conqueror, but soon after his meteoric passage had again fallen under the sway of Indian rulers.

It would seem that the Indian territories won by Euthydemos and his son Demetrios were subsequently parcelled out among a considerable number of small Hellenic dynasties which followed one another in rapid succession. Only in this manner can we explain the fact that the extant coins acquaint us with the images and names of more than thirty such petty princes who, within a period of a little over a century and a half, ruled in the valley of the Kābul River and along the banks of the Indus. Among these coins there are many which in artistic design and execution might boldly compete with the best work produced in the West by Greek die-sinkers of this period. This artistic excellence and the surprising variety and originality of the types represented among the coins furnish the best evidence of the intense cultural influence which this isolated and numerically weak offshoot of the Greek nation must have exercised upon the countries of the Indian Frontier.[1]

While it is only from these coins that we can gather some few and disconnected facts concerning the Greek principalities in Bactria and India, we have at least more detailed information about the time and immediate cause of their fall. Occasional notices in Strabo and Justin inform us that an irruption of Scythian tribes of various names made an end of the Greek dominion in Bactria and Sogdiana; but that is all.[2] For more precise data as to the time of this event, the true origin of the tribes which finally supplanted Greek rule, and the spread of their power towards India, we have to turn to other sources of information, namely the records preserved for us in the Annals of the Chinese dynasty of the Hans.[3]

A statement recorded during the period of the Former Han Dynasty (206 B. C. — 24 A. D.) clearly identifies the Great Yue-chi people (*Ta-Yue-chi*) with the invaders of Bactria in the second century before the Christian era. Originally, so the text asserts, the Great Yue-chi lived a nomad life beyond the north-western frontiers of China. With their flocks they moved hither and thither over those vast tracts like their neighbours, the hordes of the Hiung-nu.

[1] Prof Percy Gardner in the introduction of his work, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, pp. xx *sqq.*, has treated with much critical care the data concerning the Greek dominion in Bactria and India.

[2] According to Strabo these tribes were the Asii, Pasiani, Tochari, and Sakarauli. Amongst these names that of the Tochari can alone be identified with precision. They figure in Indian geographical lists under the name Tukhāra, and from them the Upper Oxus region received its mediæval name Tokhāristān. [For a thorough discussion of the classical notices, see now Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 204 *sqq*]

[3] The notices of the Chinese Annals concerning the Indo-Scythians or Great Yue-chi were formerly only accessible to us through the extracts contained in Ma-tuanlin's Encyclopædia · they can now be consulted conveniently and in a trustworthy form, the original texts having been translated by M. Specht in *Études sur l'Asie Centrale, Journal Asiatique*, 1883, pp 320 *sqq*

In 201 B. C., and again in 165 B. C., they were attacked by the same powerful Hiung-nu, the Huns of latter days. On the last occasion their king was slain and his skull turned into a drinking bowl, and the Yue-chi themselves, driven to forsake their camping grounds, wandered far to the West.

Here, after a victory over the Ta-hia, the nation occupying Bactria, the Great Yue-chi settled down in the tracts north of the Oxus. It was there that the Chinese envoy Chang-k'ian, on his famous mission which first opened up a knowledge of the 'Western Regions' to the Chinese, came across them in 126 B. C. Some time after his visit, in what year does not definitely appear, the Great Yue-chi crossed the Oxus and made themselves masters of the Ta-hia capital south of that river. The territory they thus secured was bounded to the west by the A-si or the kingdom of the Arsacidæ, and to the south by Ki-pin, that is the Upper Kābul Valley. At this time the Yue-chi numbered a hundred thousand families, and a hundred thousand was the number of their warriors.

Among the Ta-hia the invaders met with no centralised power.[4] "Each city was governed by its own chiefs. The inhabitants were weak; warfare was repugnant to them. At the coming of the Yue-chi, they submitted" We shall not greatly err in recognizing under this Chinese description the native population of Bactria living under Greek rule. Then, as now, it probably consisted mainly of Tājīks peacefully tilling their land.

The victors split up the conquered territory among five chiefships and remained in it for a hundred odd years. Then one of the five princes, named Kieu-tsieu-khio according to the Chinese account and chief of the Kuei-shuang tribe, attacked and conquered the other four Yue-chi principalities. Uniting thus the whole people under one sway he founded the mighty Kuei-shuang empire, so named after the ruling family. Led by this king the Yue-chi crossed the Hindukush mountains, the southern frontier of Bactria. Kao-fu, the present Kābul, fell before them, and they made themselves complete masters of Ki-pin, the valley of the Upper Kābul River, and the adjoining territories. After these conquests Kieu-tsieu-khio died in the eightieth year of his age. His son and successor Yen-kao-tsin-tai, according to the Annals of the Later Han Dynasty, conquered India proper and established there generals who ruled in the name of the Yue-chi. From this time forward the Yue-chi nation is said to have grown rich and powerful.

The information here briefly summarized from the Chinese Annals gives a clear indication of the rise of one of the greatest empires of ancient India. It likewise renders possible the correct interpretation of the data which have come down to us in the shape of the coins and other remains of this fascinating epoch. To begin with, we learn from it the true origin and name of the people, which formerly, on the strength of notes by a few Greek geographers, we had known under the convenient but really very indefinite title of Indo-Scythians. In the Kuei-shuang tribe of the Chinese records European scholars very soon recognised the Kushāns of the Armenian Chroniclers. This name also led to the exact determination of a large and interesting series of coins from which, besides the authentic names of the Kushān rulers, we are enabled to learn also much of importance concerning the history of their dominion.

The first among the rulers recorded for us by the Kushān coinage is undoubtedly the king who styles himself ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟΚΑΔΦΙΖΗC in the Greek legends on the obverse of his coins, whilst the legends of the reverse, in Indian language and characters, represent him as 'Kujulakasa, the Kushana.' The fact that he was the first Kushān king, who welded the tribes of the Yue-chi into one, penetrated into the Kābul Valley and annihilated the remnants of Greek dominion there and on the Indus, is proved, besides other evidence, by an interesting numismatic observation. Among his coins there are many which display on one side his Indian name and title, while bearing on the other the designation of the last Greek prince Hermaios. In him therefore

[4] [Dr. Marquart has shown it to be highly probable that the Chinese transcription *Ta-hia* is intended to reproduce the name of the Tochari who had rendered themselves masters of Bactria in succession to the Greeks: see *Ērānšahr*, pp. 202 *sqq*.]

we must recognise the ruler, whose name the Chinese transcription, always cumbersome and phonetically defective, reproduces as Kieu-tsieu-khio.

It is to be regretted that we cannot fix with certainty the time when his dominion spread beyond Bactria. Our Chinese sources assign these conquests to an epoch some hundred years after the complete occupation of Bactria. As to the date of the latter event all we know is that it occurred after the visit of Chang-k'ian, the Chinese envoy, in 126 B. C. Hence the final downfall of Greek sway south of the Hindukush can, at the earliest, have come to pass about 25 B. C.[5]

On the strength of numismatic evidence we must regard as successors of Kozulokadphizes, two other Kushān princes who call themselves on their coins ΚΟΖΟΛΑΚΑΔΑΦΕC (in Indian writing Kuyulakaphsa) and ΟΟΗΜΟΚΑΔΦΙCΗC (Himakapiśa) respectively. The latter is in all probability the ruler whom the Chinese sources mention under the name of Yen-kao-tsin-tai as the true vanquisher of India. His predecessors, in the Greek legends of their coins, merely exhibit the title of Basileus. Ooemokadphises proudly styles himself Βασιλευς Βασιλεων Σωτηρ Μεγας, "The King of Kings, the Defender, the Great."

His coins, among which there are many in gold, possess interest also because they present us with an effigy of the Yue-chi king in the peculiar dress of his race. As a rule we see him standing, with a long open coat reaching to the knee, very similar to the *zhuba* (long heavy overcoat) of the Turks of Central Asia. He also wears their tall fur-cap and knee-boots. We have reason to be grateful to those unknown engravers; for their realistic representation of this figure leaves no doubt that we have here before us a Scythian invader from the North.

Our sources of information are far more ample for the times of those rulers under whom the power of the Kushān Empire reached its zenith. I refer to the kings Kanishka and Huvishka; for, according to the evidence afforded by their coins, we must regard them as direct successors to the dominion founded by Kozulokadphizes and extended by Ooemokadphises. Their memory has survived also in the tradition of Sanskrit literature. In the list of early sovereigns that reigned in Kashmir, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* mentions Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka. All three were Turushkas, *i.e.*, of Turkish stock, says the Chronicle (see my translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I. 177 *sqq.*). Their barbarian origin notwithstanding, they testified their religious leanings by the founding of numerous monasteries and shrines. During the long reigns ascribed to them the followers of the Buddhist faith acquired great influence in Kashmir.[6]

This last fact recorded by the Chronicle receives conclusive confirmation in the important part which is assigned to Kanishka in the traditions of the Buddhist Church of Northern India. Here he appears as supreme lord of Jambudvīpa or India and a zealous patron of the disciples of Buddha. Pious legend ascribed to him the founding of many a *stūpa* and monastery raised in honor of sacred relics of Buddha. It was he, too, according to the same tradition who held in Kashmir the third great Synod of the Buddhist Church.

The most trustworthy evidence we possess as to the extent and power of the Kushān empire at that time, is to be found in the numerous inscriptions which were engraved in widely distant parts

[5] That Kozulokadphizes belongs to the period about the beginning of the Christian era is to be deduced from the fact that the design of the coins of his immediate successor Kozolakadaphes shows an unmistakable imitation of the coins of Augustus, as far as the representation of the king's head is concerned. Roman money, at that time, found its way into India in great quantities. This is proved by numerous coin-finds as well as by remarks in the *Periplus maris Erythraei*, a treatise which has come down to us from Vespasian's days. Compare also the introduction to Prof. Percy Gardner's above-quoted work, pp. xlviii. *sq*

[6] Kalhaṇa, the author of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, lived in the first half of the 12th century. He ascribes the foundation of certain places in Kashmir — Hushkapura, Jushkapura, and Kanishkapura — to these Turushka kings.

These local names, as I have shown in the notes to my translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (Vol. I p. 30, II pp. 483 *sq.*), still survive in the names of the villages Ushkur, Zukkur, and Kānispōr. Hushkapura-Ushkūr, at the entrance to the narrow Bārāmūla gorge, is already mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang in the seventh century. Numerous ruins which I have noticed there on the occasion of travels in Kashmir, bear witness to the antiquity of the place.

Prof. Buhler discovered the name Hushka, another form of the royal name Huvishka, in an inscription found at Mathurā. Jushka, however, the name of the third Turushka king, has not yet come to light anywhere.

of Northern India in the days of Kanishka and Huvishka, and which refer to those princes as supreme sovereigns. These inscriptions are written exclusively in Sanskrit or Prakrit, and intended to commemorate the setting-up of shrines and images, the digging of wells and similar pious works. The dates of these inscriptions, recorded in an identical era, prove that Kanishka was the predecessor of Huvishka. The initial date of this era has not yet been definitely fixed;[7] but apart from the question of this era there is sufficient evidence to show that the commencement of Kanishka's reign cannot fall very far from the beginning of the second century A.D.

The find-places of the inscriptions are spread from the Peshawar valley (the ancient Gandhāra), as far as Benares to the east and as far as the province of Malwa to the south. To the territories comprised within these limits we must add the Upper Kābul Valley and Bactria, which, according to the evidence of the coins and the Chinese records, still remained part of the Kushān empire. The extent of the latter under Kanishka may perhaps be better realized from the observation that its span from the North-west to the South-east was fully equal to the distance from Budapest to Madrid.

Perhaps even more important to us than the inscriptions are the coins of the great Kushān kings. They throw a vivid light upon the culture and religious conditions surrounding the dominant tribe. The remarkable variety displayed in the legends and types of the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka is fully equalled by the profusion of the extant specimens.[8] This latter fact is in itself a clear indication of the power and prosperity of the Kushān rule. Another observation of special interest is that Greek writing is exclusively used on their coins, though legends in the Greek language are found only on a few rare specimens of Kanishka's coinage. Since no national tradition can have bound the Kushān rulers to Greek writing, we may legitimately conclude that they chose this alphabet for their currency because the letters were generally familiar in those districts where their power had first been consolidated, that is, in the valley of the Kābul River and in the Western Punjab.

What we read in this Greek writing merits our particular attention. In the place of the BACIΛEYC BACIΛEΩN KANHPKOY of the few Greek coin legends we now find on the obverse a native title. In former days this was supposed to read PAONANO PAO KANHPKI KOPANO. That the word read as KANHPKI represents the name of Kanishka was already recognized by Prinsep in the thirties of the last century. The rest of the legend remained inexplicable and the object of many speculations until in my paper *Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins* I proved that the peculiar letter occurring so often in these words and read as a "P" (*r*) does not represent the Greek P at all, but is a sign serving to denote the *sh* sound foreign to the Greek language. In form it is somewhat similar to the old Anglo-Saxon þ.[9] On the basis of this discovery it was easy to demonstrate that the word KOþANO stands for the tribal name of these monarchs: *Kushān*; further, that the enigmatical þAONANO þAO was nothing else than a fairly exact transliteration of the Middle Persian *Shāhanān Shāh*, the old Iranian title "King of Kings." Just in the same way the simple title þAO, which is found on some coins and corresponds to the plain BACIΛEYC, is merely a transcription of the title *Shāh*, which, in its Sanskrit form *S'āhi*, is so familiar to us from the Kushān inscriptions.

This explanation, which, I have reason to think, has since met with general acceptance among fellow-Indologists and among numismatists, has destroyed any hope we may have had of

[7] For a long time it has been generally assumed on the basis of a theory proposed by the late Mr. Fergusson and by Professor Oldenberg that the chronological era employed in these inscriptions is identical with the so-called Śaka era which starts from the year 78-79 A. D. According to an earlier Indian tradition it perpetuates the memory of the accession of some Śaka or 'Scythian' king. Among recently-found inscriptions of the Kushān rulers there are, however, several bearing dates which cannot be readily reconciled with this chronological assumption. Palæographical and other considerations make it appear probable that the date of Kanishka's accession may be somewhat later than the beginning of the Śaka era.

[8] The copper coins of Kanishka and other Kushān sovereigns are to be got in such numbers in the bazaars of the Western Punjab, Kashmir, and Kābul that one might almost say that they have remained in circulation for eighteen centuries. Gold coins of Huvishka and Kanishka also have come to light in these parts in relatively large numbers.

[9] See my monograph, *Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins, Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII. (Bombay, 1888).

discovering in the title þAONANO þAO a minute relic of the Yue-chi language. But, on the other hand, we have gained the certainty, by most authentic evidence, that the great Kanishka himself made use of the ancient Iranian royal title. Before we had only been able to surmise that it had been so employed on the authority of later documents. Everything points to this title being a trace of the deep influence exercised on the Yue-chi nation by Iranian culture, an influence which was felt by many another conquering tribe of a similar type on its passage through Central Asia.

Most luminous evidence is afforded of this influence in the great number of Iranian, or, more properly speaking, Zoroastrian, deities, which present themselves on the reverse of the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka, in forms designed with much originality and with names clearly legible.[10] Here we meet AΘOþO, the impersonation of the sacred fire, the Persian Ātash; MIIPO, too, that is Mihira, the sun-god; OPΛAΓNO or Verethraghna, the genius of war, with the eagle on his head; OAΔO or Vāta, the divinity of the wind, and a number of others. Our interest is only heightened when, side by side with these figures of Iranian mythology, we find, though in less number, representations of Greek deities; resplendent Helios, Selene (though in male form according to the Indo-Iranian conception, corresponding to MAO, the Iranian Māho); HPAKIΛO, *i.e.*, Herakles, with his lion-skin and club. There figures in their ranks also CAPAΠO, the Egyptian Serapis, whose appearance in India finds its parallel in the conquests of the Mithra cult in classical Europe.

That these Deities introduced from the West did not wholly divert the attention of the conquering Kushāns from the religious beliefs of the native Indian population, we may infer from the gradually increasing issues of coins which bear the figure of Śiva and of his sacred ox (called OHþO, Prakrit **vesha*, Sanskrit *vṛsha*).[11] Side by side with him, it seems, the war-god of Indian mythology chiefly exercised the conquerors' imagination. We find him on the coins under no less than four names, and in four forms (Mahāsena, Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha). It is a notable fact, and not without interest for the historical student, that the figure and name of Buddha (BOYΔΔO), the founder of the great religious system, have so far been found only on relatively few coins. If we compare this with the frequent portrayal of Iranian, Greek, and Hindu Deities we must conclude that the protection which Kanishka extended to the Buddhist Church, did not at all imply a thrusting into the background of the other religions, especially of the Śiva cult, which from very early times has enjoyed predominant popularity in North-Western India.

The varied and always interesting types displayed by the coins show plainly the deep root which, in Kanishka's time, the art developed under Greek and Roman influences had taken on the banks of the Indus. We have good reason, indeed, for ascribing to the time of the Kushān sovereigns the great mass of those admirable statues and relievoes of so-called Græco-Buddhist art which have come to light in such numbers from the ruined sanctuaries of ancient Gandhāra and Udyāna.

The limits set to this paper and the want of accurate data do not permit us to treat in any detail the epoch following the dominion of the great Kushān monarchs. It would seem that already in the years following the reign of Huvishka's immediate successor, who on his coins and in the inscriptions bears the name Vāsudeva, the external power of the Kushāns was considerably reduced. Their supremacy in Northern India certainly sustained a blow in the fourth century owing to the rise of the Indian dynasty of the Guptas. Samudragupta, a prince of this family, who reigned during the second half of the fourth century, records in one of his inscriptions his victory over the Shāhānashāhi. This can be no other than the contemporary Kushān sovereign, the "Shāhān-Shāh." It thus appears that the Kushān dominion was forced back into the territories where it had originally grown into power, the Indus Valley and the North-East of Afghanistan.

There, according to the evidence of our Chinese authorities, the old ruling family of the Kushāns gave place to a new but kindred dynasty founded by Ki-to-lo, the chief of one of the

[10] For the reproduction and description of these coins, see Prof. Percy Gardner's above-quoted work, pp. 129 *sqq*

[11] To Prof. J. E. Rapson belongs the merit of having first shown that the legend on these coins is not OKPO (*oksho*) as has been generally assumed, but OHþO In the interpretation of the word OHþO I differ from my learned friend, who believes it to be a rendering of a form derived from Skr. * *bhaveśa*.

Great Yue-chi tribes which had remained in Bactria. It is interesting to know that the latter were forced to migrate south of the Hindukush by the invading onslaught of the Juan-Juan, later known in Europe as the Avars. The Chinese Annalists from this time forward apply the name 'Little Yue-chi' to the people governed by the successors of Ki-to-lo from the capital of Gandhāra, Purushapura or the present Peshawar. But our authorities make it also quite clear that there was no change in the nationality of the dominant race.

We have not, so far, broached the questions connected with the nationality of the Yue-chi; chiefly because it will be easier for us to form an opinion if we consider them in connection with the evidence bearing on the people who immediately succeeded them as conquerors in North-Western India. These were the White Huns or Ephthalites, whose part in Indian history commenced from about the middle of the fifth century and continued for about a hundred years. Concerning them, too, our earliest and most detailed records are gathered from Chinese sources.[12]

We learn from the Annals of the Hiang and Wei dynasties that that tribe, a section of the Great Yue-chi, originally dwelt to the north of the great wall of China. They then went by the name of Hoa or Hoa-tun and were in subjection to the Juan-Juan whom we have before mentioned. Little by little the Hoa grew from an insignificant tribe into a powerful nation. After the name of their ruling family they styled themselves Ye-ta-i-li-to or in an abbreviated form of the name, Ye-tha (just as the Yue-chi took the name of Kushān). From this originated the name Ephthalites (Hephthalites) subsequently applied to them by the Greeks, as well as the Armenian Haital and the Haythal of Persian and Arab writers. The Ye-tha pressed forward to the west of Khotan as far as the Oxus and Murghāb Rivers and set up a vast empire which extended from what is to-day Chinese Turkestan, to the confines of Persia and included more than thirty kingdoms. Among the latter mention is made of Ki-pin or the Upper Kābul Valley. The Chinese Annalists describe the Ye-tha as a war-hardened and energetic race. Their customs, they declare, bore a close resemblance to those of the *Tu-kiue* or Turks. Originally they had no towns, but lived in felt tents; being unacquainted with the art of writing they kept a record of transactions on wooden sticks, etc. Remarkable is their custom of polyandry, and the Chinese note this as a distinguishing feature.

We possess fairly detailed information as to the part which the Ye-tha or Ephthalites played in the West during the course of the wars which they waged against the Persian Empire from the reign of the Sassanian Bahrām Gūr (420—438). Since they represented natural allies as it were of the Greek Empire, in the latter's struggle against the Sassanians, they are often referred to by Byzantine historians. These know them by the name of 'White Huns.' Procopius, who employs this designation in the middle of the sixth century, distinctly reckons them as of the race of the Huns who figured in Europe, although they stood in no direct connection with the latter and dwelt at a great distance from them on the Northern frontiers of Persia. Procopius praises them as having reached a far higher stage of civilisation than the Huns of Attila, and ascribes their epithet of 'White,' whether rightly or wrongly, to the lighter hue of their skin.

Of the part played by this interesting people in Indian history our knowledge to within the last decennium was very scanty. Perhaps the most trustworthy piece of information previously available was furnished by a passage in the *Topographia Christiana* of Kosmas, an Alexandrian merchant who visited the Western ports of India in about 530, and by this journey won the appellation of Indikopleustes. The notice of this curious old author, who later on became a monk, tells us that in his time the White Huns (λευκοὶ Οὖννοι) were in possession of the north of India. At their head was their king called Gollas, "who marched to war with two thousand elephants and numberless cavalry." His word was law to the whole of India, and he levied tribute on distant lands.

[12] The Chinese notices regarding the Ephthalites were first discussed by V de St Martin in his pioneer wor *Les Ephthalites* (Paris, 1849, pp. 52 *sqq*). They have since been collected from the original texts by M. Specht in his paper before mentioned; see *Journal Asiatique*, 1883, pp. 335 *sq.*

As a striking illustration of his power Kosmas records a story current among the people. At one time, when the Hun king was besieging a city situated in Central India, he was unable to take it on account of the moats full of water by which it was protected Thereupon he made his elephants, horses, and myriads of soldiers drink the moat dry during the protracted siege so that he was able to march dry-foot into the town.

We can now with certainty identify Kosmas' Hun king with the ruler who is known to us in Indian tradition as Mihirakula. This identification enables us to form a clear idea as to various important features of the part played by the White Huns in India. We owe this result to certain recently discovered Indian inscriptions which have made it possible to fix with certainty the time and nationality of Mihirakula.[13]

The fullest account of Mihirakula is supplied to us by Hiuen-Tsiang, the famous Chinese pilgrim, who visited the Buddhist sanctuaries of India during the second quarter of the seventh century and who has left us in the record of his travels, the *Si-yu-ki*, a rich storehouse of important information on Indian history, antiquities, etc. From his lengthy story concerning Mihirakula, which is clearly founded on popular tradition of Buddhist complexion, we gather the following main points.[14]

A long time before the journey of Hiuen-Tsiang, Mihirakula was the powerful king of Śākala, the ancient capital of the Punjab plains. The site of this city is probably to be looked for somewhere in the region of Lahore. Through his bravery and cleverness Mihirakula reduced the neighbouring princes, so that in the end he acquired supremacy over the 'Five Indies.' His persecution of the Buddhists and divers other cruel acts goaded Bālāditya, one of the rulers of Eastern India, into insurrection. Against him Mihirakula marched at the head of a mighty host. The rebel was compelled to retire into a marshy tract, but later he lured his adversary into an ambuscade and took him prisoner. The intervention of his mother induced Bālāditya to spare the young king's life and afterwards he even set him at liberty. Mihirakula returned to his capital, but there he found his throne usurped by his younger brother and was himself reduced to a wandering existence. Having sought refuge in Kashmir, he, after some years, succeeded by intrigue in obtaining the sceptre himself. From his newly-won dominions he then marched victoriously westwards to the Indus. According to Hiuen-Tsiang's story, the cruel king razed sixteen hundred Buddhist monasteries to the ground in those parts, and had nine hundred thousand men slain or sold into slavery on the banks of the Indus. Shortly afterwards he died amid various manifestations of the divine wrath.

In spite of its legendary details Hiuen-Tsiang's tale rests on historic foundations as we can clearly see from the Sanskrit Chronicle of Kashmir. There, too, Mihirakula figures as a potent ruler of Kashmir, though in a chronological position which is wholly erroneous. The Chronicle also tells of his victorious campaigns extending over all India. Of his brave but pitiless nature we receive legendary details which quite tally with the description of the Chinese traveller.

One of these is perhaps worth mentioning if only because, as I have shown in a paper dealing with the ancient geography of Kashmir, it still survives to the present day in local folklore.[15] When Mihirakula, on his return from his conquests, reached the summit of the pass that leads into Kashmir, one of his war-elephants fell over a high precipice. The screams of the agonised brute gave the hard-hearted monarch such delight that he had a hundred more elephants hurled over the cliffs at the same place. While on one of my archæological tours in Kashmir I ascertained that this story relates to a particular point of the route which traverses

[13] It is the merit of Mr J. F. Fleet, late Epigraphist to the Indian Government, to have first critically elucidated the data referring to the reigns of Mihirakula and his father Toramāṇa, see his monographs, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XV. pp. 2, 45 *sqq.*, and in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III. pp 10 *sqq.*

[14] See *Si-yu-ki* or *Mémoires sur les Contrees Occidentales*, trans. Stan. Julien, I. pp. 190 *sqq.*

[15] See my *Notes on the Ancient Topography of the Pīr Pantsāl Route*, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1894, pp. 376 *sqq.*, also my translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I. p. 44, II. p 394.

the Pīr Pantsāl Pass at a height of about 12,000 feet, and that a local tradition derived from it still survives among the hill-men of that neighbourhood.

The narrative of the Chronicle furnishes us, moreover, with the important statement that Kashmir was subject at that time to a barbarian race.

From the evidence of the inscriptions before mentioned (it is not here necessary to go into details), we can now prove with certainty that Mihirakula, a kind of Indian Attila, stood at the zenith of his power in about the year 530 This was the very period at which Kosmas Indikopleustes found Northern India under White Hun dominion. We can, therefore, conclude with absolute assurance that Mihirakula is identical with the Hun king of Kosmas. The inscription at Gwalior, which mentions Mihirakula as being overlord of the kingdom, in the very centre of Northern India, was, in all probability, executed either in 530 or a year or two previously.

Now, as this inscription is dated in the fifteenth year of Mihirakula's reign, he may be assumed to have ascended the throne about 515 A. D. From this again we are forcibly led to conclude that Mihirakula was that same mighty potentate whom the Chinese pilgrim Sung Yun in the year 520 visited in his encampment on the frontiers of Gandhāra.[16]

To be sure, Sung Yun does not tell us the monarch's name. What he says, however, of his extraction and character clearly shows that he refers to Mihirakula. Sung Yun recounts that two generations before his visit the Ye-tha or White Huns conquered Gandhāra and raised a prince of their own to the lordship of the land.[17] The king in power in Sung Yun's days was a descendant of the same family. He was a man of passionate temper and cruel. He took delight in atrocities. Buddha he held in no esteem, and was a harsh ruler to the Buddhists that dwelt in Gandhāra.

At the time when Sung Yun made his appearance in his camp, Mihirakula had already been for three years continuously waging war against the ruler of Ki-pin, a territory which, in all probability, must here be identified with Kashmir.[18] It is of interest that Sung Yun likewise refers in some detail to the war elephants of the king, he estimated their number at seven hundred.

Sung Yun repaired in person into the presence of this dreaded king. He has left us an interesting account of the anything but gracious reception which was accorded to him. The pious pilgrim records, as an instance of the insolence of the despot and of what he styles his "barbarian haughtiness," that he had the edict of the Chinese Emperor recommending Sung Yun's mission, read aloud while he remained seated. Yet the king of the Ye-tha dwelling in Bactria and the ruler of Udyāna had received the message from the "Son of Heaven," the great Wei Emperor, standing and with all due marks of respect.

Very shortly after 530 A. D. there commenced that decline in Mihirakula's power which Hiuen-Tsiang relates. This is proved by an inscription discovered at Mandasōr, in Central India, and dating from about 532, which praises King Yaśodharman as the conqueror of Mihirakula.[19] It is likely that the latter still maintained his supremacy over the Punjab and the Indus region for some time after the loss of Central India. Probably also the power of the White Huns in those territories was only brought to its close by the great battle fought at Korūr in 544 and mentioned by Alberūnī.

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16 See *Travels of Sung Yun*, in Beal's *Records of the Western Worlds*, I. pp. xcix *sqq*. [A far more accurate and reliable translation, with valuable explanatory notes, is now available in M Chavannes' *Voyage de Song Yun*, *Bulletin de l'École d'Extrême Orient*, 1903, see pp. 38 *sqq* of reprint]

17 [Dr. Marquart was the first to prove that the name 'Lae-lih,' which is given to this ruler in Beal's translation, is purely apocryphal, based solely on a misinterpretation of the Chinese characters rendering the Turkish [illegible] see [illegible] pp. 21[illegible]]

18 [See regarding this interpretation, Chavannes' *Voyage de Song Yun*, p. 37 *sq*. note. The Chinese transcription *Ki-pin* ordinarily renders the name of Kapiśa and thus designates the Upper Kābul Valley.]

19 The Sanskrit inscriptions mentioned here and under have been edited in a trustworthy form and elucidated by Mr Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III pp. 142 ff.

Toramāna is named in the Gwalior inscription as father and predecessor of Mihirakula. An inscription which we possess of the former, puts the beginning of his supremacy over Central India at some time about the year 484. This fact, taken together with other data, brings us to the conclusion that the White Huns must have appeared in the North-West Frontier regions of India some time previously, probably towards the middle of the fifth century. Thus the period during which they figure in India, so far as it can at present be fixed, must very nearly correspond to that which our Western authorities make us assign to the Central-Asian dominion of the Ephthalites (*circ.* 427—557 A. D.).

Before passing on to discuss the nationality of the White Huns in India, we may devote some few words to the coins struck by the chieftains of this people. They supplement the knowledge we have won of their dominion with some facts of interest. On a great number of Mihirakula's coins we find the king's name preceded by the title *Sāhi*, which was borne by Kanishka and his successors, and the origin of which we have already had occasion to discuss. This fact makes it likely that the Hun king wished to appear as the rightful successor of those monarchs. On the reverse of the coins generally appears the figure of the Nandi bull, the holy animal of Śiva. The accompanying legend (*jayatu vṛsha*) shows us that Mihirakula himself was attached to the Siva cult then prevailing amongst his native Indian subjects. We frequently meet with the king's name in the form Mihiragula, and it is probable that this represents the true pronunciation much more closely than the obviously Sanskritised form Mihirakula.[20] Toramāṇa's coins have come down to us in equally large numbers, especially in Kashmir, showing that that kingdom had already been absorbed into the White Huns' dominion before Mihirakula's time. These coins acquaint us besides with the names of several other rulers, whose dates, etc , we are as yet unable to fix, but of whom it is very likely that they belonged to the race of the White Huns.[21]

Although the irruption of the White Huns and their hundred years of dominion, when viewed with regard to the facts noted below, appear only as an episode in the history of the Indian Frontier during the period under discussion, yet it is very important that we should form a clear notion as to the ethnic character of this conquering nation. In my opinion we now have sufficient data to solve this question. In the first place we must allow full weight to our Chinese authorities, which, on the one hand, distinctly call the Ye-tha a branch of the great Yue-chi, and on the other constantly insist on the striking resemblance in manners and customs between them and the Tu-kiue or Turks. This observation is all the more important because the Chinese Annalists knew quite well that it was the Turks who destroyed the Central-Asian power of the Ephthalites in the middle of the sixth century.[22] There can thus be no question whatever of the Chinese ever having confused the two peoples.

But we have also a very useful guide in the name 'Hun' itself, as applied to the Ephthalites. In judging of this designation, I do not think enough attention has been paid to the fact that it is confirmed by three entirely independent sources. Of the Byzantine historians it might possibly be supposed at a stretch that they, having the European Huns in their mind, employed the name in a purely generic sense and without any real ethnological ground. Yet even in their case it ought to be remembered that Procopius, the first of them to use the term 'White Hun,' lived fully a hundred years after the time of Attila's Huns.

But how are we to explain the regular use of the Sanskrit term *Hūṇa* to designate this people, if not on the ground that the name became familiar there just in consequence of the White Hun inroad?

[20] The name Gollas found in Kosmas Indicopleustes probably preserves the last half of the name *Mihiragula*. Mihira is the appellation of the Iranian sun-god; *gula* is at any rate not a name of Indian origin. It is likely that we must seek for an explanation among the Turkish languages.

[21] Among these names of princes there are two, *Lakhana* and *Khinkhila*, which we meet with in the series of ancient Kashmir rulers mentioned in the *Rājataranginī*; see my notes on *Rājat.* I 347 III 383.

In General Cunningham's publication, *The Later Indo-Scythians*, pp 85 *sqq.*, much information is collected concerning the coins of the White Hun rulers of India, but it can only be used with critical caution.

[22] See Specht, *Études sur l'Asie Centrale*, p. 345.

We find the earliest instance of the name Hūṇa in an inscription of King Skandagupta, and it was just in his time (*circ.* 448—466 A. D.), that the White Huns made their first appearance in India. King Yaśodharman, too, uses the same name to designate the White Huns in the inscription which glorifies his triumph over Mihirakula. Finally, also the Chinese sources apply the name Hun to the Ye-tha or Ephthalites, as has been clearly proved by M. Specht in his note on the phonetic pronunciation of the name written *Hoa* or *Hoa-tun* (*Journal Asiatique,* 1883, p. 335).

We can explain the uniform application of the name Hun to the Ephthalites in our Greek, Indian, and Chinese records alike, only by supposing that the designation was current among the nation itself. Once we accept this, the conclusion follows that the Ephthalites stood in close ethnological connection with the European Huns, who make their appearance in history just at the same time. The investigations of Hungarian savants, especially those of Prof. Arminius Vámbéry, have proved that the European Huns belong to the Turco-Tartar branch of the so-called Turanian family. We seem then justified in ascribing a like origin also to the White Huns of India.

This conclusion is philologically confirmed by those few proper names of the White Huns which have as yet been investigated by competent Turkologist scholars. These are the name of Toramāna, and the same king's dynastic surname Jaūvla, which an inscription discovered in the Punjab Salt Range has preserved for us. Prof. Karabacek, the distinguished Viennese Orientalist, has long ago recognised in these names two purely Turkish words.[23]

The Annals of three Chinese dynasties assert that the Ye-tha or Ephthalites belonged to the race of the Great Yue-chi. From this we should have to conclude that the latter, too, and amongst them the ruling Kushān tribe, belonged to the Turco-Tartar peoples. We cannot at present confirm this statement by independent evidence. But it is certain that if that assertion should prove right it would furnish a very suitable explanation for the conditions which we find in those frontier regions of India after the disappearance of the White Huns.

Meagre as our data are concerning these last centuries, they show clearly enough that the family then reigning in the Kābul Valley and Gandhāra traced their descent from Kanishka and the Kushān kings of his lineage. On the other hand our most trustworthy authorities are united in ascribing a Turkish nationality to that ruling family. If we admit the correctness of these historical traditions and records, two important conclusions ensue. First, that a branch of the Kushān dynasty maintained the ancient dominion of its race in these parts during the White Hun occupation or else recovered it after that storm had passed away. Secondly that the Great Yue-chi nation itself was of Turco-Tartar origin. This, again, would make it appear probable that the rapid and complete disappearance of the White Huns in this region is accounted for by their absorption into the kindred Yue-chi.

The pious Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang, our first witness after the White Huns' dominion in India, reached the Upper Kābul Valley during the summer of 630, and again passed through it on his return journey about 643. He was, it is true, far too much occupied with visiting and describing Buddhist pilgrimage places, miracle-working statues and the like for us to expect from him any detailed account of the political and linguistic conditions of the kingdom. We gather, however, from the narrative of his travels that Kapiśa, or, as he calls it, Kia-pi-she (the Kapissene of the Greeks), on the headwaters of the Kābul River, as well as Gandhāra on the Indus, were then under the rule of one and the same monarch.[24] This king, just as did Kanishka and his successors, held his court in summer amid the cool mountains of Kābul and at other times in the Peshawar Valley. The then ruling prince is depicted by Hiuen-Tsiang as a zealous follower of the faith of Buddha, and at the same time as brave and extremely warlike. At that time he exercised supremacy over a dozen lesser kingdoms. It is noteworthy that Hiuen-Tsiang records great difference in customs, laws, and spoken languages between the people of Kia-pi-she (Kapiśa) and Tu-ho-lo (Tokhāristān) or Bactria, while he declares the writing of both kingdoms to be very similar.

[23] See *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol II. pp. 238 *sqq.*

[24] See *Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales,* pp. 40 *sqq.*

It is important for us to note this difference, because we know from Chinese historical records relating to the early part of the seventh century, that Tokhāristān was then inhabited by tribes of Ye-tha or White Huns, who, living under the suzerainty of the Turks and very much reduced in power, maintained their original customs, — among them polyandry Hiuen-Tsiang's observation regarding the difference in customs, laws, etc., thus clearly shows that, already a hundred years after Mihirakula, the traces of the White Hun invasion had vanished south of the Hindukush, at least on the surface. That, on the other hand, the form of writing then used in Tokhāristān should have borne so striking a resemblance to that in the Kābul Valley, we can well comprehend. According to the Chinese authorities of the sixth century quoted above, the White Huns at that time did not yet possess any writing. It is highly probable that the system of writing with which the remnants of this race subsequently settled in Tokhāristān were acquainted, had reached them, just as their Buddhist creed, from the old Kushān territory, an early seat of Indian and Iranian culture.

Only a few decennia after the journey of Hiuen-Tsiang a new and mighty invading element began to menace, this time from the West, the rule established in the old Kushān territories south of the Hindukush. This was the power of the Arabian Khalifs. After the conquest of Eastern Irān, that is, ever since 664,[25] the hosts of Islām directed attack after attack upon the kings of Kābul, who, during an heroic struggle of over three centuries, barred their entry into India. Of these campaigns waged by the Khalifs and their governors we receive information from the Muhammadan historians; but as regards the conditions which interest us, we can gather from them only one certain fact, that the kings of Kābul were at this time of Turkish nationality and ruled over subjects addicted to the religion of India.

We are thus justified in passing on at once to the very important record left to us, after the conclusion of this struggle, by the famous Abū-l-Rihān Muhammad al-Bērūnī, perhaps the greatest representative of Muhammadan learning. Albērūnī was himself an eye-witness of the campaigns of Mahmūd of Ghazni, which laid India open before triumphant Islām. In the forty-ninth chapter of his great work *Tārīkh-al-Hind* he briefly tells us what in his day the tradition of the conquered Indian Frontier knew of the royal family which had reigned there of yore: "The kings of the Hindus were Turks by race, and their throne was at Kābul. It is said that they came from Tibet." Thus Albērūnī begins his story.[26] Among these monarchs the first was Barhatekīn,[27] who came to Kābul in an adventurous way, and, after bringing the kingdom into his grasp, ruled it with the title of the 'Shāhiya of Kābul.' The royal power remained in his family, it was alleged, for sixty generations.

All that Albērūnī was able to glean besides from popular tradition concerning the ruling family, consists merely of a few legendary details about the founder of the dynasty and his successor whose name was Kanik. But even these few notes are of interest. Of Kanik, he says that it was he who built the famous Buddhist shrine at Peshawar which bore his name. We see from this with certainty that Kanik was none other than Kanishka, whose great Vihāra is described by all the Chinese pilgrims as the chief sanctuary of old Purushapura. A tradition handed down for us by Albērūnī draws the following portrait of Barhatekīn: "He wore Turkish dress; a coat open in front, a tall fur cap and big boots; he was armed from head to foot." It seems clear that the figure of the founder of the dynasty lived in popular imagination as that of some Turkish adventurer issued from the barbarian North. In any case it is curious to note how well this description tallies with the representations of the first Kushān rulers as shown on their coins.

The fact that in Albērūnī's account Kanishka, too, figures among the 'Turkish Shāhiya' rulers of Kābul, clearly shows, that tradition surviving down to the 11th century traced the

[25] See Reinaud, *Mémoires sur l'Inde*, p. 176.

[26] See *India*, transl. by Sachau, II. pp. 10 *sq*.

[27] The Turkish origin of this name is clearly shown by the termination *tekīn*. This represents the Turkish title *tigin*, 'prince,' found already in the old Turkish inscriptions on the bank of the Orkhon and well known also from the latter Turkish names Alptekīn, Sabuktekīn, etc., see Reinaud, *Mémoires sur l'Inde*, pp. 73. [For the Chinese rendering of this title *t'e-k'in*, see Chavannes' *Documents sur les Tou-kiue*, p. 367; and above, note 17.]

descent of those rulers in a direct line from the great Kushān kings. The very title of the dynasty preserved by Albērūnī points in the same direction; for the name 'Shāhiya,' as I have proved in a previous publication, is unquestionably identical with the title Sāhi (ÞAO) employed by the Kushān monarchs and by them exclusively, on their coins and in their inscriptions.[28]

The trustworthiness of the traditions preserved by Albērūnī has received brilliant confirmation through a recent discovery. My learned friends, MM. Chavannes and S. Lévi, of the Collège de France, in the preface to a volume of the Chinese collection of the Buddhist Canon, came upon a life of the monk Ou-k'ong who reached Gandhāra from China about the year 753, and spent altogether six years there in religious studies.[29] In this brief biography of Ou-k'ong the relatives of the king ruling over the united territories of Gandhāra and Kābul, as well as his State officers, are mentioned with titles long known to us from other Chinese sources as Turkish court titles. Ou-k'ong states, moreover, categorically that the king was descended from the ancient royal family of Kanishka.

When discussing elsewhere Ou-k'ong's notes on Kashmir, I have succeeded in showing how accurate are, even in their details, the records which this Chinese pilgrim has left us.[30] His statements with regard to Gandhāra may hence also be received with entire confidence. We are thus justified in asserting that Albērūnī's observations on the Turkish nationality of the Kābul Śāhis and on their descent from the Kushān royal family, have now been confirmed by a trustworthy witness, nearly three hundred years earlier.

It only remains to say a few words about the end of the rule of the Turkish Śāhis of Kābul and about their immediate successors. Laga-Tūrmān, so Albērūnī tells us, was the last king of the Turkish Śāhi dynasty.[31] His vizier, a Brâhmaṇ named 'Kallar,' attained, as a result of his wealth, widespread influence and authority. The reins of power slipped more and more from the feeble prince's hands until finally 'Kallar' threw him into prison and seized the throne. The dynasty of Hindu Śāhis, which he founded, for six generations gallantly kept up the struggle against the evermore threatening advance of the Muhammadan forces. Its last scion was Trilochanapāla, who finally lost the dominion of his fathers about 1013, after struggling on heroically, notwithstanding his defeats in several campaigns at the hands of the great Mahmūd of Ghazni.

About the Hindu Śāhis we are fairly well informed both from the Kashmir Chronicle and contemporary Muhammadan records. From what they tell us it is highly probable that the ruler called 'Kallar' in the single manuscript of Albērūnī's work is identical with that Lalliya Śāhi whom the Kashmir Chronicle mentions as the powerful adversary of King Śaṁkaravarman of Kashmir (883—902) in the land of Gandhāra.[32] The downfall of the dynasty of the Turkish Śāhis of Kābul must belong, then, to the end of the ninth century. Of the causes which led to this important event we can gather no certain information. Possibly the decay of the old national sentiment, that is the final absorption of the ruling Turkish elements into the surrounding Hinduism, led indirectly to this dynastic change.

As a final effect of the rule of the Turkish Śāhis we may regard the heroic resistance which their successors, the Hindu Śāhis, opposed for yet another century and a half to the overpowering advance of Islām. Albērūnī, who, in the camp of Sultan Mahmūd, witnessed with

[28] See my paper *Zur Geschichte der Çāhis von Kabul*, in 'Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth' (Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 178 ff.).

[29] Published under the title *L'itinéraire d'Ou-k'ong* in the *Journal Asiatique*, for October, 1895.

[30] See my *Notes on Ou-k'ong's Account of Kaśmīr*, in the *Proceedings* of the Philos. and Hist. Section of the Imperial Academy of Vienna, 1896.

[31] It is exceedingly probable that the second half of the name Laga-tūrmān contains the very Turkish word which we know as the name of Mihirakula's father in the Sanskritised form Toramāṇa.

[32] I have investigated in detail the interesting historical data and legends concerning the Hindu Śāhis of Kābul in my paper *Zur Geschichte der Çāhis von Kābul*. With reference to this paper, Prof. Seybold, of Tubingen, has shown that the name 'Kallar' found in the single manuscript of Albērūnī's *India*, can, from the shape of the Arabic letters, be easily explained as a graphical error for '*Lalliya*'; see *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.* Vol. XLVIII. p. 700.

his own eyes the final conquest of the ancient Sâhi kingdom, tells in words of manifest emotion of the grandeur and chivalry of the extinguished dynasty.

We can scarcely err if we recognize in this great memory an after-glow as it were, of that splendour with which popular tradition invested the long-enduring Kushān dominion.

FOLKLORE OF THE TELUGUS.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

No. 1. — Friendship.[1]

"Even to foes that visit us as guests
Due hospitality should be displayed,
The tree screens with its leaves the man
Who fells it." — *Mahabharata*, Sir Monier-Williams'
Indian Wisdom.

THERE was a certain **Brâhmaṇa, named Jâbâla,** belonging to the Middle Country, who was destitute of Vedic lore. Beholding a prosperous village before him, he entered it with the object of obtaining alms. In that village lived a **robber-chief** of great wealth, conversant with the distinctive features of all orders of men, devoted to the Brâhmanas, firm in truth, and always engaged in making gifts. Repairing to the abode of the **chief,** the Brâhmaṇa begged for alms. Indeed, he solicited a house to live in, and such necessaries of life as would last for a year. Thus solicited, the chief gave him a piece of new cloth, with its ends complete, and a young widow. Obtaining all these, the Brâhmaṇa's joy knew no bounds, and he began to live happily in the commodious building given him by the robber-chief. He then began to help the kinsmen of his female slave. Thus he lived for many years in the prosperous village of the brigands and began to practise the art of archery with great devotion. Every day, like rest of the robber-clan, Jâbâla went into the woods and slaughtered wild cranes in abundance, and became a perfect master of the art of slaughter, being ever engaged in it, and consequently bade farewell to compassion.

"Who friendship with a knave hath made,
Is thought to be a partner in the trade."

One day, **another Brâhmaṇa** came to the village, dressed in rags and deer-skins, and with matted locks. Of highly correct behaviour, he was devoted to the study of the Vedas. Of a humble disposition, frugal in fare, devoted to the Brâhmaṇas, thoroughly conversant with the *Vêdas*, and observant of Brahmâchârya vows, he had once been **a dear friend of Jâbâla,** and belonged to that part of the country from which the latter had emigrated. He never accepted any food offered by a Sûdra, and therefore began to search for the house of a Brâhmaṇa and at last he came to Jâbâla's house, just as he was returning from the woods. The two friends met. Armed with bow and sword, Jâbâla bore on his shoulders a load of slaughtered cranes, from which the blood that trickled down smeared his whole body. Recognising him, his friend, to whom he appeared as a cannibal, said. —

"What is this thou art doing here through folly? Thou art a Brâhmaṇa, and the perpetuator of a Brâhmaṇa family. Born in a respectable family, belonging to the Middle Country, how is it thou hast become a robber? Recollect, O regenerate one, thy famous kinsmen of former times, all of whom were well versed in the *Vêdas*! Born of their race, alas, thou hast become a disgrace to it! Awake thyself by thy own exertions! Recollecting the energy, the behaviour, the learning, the self-restraint, the compassion (that are thine by right of birth), leave this thy present abode, O regenerate one."

Thus addressed, Jâbâla answered him in great affliction, saying:— "O foremost of regenerate ones, I am poor. I am destitute also of a knowledge of the *Vêdas*! Know, O best of Brâhmaṇas, that I have taken up my abode here for the sake of wealth alone. In thy sight, however, I am a brute-beast. We will leave this place together to-morrow. Do thou pass the night here with me"

[1] [A curious example of a folktale adapted to Brahmanic teaching.—ED.]

Thus addressed, his friend, "his heart too full of the milk of human kindness," passed the night there, refraining from touching anything in that house, hungry as he was.

Next morning, after his friend had gone, Jâbâla joined a caravan proceeding to the sea. It so happened, however, that the caravan was assailed, while passing through a mountain-valley, by an infuriate elephant, and almost all were slain. Somehow, escaping from his imminent danger, Jâbâla fled towards the North for his life, not knowing whither he proceeded, and began to wander alone in a forest. At last coming upon a road that led towards the ocean, he journeyed on till he reached a delightful and heavenly forest teeming with flowering trees, and filled with fragrant perfumes and sweetly warbling birds On his way he beheld a delightful and level spot of land covered with golden sands and resembling heaven itself for its beauty, on which stood a large and beautiful banyan with a round top, looking like an umbrella set over the plain. The ground underneath it was moist and perfumed with the fragrant sandal. Endowed with great beauty and abounding with delicious flowers it looked like the Court of Brahmâ himself. Jâbâla was exceedingly delighted and sat down well-pleased, when a delicious, charming, and auspicious breeze, bearing the perfume of many kinds of flowers, began to blow softly, cooling his limbs and filling him with celestial pleasure. He soon fell fast asleep.

When "the resplendent luminary" entered his chambers in the West and the evening twilight came, a bird that was the foremost of his species returned to that spot, which was his home, from the regions of Brahmâ. He was **the prince of the cranes**, possessed of great wisdom, **a son of the sage Kaśyapa, and a dear friend of Brahmâ.** The offspring of a maid celestial, possessed of great beauty and learning, he resembled a celestial in splendour, adorned with many ornaments as brilliant as the sun himself. Jâbâla, on awaking, was amazed, but being exhausted with hunger and thirst, he began to cast his eyes on the bird with a desire of slaying him.

The crane said: — "Welcome, O Brâhmaṇa. By good luck have I got thee to-day in my abode. The sun is set and the evening twilight come. Thou art to-day my dear and excellent guest. Having received my worship according to the rites ordained in the Scriptures, thou mayst go whither thou wilt to-morrow morning."

Hearing these sweet words, Jâbâla was wonder-struck. Feeling at the same time a great curiosity, he eyed the crane without being able to withdraw the gaze from him.

Then the crane said: — "O Brâhmaṇa, I am the son of Kaśyapa by one of the daughters of the sage Daksha. Possessed of great merits, thou art my guest to-day. Thou art welcome."

Having offered him hospitality as ordered in the Scriptures, the crane made an excellent bed of roses that lay all around. He also offered him several large fish caught in the deep waters of the Bhâgirathî. After the Brâhmaṇa had eaten and become satisfied, the bird, possessing a wealth of penances, began to fan him with his wings. And when his guest was seated at his ease, he asked him about his pedigree.

Jâbâla replied: — "I am a Brâhmaṇa, known by the name of Jâbâla," and stopped. But the crane, who resembled Yama himself in his knowledge of duties, asked him about the cause of his arrival there. To which he replied: — "I am, O high-souled one, very poor. For earning wealth I am desirous of going to the sea!"

To which the crane replied: — "It behoveth thee not to feel any anxiety. Thou shalt succeed, O foremost of Brâhmaṇas, and shall return home with much property. The sage Bṛihaspati has spoken of four kinds of means for the acquisition of wealth, *viz.*, inheritance, sudden accessions due to luck or the favor of the gods, acquisition by labour, and acquisition through the aid or kindness of friends. I have become thy friend I feel kindly towards thee and will exert myself that thou mayst succeed in acquiring wealth."

The night passed away and the morning came. Seeing his guest cheerfully rise from bed, the bird said: — "Go, O amiable one, along this route and be sure of success. At three *yôjanas* off is a mighty **king of the Râkshasas** possessed of great prowess, who is an intimate friend of mine. He will, by my request, without doubt, give thee as much wealth as thou desirest."

Jâbâla, therefore, cheerfully set out on this errand, partaking to his heart's content, on the way, fruits, sweet as ambrosia. Beholding the sandal and the aloe and the birch trees that stood along the road, and enjoying their refreshing shade, the Brâhmana proceeded quickly and reached the city of the Râkshasa king. It had large gates and high walls of stone, and was surrounded on every side with a moat and large rocks, and engines of many kinds were kept ready on the ramparts. He soon became known to the chief, as a dear guest sent unto him by his friend, the crane, and he commanded his attendants to bring him from the gate. At the royal command, certain men, quick as hawks, issued from the splendid palace of their ruler, and, proceeding to the gate, accosted Jâbâla, saying:— "Come quickly, and see the glory of the king of the Râkshasas" The Brâhmaṇa, forgetting his weariness in his surprise, ran with the messengers, wondering at the great affluence of the city, and soon entered the king's palace in the company of the messengers.

Jâbâla was led into a spacious apartment and introduced to the king of the Rakshasas, who worshipped and gave him an excellent seat. The king asked him about his race and birth and practices, his study of the *Vêdas* and his observance of the Brahmâchârya vow. He, however, in reply, only stated his name. The king saw that he was destitute of Brahmanic splendour and Vedic studies, and next enquired about the country of his residence.

"Where is thy residence, O blessed one, and to what race does thy wife belong? Tell us truly. Do not fear. Trust us without anxiety."

Jâbâla replied:—"I belong by birth to the Middle Country. I live in a village of hunters. I have married a Sûdra spouse who had been a widow. All this I tell you is the truth."

The king then began to reflect as to what he should do. Indeed, he began to think how he might succeed in acquiring merit. This man is by birth a Brâhmaṇa and a friend of the high-souled crane, who sent him to me. I must do what is agreeable to my friend. On this very day of Kârtika, a thousand Brâhmanas of the first order are to be entertained in my house. This Brâhmaṇa shall be entertained with them and I shall give wealth unto him too. This is a sacred day and Jâbâla has come here as a guest.

Just about this time a thousand Brâhmanas, possessed of great learning, with persons purified by baths and adorned with sandal-paste and flowers, attired in long robes of linen, came to the palace. The king received his guests as they came, duly according to the injunctions of the *Sâstras*. Skins were spread out for them. The royal servants placed mats of *kusa* grass on the floor, and the king once more worshipped his guests as ordained in the *Sâstras* with sesamum seed, green blades of grass, and water. A few were selected to represent the Viśvadêvas, the Pitris, and the deities of fire. These were smeared with sandal-paste and flowers were offered to them, and they were also adored with other kinds of costly offerings. Bright, polished, and richly engraved plates of gold, filled with excellent food, prepared with *ghî* and honey were given them. It was the king's custom every year, on the full-moon day of the months of Ashâdha and Mâgha, to give a large number of Brâhmaṇas after proper honors, the best kinds of food that they desired. Especially on the full-moon day of the month of Kârtika, after the expiry of the autumn, used to give much wealth of diverse kinds, including gold, silver, jewels, gems, pearls, diamonds of great value, lapis lazuli, deer-skins, &c.

So on this day, throwing down a heap of wealth of many kinds, addressing the Brâhmaṇas, he said:—"Take from these jewels and gems as much as you wish and can hope to bear away. Taking those plates of gold and vessels in which you have dined, go you away."

On hearing these words, they took as much wealth as each desired, and the king, again addressed the Brâhmaṇas and said:—"This one day, ye regenerate ones, you need have no fear from Râkshasas here. Sport you as you wish and then go away with speed."

The guests, leaving that spot, went away in all directions with great speed. Jâbâla also, having taken up a heavy quantity of gold without any loss of time, went away. Carrying the burden with difficulty, he reached that same banyan under which he had met the crane. He sat himself down, fatigued, toil-worn, and hungry. While resting there, the crane arrived, and, being naturally devoted to friends, he gladdened the Brâhmaṇa by bidding him welcome. By flapping his wings he began to fan his guest and dispel his fatigue. Possessed of great intelligence, he worshipped him and

arranged for his meal. Having eaten and refreshed himself, Jâbâla began to think, "heavy is the load I have taken of bright gold, moved by covetousness and folly. I have a long way to travel and I have no food to eat on the way." Then like a true ingrate he thought "this prince of the cranes, so large and containing a heap of flesh, stays by my side. I will bag him and go." The crane had kindled and kept up a fire for his guest and on one side of the fire he slept trustfully. The ungrateful Jâbâla with the aid of the blazing fire killed the trustful bird, never thinking there was sin in what he did. Peeling off the feathers and the down, he roasted the flesh on the fire. Then taking it up with the gold he had brought, he fled quickly from that spot.

Next day the king, addressing his son, said: — "Alas, O son, I do not behold that best of birds to-day. Every morning he repairs to the regions of Brahmâ to adore his grandsire and never goes home without paying me a visit. But two mornings and two nights have passed away without his having come to my abode. My mind, therefore, is not at rest. Let my friend be enquired after. Jâbâla, who came here, is without *Vedic* studies and destitute of Brahmanic splendour and I fear he has found his way to the abode of my friend and slain him. My heart has become extremely anxious. Go my son. Do not tarry!"

The prince, accompanied by other Râkshasas, proceeded with great speed and saw the remains of the crane. The Râkshasas had not to go far before catching and discovering the body of the crane. Taking their captive with them, the Râkshasas returned to their city and showed the king the mutilated body of the crane, and that ungrateful and sinning wretch, Jâbâla.

The king said: — "Let this sinful wretch be slain. Let these Râkshasas here feast merrily on his flesh. Of sinful deeds, of sinful habits, of sinful soul, and inured to sin, this wretch must die."

But many of the Râkshasas expressed their unwillingness to partake of the flesh of such a sinner, and said: — "Let this vilest of men be given away to the robbers."

"Let it be so," said the king. Then the Râkshasas, armed with lances and battle-axes, hacked that vile wretch into pieces, which they gave to the robbers. But the very robbers refused to eat the flesh of such a villain. For one that slays a Brâhmaṇa, for one that drinks alcohol, for one that steals, for one that has fallen away from a vow, there is expiation. But there is no expiation for an ungrateful wretch.

The king then caused a funeral pyre to be made for the prince of cranes and adorned it with jewels and gems and perfumes and costly robes and performed the obsequies of his friend according to the ordinances. Then the celestial cow appeared in the sky and showered on the pyre, froth mixed with milk. Whereupon the prince of cranes revived and approached his friend, when the chief of the celestials himself came to the city.

Addressing the Râkshasa king, Indra said: — "By thy fortune thou hast revived the prince of cranes."

And then he told him the old story of the curse of the grandsire upon that best of birds: — "Once upon a time, this prince of cranes absented himself from the region of Brahmâ, when his presence was expected. In wrath his grandsire said, 'since this vile crane hath not presented himself to-day in my assembly, that wicked-souled one shall not soon die, so as to be able to leave the earth.' In consequence of these words the prince of cranes, though slain by Jâbâla, has come back to life, through the virtue of the nectar with which his body has been drenched."

Then the crane, having bowed unto the chief of the celestials, said: — "O first of the gods, if thy heart be inclined towards me for grace, then let my dear friend Jâbâla be restored to life."

Hearing these words of his, Indra sprinkled nectar over the body of the Brâhmaṇa and restored him to life.

Jâbâla also, returning to his home in the village of the hunters, begot many sinful offsprings upon his Sûdra spouse. A heavy curse was pronounced upon him by the gods for having begotten, within a few years, upon the body of his re-married wife many children, and the ungrateful sinner sank into a terrible hell for many years.

BOOK-NOTICE.

AN INDEX TO THE NAMES IN THE MAHABHARATA, with short Explanations, and a Concordance to the Bombay and Calcutta Editions and P. C. Roy's Translation. By S. Sorensen, Ph D. London; Williams and Norgate. Part I ; 1904. Pp xli , 32.

As is known to many of our readers, a great movement is on foot, with a view to obtaining a critical text of that which is undoubtedly the more important of the two great Hindū epics. The Rāmāyana is, indeed, not to be neglected; the critical study of it is to be steadily prosecuted. But the main object in view is to deal on sounder lines, than have ever yet been attempted, with the Mahābhārata, or as it is called in an epigraphic record of the fourth or fifth century A. D. (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p 139), the Śatasahasrī-Samhitā, "the compilation containing 100,000 verses." And the reason for the selection is not far to find The Rāmāyana is practically nothing but a poem, in epic form and language, which deals with but little beyond the story of Rāma and Sītā which forms the motif of it. The Mahābhārata, on the other hand, — while it has a main story running through it, that of the origin and history of the great war between the Pāndavas and the Kauravas, in which there may be found a historical basis of it, — is of far wider scope Referring itself, indeed, to a human author instead of to a revelation, it places itself only in the class of sacred traditionary writings. But it claims to be of the nature of a Vēda And, in addition to giving a full handling of its ostensible topic, it is a vast repository of ancient tales and legends, of theories about cosmogony and time and space, of geographical details, of precepts inculcating the duties of the castes and teaching the means by which the four ends of human life, religious merit, wealth, pleasure, and final liberation, may be attained, and of all sorts of miscellaneous information, with long didactic episodes which are of extreme importance for the history of the development of philosophy during the time that intervened between the Vēdic period and the period of the later systems.

We have at present three editions of the Mahābhārata; the Calcutta text of 1834-39, the Madras text of 1855-60, and the Bombay text of 1862-63. The Calcutta and Bombay texts are derived from a common source, and, practically differing not much from each other, except that the Bombay text has been said to present generally the better readings, represent one and the same recension, which it has become customary to characterise as the recension of Northern India. The nature of the Madras text seems not so certain. One writer has described it as nearly identical with the Calcutta text, though based on independent manuscripts. While another writer appears to consider it a 'distinct South-Indian recension, differing substantially from that of the north. But, in whatever way they may be taken, it is agreed that not any one of these three texts satisfies equally the sectarian demands of all parts of India, or comes up to the critical requirements of western scholarship.

No edition of the whole epic, prepared by western hands, has ever yet been produced. That is the want which is to be supplied. It seems to be a moot-point, whether what is desired can be obtained by a critical revision of the Calcutta or of the Bombay text, or whether it can be better done by a new treatment from distinctly separate South-Indian manuscripts, which have been held to afford, partly by certain omissions, partly in other ways, means of deciding which are the true original parts of the epic. But, whatever process may be hereafter resolved upon, the object in view is to produce, not a special text which shall satisfy any particular sectarian demands, but one which shall meet the requirements of critical examination, and shall suffice to furnish at least a tolerably safe guide as to which may be the more ancient parts of the great epic, and which may be later additions to it.

So great, however, is the mass of matter to be dealt with, and so numerous are the materials which are available, that it cannot fail to be a long time before any such edition can be completed; or, indeed, before any very substantial progress towards it can be made.

Meanwhile, we cordially welcome all publications which will help on the great work. And with particular gladness, because it serves other purposes besides even that one, we welcome the appearance of the first part, now before us, of the **Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata by the late Dr. Sören Sorensen.**

This is the first published instalment of what promises to be a monumental compilation made by a scholar who, in consequence apparently of devoting his life chiefly to one great work, which he lived to complete but not to carry through the press, is perhaps not so well known as he deserved to be. A few facts about him, for which we are indebted to the courtesy of the publishers, will not be out of place.

Dr. Soren Sörensen was born in 1848, at Danstrup in Denmark. Leaving school for the university, he there gave his attention chiefly to philological studies, with a view to which he

applied himself specially to acquiring a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit. After taking his degree, he was for a time a school-master. But he resigned his post in order to continue his oriental studies.

In 1883 he was made Doctor of Philology, and published a book entitled "The Position of the Mahābhārata in Indian Literature." And he wrote a variety of papers on oriental subjects, one of which, on "The Position of Sanskrit in the General Development of Languages in India," gained for him, in 1890, the gold medal of the Danish Academy of Sciences.

In 1899 he became a lecturer at the Copenhagen University. In 1900 he was elected a member of the Academy of Sciences. In May 1902 he was appointed Professor of Indian Philology at Copenhagen, in succession to Professor Fausboll And he died in the following December.

Of the great work of Dr. Sorensen's life, we have now before us the first instalment, taken through the press with all the care that it so richly merits, and published in as fine and clear a style of printing as it could well receive

The scope of the work is explained by its title. It is an Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata, with a Concordance to the Bombay and Calcutta Editions and Protap Chandra Roy's Translation.

The Concordance, it happens, has been to a certain extent forestalled by Professor Jacobi's book on the Mahābhārata, published in 1903, which gives the comparative arrangement of the Bombay and Calcutta texts on pages 242 to 257, and supplies the names of the divisions of the epic in footnotes below the analysis of the contents of them in the body of the book. But there are many people, interested in the subject, by whom Professor Jacobi's book, written in German, cannot be utilised. And to them Dr. Sörensen's work, published in English, will be invaluable in both its departments. Moreover, in the two respects mentioned above, it gives in one and the same place the details which in the other book we have to find in two places.

Dr Sörensen's Index, however, judged by the present instalment of it, stands unique, and will supersede everything that has as yet been given to us in its line. It is no partial index, giving us only a limited selection of references And it is no mere list of references, only telling us more or less vaguely where we may look for passages in which we may or may not find what we want. From each passage, it quotes anything worth noting which is to be found in that passage. Wherever there is sufficient field, it presents, in more or less of the form of an article, everything that can be usefully brought together, see, for instance, the entries under Abhimanyu, pp. 1, 2, Açleshā and Açleshāh, pp. 4, 5, Açvatthāman, pp. 9 to 11, Agni, pp 19 to 24, and Ambarīsha, p. 30. and for some shorter, but typical and very useful notes, see the entries under Ābhīra, p. 3, Açvaka, p. 8, and Agastyatīrtha, p. 17. And it includes a synopsis of the contents of the various divisions of the epic under the titles of them, thus presenting in these places the treatment to which the bulk of Professor Jacobi's book was devoted, and here again conspicuously meeting the requirements of those who do not read German, see, for instance, the entries under Abhimanyuvadhaparvan, pp 2, 3, Āçramavāsaparvan, pp 5 to 7, Agastyopākhyāna, pp. 17, 18, and Agniparābhava, p. 24 A noteworthy feature of this part of the work is that it is arranged according to the European alphabetical order, just as every such "index," prepared in an European language, should be arranged

This part of Dr. Sörensen's work is, indeed, more an Encyclopædia than an Index. And it is, in fact, the first step towards a real Classical and Geographical Dictionary of India. Its value will be incalculable, not simply to those who may co-operate in the preparation of a final critical text of the epic, but to all who are engaged in any line of research into the ancient past of India. And it is to be hoped that the example now before us may induce others to take in hand similar compilations for other works and divisions of Indian literature, Sanskṛit, Prākṛit, or Pāli, which can be turned to practical purposes of historical research, whether in the political, the religious, the geographical, or any other, line, and, leaving the domain of literature, for the epigraphic records. But the field is a vast one, and can be properly worked only on the principle of co-operation of labour, by breaking it up into manageable areas.

In the present instalment, Part I., of Dr. Sorensen's work, we have the Concordance complete, in 33 pages, and 32 pages of the Index, from "Abala" to almost the end of "Ambopākhyānaparvan;" both on royal quarto pages, with two columns to the page. It is a satisfaction to know that he left the whole Index complete, and the greater part of it ready for publication, that a portion of it, which still required final revision and arrangement, is being prepared for the press by thoroughly competent hands; and that the publishers anticipate being able to make quick progress in continuing the issue.

J. F. Fleet.

23rd November, 1904.

THE EIGHTEEN SONGS OF THE BONO-NA FESTIVAL (BONO-NAYI LU ATHRUNGSH).

(Dard Text, with Translation, Notes and Vocabulary.)

BY A. H. FRANCKE.

Preface.

THIS hymnal is sung at Da, Garkunu, and the other villages of the **Eastern Dards (Shina)** at the **Bŏno-nă Festival**, which is celebrated every third year. It was celebrated in 1903 and will be again in 1906. The songs now given were dictated by **'aBrug-bkrashis**, who is a **lha-bab** and one of the principal reciters at the festival. As a *lha-bab*, *i.e.*, a person, on whom the gods descend, and who is **possessed by the spirits**, he officiates as **priest** at sheep-offerings and other Pre-Buddhistic rites of this people.

The songs were taken down and furnished with a Western-Tibetan translation by Thar-rnyed-chos-'aphel, now a Christian Catechist, but formerly a Buddhist *lama* at Da and Garkunu, as lately as seven years ago. Although he understands the language of the Eastern Dards perfectly, it was found that the Tibetan Alphabet presented great difficulties when applied to the foreign sounds of an Aryan language. However, on the whole, the orthography fairly represents the facts, accentuated syllables being marked by two dots (*thseg*).

I now give the hymnal with a Roman transcription and a full **vocabulary** of all the words and forms occurring in it. The vocabulary will be given at the end of the songs, the Tibetan words which have entered the Dard language being specially noted.

The hymnal is known as **the eighteen songs (Lu Athrungsh)**, but so far only fourteen have been discovered, though I gather that in several cases, *e.g.*, in Song No. VII., several originally separate songs have become incorporated in one single song.

The word **múmmo**, which signifies nowadays 'uncle' and is the ordinary term of address for males, is said to stand for 'uncle-of-the-past,' *i.e.*, 'forefather' in the songs, and is so translated. In Songs Nos. XII. and XIV., however, it seems to signify simply 'a male Dard.'

The hymnal is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, it contains the last remnants of **Dard mythology** and particularly their cosmography, *e.g.*, Song No. II., the system of colours reminding one of the Tibetan *gLing-chos*. Secondly, it contains **the historical recollections of the Eastern Dards** (*cf.* Song No. VI.). They have not yet forgotten that their forefathers **migrated from Gilgit**, and the list of place-names well illustrates their route towards the south-east of the Indus-valley. All the villages mentioned in the songs are well-known places, though they cannot all be found readily on North-Indian maps, owing to the terrible orthography employed on them.

The language of the songs is very mixed. Not only are about half the words either purely Tibetan or derived from Tibetan stems, but also the grammatical system has been adapted to a great degree to that of the Tibetan language, the Ladakhi Dialect having influenced the language of the **Minaro**, as they call themselves, because the Dard villages were part of the Ladakhi kingdom for several centuries. At the present day this people is more generally known locally by the name **'aBrogpa**, *i.e.*, the possessors of little oases of fields without houses (*'abrog*). They acquired this name probably because they are in possession of fields not only in the neighbourhood of the villages, but also outside them right in the desert, a condition perhaps arising out of the Tibetan re-conquest of the country, when they were driven away from the villages and had to be satisfied with their *'abrog*.

As to the **pronunciation of the Dard texts**, all the vowels which do not show the mark of length are short, even *e* and *o*. The diphthongs are *u, o, oi, ou* (= Bohemian *ů*). With regard to accent it will be noticed on a perusal of the texts that occasionally the same word is at times

differently accentuated. Thus, we have *pṓto* and *pōtṓ* . *tóto* and *tōtṓ*. Such a change of accent is due to metre. As a rule, however, the accents given in the texts are those of the ordinary pronunciation. As in many Aryan languages, in the Dard language the natural accent is capable of change of position according to inflexion. Thus, we have have *razā́* and *rázisinne* : *pákur* and *pakuṛízhē*. *K̲h̲* is pronounced as the Urdu خ : *g̲h̲* as the Urdu غ.

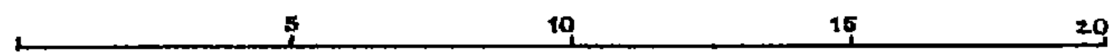
THE SONGS.

Song No. I. — Preparations for the Bṓno-nā́ Festival.

	Text.		Translation.
1.	Zhágpō nang skármā dzómpē zhág	1.	[This is] the day of the [good] constellation of the stars.
2.	Skármē rGyástod shárvē zhág	2.	The day when the **rGyastod** rises.
3.	Málmallarū	3.	In the pleasure-garden
4.	Tárunē sangazínnē	4.	The youths gather,
5.	Nāchung sangazínnē	5.	The maids gather.
6.	Cháng riggichénnē	6.	They arrange the beer-[pots] ;
7.	G̲h̲an āriénnē	7.	They bring curdled milk.
8.	Dū́d āriénnē	8.	They bring [sweet] milk.
9.	Tṓto ṓphud āriénnē	9.	Then they bring milk-offerings,
10.	Phḗphud āriénnē	10.	They bring flour-offerings.
11.	Márphud āriénnē pájūlēsā́	11.	They bring butter-offerings, the shepherds.
12.	Khōlátri khóngmal āriénnē	12.	They bring dumplings [of] flour and butter ;
13.	Pū́shrō khantiénnē	13.	They put on flowers :
14.	Dū́dule	14.	Wild marguerites,
15.	Mak̲h̲ōding brágbūmō āriénne	15.	They bring rhubarb-flowers
16.	Lakililíyō pū́shrō pájūlēsā́	16.	[And] meadow-flowers, the shepherds.
17.	Chándror pū́shrō āriénnē	17.	They bring alpine butter-cups,
18.	Pṓto ráshtanurunṓu	18.	Then to the prospering village
19.	'Atrui khóngleags āriénnē	19.	They bring calendulas.
20.	Bṓno rgū́ rtags khantiénnē	20.	They put on large marigolds,
21.	Yángmā rgū́ rtsags khantiénnē	21.	They put on fresh marigolds,
22.	G̲h̲úli nágrang khantiénnē	22.	They put on straw-flowers,
23.	G̲h̲úli sásbar khantiénnē	23.	They put on centifolias,
24	G̲h̲úli áshag khantiénnē	24.	They put on wild roses,
25.	Ṓttē ámbar khantiénnē	25.	They put on *ambar* flowers.
26.	Túng tung kánimal khantiénnē	26.	They put on clusters of *kanimal* flowers.
27.	Lū́balli ígthā phūniénnē	27.	They put on coats of sheep-wool,
28.	Lúggu bálli tsázar phūniénnē	28.	They put on girdles of sheep-wool.
29.	Tijā́ nṓmo lē K̲h̲odā́	29.	Honour to thee, O God !
30.	Nádmed thḗchirē	30.	Keep us without illness !
31.	Hla bráginē	31.	Let us trust in God !
32.	Hlā dúschā	32.	Assemble, O gods !
33.	Mi dús dzom !	33.	Assemble, O men !

Notes.

2. — The **rGya-stod** or **rGyal-stod** is one of the lunar mansions. 9—11. — The offerings, mentioned here, are a general **Western-Tibetan custom**. Before partaking of any food or drink, three small offerings are made to heaven, earth and under-world, by throwing a little portion of it into the air, over the earth and down to the ground. With regard to the names of the different flowers, I am not botanist enough to determine them satisfactorily. Although the *kanimal*


Sketch-map showing language areas of
Dard Tribes in the ancient Ladakhi Kingdom,
by A H Francke
SCALE OF ENGLISH MILES
5
10
15
20
Dard Dialect of Da (language of the songs)
Tibetan Dialects.
Former areas of the Da Dialect
Dard Dialect of Dras
Tsendo
Tolti
Kharman
Indus River
Shayog River
WEST TIBETAN BALTI VARIETY
WEST TIBETAN NUBRA VARIETY
Palpaldo
Chorbat Pass
Shigar
Shingo
Kirkito
Khangsang
Kharbu
Chulichan
Harda
Gangun
Kargil
Yurbaring
Suru River
LOWER WEST TIBETAN MUSULMAN VARIETY
LOWER WEST TIBETAN BUDDHIST VARIETY
Thunga-skam
Shimsha
Dras River
Hembaba or Dras
Achinathang
Skyurbuchan

(*kalimān* in Tibetan) flower was brought to me, I could not determine it. Besides, in several cases, the same name is given to several scientifically very different flowers.

No. II. — Origin of the World.

Text.	Translation.
1. Míyul nang dángpō yézhē chágs Yárkō míyul thsṓzhē chágs.	1. How did the earth first grow ? At first the earth grew on a lake.
2. Bázhē yé chágs Bázhē pákur chágs.	2. What grew on the water ? On the water grew a meadow.
3. Pakurrí zhē yē chágs Rúng terá chágs.	3. What grew on the meadow ? Three hills grew [there].
4. Rúng terá znúra yé razá Ek rúnge znúra chóngri shṓ rázisinnē.	4. What are the names of the three hills ? The name of one hill is '**the White Jewel Hill.**'
5. Ek rúnge znúra yé rázisinnē Ek rúnge znúra chóngri lṓto rázisinnē.	5. What is the name of another hill ? The name of another hill is '**the Red Jewel Hill.**'
6. Ek rúnge znúra yé rázisinnē Ek rúnge znúra chóngri nyílo rázisinnē.	6. What is the name of one more hill ? The name of one more hill is '**the Blue Jewel Hill.**'
7. Rúnge terahínjē yé chágs Kṓte terá chágs.	7. What grew on the three hills ? Three trees grew [there].
8. Terá kṓto znúra yé rázisinnē Ēk kṓto znúra tsándan shṓ Ēk kṓto znúra tsándan nyílo Ēk kṓto znúra tsándan lṓto rázisinnē.	8. What are the names of the three trees ? The name of one tree is 'the white sandal tree.' The name of another tree is 'the blue sandal tree.' The name of one more tree is 'the red sandal tree.'
9. Terá kṓto byá yē chágs Terá kṓto byá terá chágs.	9. What birds grew on the three trees ? Three birds grew on the three trees.
10. Byā ékpoi znúra yé rázisinnē Byā ékpoi znúra byá rgyal rgódpo rázisinnē.	10. What is the name of one bird ? The name of one bird is '**Wild Eagle.**'
11. Byā ékpoi znúra yé rázisinnē Byā ékpoi znúra kúrkur jólmō rázisinnē.	11. What is the name of another bird ? The name of another bird is '**Barndoor Hen.**'
12. Byā ékpoi znúra yé rázisinnē Byā ékpoi znúra phéliki jólmō rázisinnē.	12. What is the name of one more bird ? The name of one more bird is '**Blackbird.**'

Notes.

The three mountains and trees are possibly thought to exist one on the top of the other, and thus to constitute the three worlds in correspondence to the *lha yul*, *mi yul* and *klu yul* of the Tibetan *gLing-chos*. Also the system of colours, white for heaven, red for earth, and blue for underworld, is the same as that of the *gLing-chos*. But in other respects the Dard system is different from the Tibetan system. Thus, according to the *gLing-chos*, the earth is formed out of the body of a giant, whilst here it grows out of the water. There are six birds on the tree of the world according to the *gLing-chos*, and here we have only three. The pencil cedar of Western Tibet is often called 'Sandal tree' (*Tsandan shing*).

No. III. — Hunting the Ibex.

Text.	Translation.
1. Pṓto Brúshal Gílitururoú	1. Then at **Brushal** and **Gilgit**
2. Tárunē shṓ nakhád	2. One hundred youths appear.
3. Nánggong Sāthsillurunoú	3. In the fertile village of **Sathsil**

	Text.		Translation.
4.	Nắchung shṓ nakhád	4.	One hundred maids appear.
5.	Gílid darbắr théd	5.	They form a great assembly at Gilgit.
6.	Gílsengge rgyálpo tsḗsē tsemgṓru nakhád	6.	The lion-king of Gilgit appears at the head of the dancers,
7.	Pṓto nāchunga sā yáshā kṓtrig thḗ	7.	Then all you girls, twirl your hands for love.
8.	Táiunē sắ yáshā thrússig thḗ	8.	All you boys, clap your hands for love !
9.	Yáshā hohohṓ thsámma thsắm thsām	9	Hurrah for love ! well done ! Hallo !
10.	Ambirí yondí taràg ēk théd lo múmmō	10.	On the **Ambir Pass** it makes *tarag* ! hey, uncle !
11.	Shā tō ghón tō mắlo phắlo	11.	[Take] the arrow, then the bow, then the arrow shafts and the blades !
12.	Zdóg leágshan múmmō	12.	O uncle, that art clever at hiding,
13.	Kárpōyi phēpud zdóg leágshan múmmō	13.	[Take] the white flour offering, O uncle, clever at hiding !
14.	Kárpōyi márphud zdóg leágshan múmmō	14.	[Take] the white butter offering, O uncle, clever at hiding !
15.	Kholág khóngmar zdóg leágshan múmmō	15.	[Take] the dumplings of flour and butter, O uncle, clever at hiding !
16.	Tsḗpa tṓto tsḗ leágshan múmmō	16.	Then, O uncle, clever at climbing,
17.	Hógspa tṓto hógs leágshan múmmō	17.	Then, O uncle, who art clever at calling,
18.	Tíltil tṓto tíl leágshan múmmō	18.	Then, O uncle, who art clever at getting out of sight,
19.	Tṓto shắro rithriúng shắro rógrog rithriúng	19.	There the ibex can be seen, the ibex can be seen in a herd.
20.	Pṓto shắ gyṓ lò múmmō	20.	Now take an arrow, hey, uncle !
21.	Pṓto ghón gyṓ lò múmmō	21	Now take the bow, hey, uncle !
22.	Tṓ mắlo phắlo	22.	Then [take] the arrow shafts and blades !
23.	Dragdrág tṓto drág leágshan múmmō	23.	O uncle, that art clever at driving them together ;
24.	Tōto bungbúng tṓto búng leágshan múmmō	24.	Then, O uncle, that art clever at driving them to heaps ;
25.	Phalphál tṓto phál leágshan	25.	Thou, that art clever in dispersing them ;
26.	Thrvang thrváng tóto thrváng leágshan	26	Thou, that art clever in shooting them !
27.	Phēphúd marphúd ōphúd chūphúd	27.	Offerings of flour, butter, milk, and water,
28.	Pōtṓ bēthiēchún lo tijắ namṓ lo Khodắ	28.	Must now be brought ! Honour to thee, O God !
29.	Picág drínisa shắ lámwē	29.	Now cut the flesh with the sharp knife !
30.	Khắshrō bēthrēchún múmmō	30.	Roasted meat must be offered, O uncle !
31.	Khamburắ khamzhorí	31.	Cut it to pieces !
32.	Tárunā shōíndē úzī díz dē lo múmmō	32.	Give a mouthful to each of one hundred youths, O uncle !
33.	Bokhắr smancéssuru khắshro gyún lò múmmō	33.	They will carry the meat in their pockets of Russian leather, O uncle.
34.	Pōtṓ ắ yē bohúndē pulichún lo múmmō	34.	They will give [some] to both, father and mother, O uncle.
35.	Nắchunga shōíndē skyés gyun lo múmmō	35.	They will make presents [of it] to one hundred girls, O uncle !
36.	Ghắmō sínmō tsen nubbadéngs lō múmmō.	36.	Now we have come to happiness and abundance, O uncle !

Notes.

This song I consider as one of the finest and **most original specimens of Eastern poetry** I have ever seen; but it is almost impossible to translate it satisfactorily into any language. The reason is that there are so many onomatopoetic expressions in it which we must not expect to find in another language. Such expressions are the following: — (17) *hogs*, the call which imitates the cry of the game, and allows the hunter to approach it; (23) *drag drag*, the sound of running together, (24) *bung bung*, the supposed sound of making a heap; (25) *phal phal*, the sound of scattering (here it is meant for singling out the best animal); (26) *thrvang thrvang* is the sound of the sinew of the bow when shot; (10) *tarag* imitates the sound of gravel set in motion by animals on a hill-side; (18) *Til til* expresses the 'sudden disappearing' behind a rock of the hunter who is chasing the game. The disposition of the whole song is also very good. At first the dance is described in its development till it reaches its height with the '*Yáshā hohohṓ*' in verse 9. Then the attention of the whole party is directed to the hills where a herd of ibex can be seen. The best hunter is provided with bow and arrow and also with offerings to the gods. These he has to bring immediately after the successful shot. Verses 14, 27, 28. Now the party is watching the hunter until his shot in verse 26. Then the boys start to assist him in carrying away the meat which is distributed to the whole party. The **strange movements of the hands**, mentioned in verses 7 and 8, are also used for **salutations.**

No. IV. — The Dance of the Hunter.

Text.	Translation.
1. Pōtṓ shā́rō shríng nyā gyún lō múmmō	1. Now let us carry the horns of the ibex on our heads, O uncle!
2. Yónnō dā́ zhū lágchā, gyún lō múmmō	2. Let us carry in our left (hand) the arrows, bows, and other [hunting] utensils, O uncle!
3. Shā́ros thúrū gyún lō múmmō	3. Let us carry the skin of the ibex, O uncle!
4. Tsḗsi tsemgṓrū úthē lō múmmō	4. Step to the head of the dancers, O uncle!
5. Tses chódtē busgyóttō sharchógsurū byún lo múmmō!	5. After finishing the dance, let us go towards east, O uncle!

Notes.

This song may be of some anthropological interest, because the custom of dancing with the skin and horns of the hunted animal reminds us of the customs of many wild tribes.

No. V. — The Dance in Honor of the Yandring.

Text.	Translation.
1. Hṓ yáshā yándring, yándring bábpaō kyā́no babs	1. Ah, love [to you], O gods! The gods come down; from whence do they come down?
2. Dṓlo harángē úth	2. They come out of the midst of the sky.
3. Témbrel zángpō béd lō múmmō	3. That is a good omen, O uncle!
4. Góshen zárbāb phunyún lō múmmō	4. Let us put on fine cloth and embroidered cloth, O uncle!
5. Mághmal ū́thod pilā́yun lō múmmō	5. Let us wrap round the turban of fine black cloth, O uncle!
6. Tángsē tṓto lō tángsē múmmo	6. Is not this a pleasure-ground, O uncle?
7. Pṓto nakhazún lō múmmō.	7. Then let us come out [of the houses], O uncle!

Notes.

This song is of some importance because it contains a name '*yandring*' for the gods, which is perhaps an original Dard name. As will have been noticed in the preceding songs, the words Khodā and *lha* are used, the former going back to Muhammadan influences, the latter to influences of the Tibetan *gLing-chos*.

No. VI. — Migrations of the Dards.

	Text.		Translation.
1.	Pṓto trai róngchurgyúdturu nupā́d lö múmmō	1.	Then they went [and] arrived at Rong-churgyud, O uncle ;
2.	Róngē churgyúd sáli ló yáshā yándring	2.	At Rong-churgyud ; love [to you], O gods !
3.	Tangsḗ tōtṓ ló tangsḗ ménnā yándring	3.	Is that not, then, a pleasure-ground, O gods !
4	Bā́shō gúsur sáli	4.	[There are] currants at Gusur
5.	Goártōkū́mar sáli hṓ yáshā yándring	5.	[And also] at Goartokumar; love [to you], O gods.
6.	Tangsḗ tōtṓ lö tangsḗ ménnā yándring	6.	Is that not, then, a pleasure-ground, O gods?
7.	Skárdōgoddi loáng sáli hṓ yásha yándring	7.	Skardogod is near the willows ; love [to you], O gods !
8.	Tangsḗ tōtṓ ló tangsḗ ménnā yándring	8.	Is that not, then, a pleasure-ground, O gods !
9.	Shígarrī chámbrōzhing sáli hṓ yándring	9.	Shíggar near Chambrozhing, O gods !
10.	Tangsḗ tōtṓ lö tang sḗ ménnā yandring	10.	Is that not, then, a pleasure-ground, O gods!
11.	Kyēris chúmghag sáli yándring	11.	Kyeris [is] near Chumghog, O gods !
12.	Ghasíng manthrō khar shágal sáli hṓ yáshā yándring	12.	[And] Ghasing manthrokhar [is] near the gravel; love [to you], O gods !
13.	Parkuddā́ námkyil sáli hṓ yáshā yándring	13.	Parkuddā is underneath the midst of the sky ; love [to you], O gods !
14.	Gabī́s shúgtug sáli hṓ yáshā yándring	14.	Gabīs is near the forest of pencil cedars ; love [to you], O gods !
15.	Ganṓgse loánggī sálī hṓ yáshā yándring	15.	Ganōgse [is] near the [holy] willow-tree ; love [to you], O gods !
16.	Kyíshur hlā́brog sáli hṓ yáshā yándring	16.	Kyishur [is] near the oasis of the gods ; love [to you], O gods !
17.	Hā́nū Handrángmir sáli hṓ yásha yándring	17.	Hanu is near Handrangmir, love [to you], O gods !
18.	Sanī́dsa thsúg bḗd	18.	With Samd is the beginning [made].
19.	Dū́ borṓ tárunē sṓdēcan	19.	The youths of the two oases (Kyishur and Handrangmir) are happy.
20.	Hṓ hāyón māshrón mandḗdē mándē mandḗshin	20.	O, we honour the Mandēde mande mandē-shin [gods].
21.	Trityón málmal	21.	Let us dance [on this] place,
22.	Mandḗdē mandḗshin	22.	O Mandēde māndēshin !
23	Hṓ kēyón málmal	23.	O, this little field [is] the place,
24.	Mandḗdē mandḗshin	24.	Mandēde māndēshin !
25.	Hṓ kēyón málmal.	25.	O, this little field [is] the place !

Notes.

In this song, too, we find a name **Mandḗde mandḗshin** for the gods which may belong to the original mythology of the Dards. The name **Yandring** occurs here again also. It is interesting

that in the Tibetan translation both these names are rendered by *yzhi bdag*, = owners of the ground, a lower class of Tibetan gods. With the introduction of a new religion (Buddhism in this case), the gods of the previous religion experience a certain degradation. **All the places mentioned in this song are settlements of the Dards, extending from Gilgit through Baltistan into Ladakh.** The first colony which they founded was **Sanid** according to v. 18.

No. VII. — The Múmmō, a Benefactor.

Text.	Translation.
1. Sū̆ tren hlā̆ tren múmmō	1. All men assemble, the gods assemble, O uncle!
2. Hāng hā̆ng tōtṓ hā̆ng lō múmmō	2. Yes, then, yes, O uncle!
3. Kárcol phóg pheág tágsē	3. They arrange butter offerings, cedar offerings, and flour offerings;
4. Hlā̆yuldū herasū̆shig	4. Bring [the offerings] to the land of the gods!
5. Hayón mashrónla kyin	5. We will go to worship [them]!
6. Thsásbū koikóila búrdum lándrang hā̆ng ló	6. In the beds of the garden there are fox-tail flowers and *landrang* flowers;
7. Pū̆shrō zúrkyan pádmā hā̆ng lō múmmō	7. There are *zurkyan padma* flowers, O uncle!
8. Búrdum lándrang dógleágshan múmmō	8. O uncle, who art clever in dyeing the fox-tail and *landrang* flowers,
9. Arag sílmā kyíl leágshan múmmō	9. O uncle, who art clever in storing up clear brandy,
10. Arag tirig píd leágshan múmmō	10. O uncle, who art clever in quickly drinking the brandy,
11. Ghanazhúlli gín leágshan múmmō	11. O uncle, who art clever in seizing the curdled milk sauce,
12. Chū̆kholag chángsbū drál leágshan múmmō	12. O uncle, who art clever in distributing handfuls of dumplings,
13. Tárunē nā̆chung sdér leágshan múmmō	13. O uncle, who art clever in blessing youths and girls,
14. Thróm nang chénmō drál leágshan múmmō	14. O uncle, who art clever in making arrangements on the dancing-place,
15. Khuā̆ khuā̆ tōtō khuā̆ nu múmmō.	15. Eat then, eat, O uncle!

Notes.

In this song it looks really as if this uncle of the past, the *múmmō*, had almost become an object of worship. This song may represent a first step towards ancestor-worship. In the Tibetan translation there is a mistake with regard to v. 5. This was translated by 'We shall all go there!' as if the Dards hoped to go to heaven. No such thought is expressed in the song.

No. VIII. — The Beautiful Girls of Da.

Text.	Translation.
1. Cabcáb tōtṓ uthēā̆ lō múmmō	1. Rise, then, quickly, O uncle!
2. Ásī ghōbong ldémba lō múmmō	2. Our bodies are well-shaped, O uncle!
3. Ásī shrā̆lo rgyál lcang lō múmmō	3. Our hair is [like] a 'king's willow,' O uncle,
4. Zhágkor hálkā drúmdrum lō múmmō	4. [Our] pig-tails are shining and curly, O uncle,

Text.	Translation.
5. Ásī nṓlō nyī́shar lò múmmō	5. Our foreheads are [like] the rising sun, O uncle,
6. Ásī áthrī zírung lò múmmō	6. Our eyes are radiant, O uncle,
7. Ásī mígsmā ghóldings lò múmmō	7. Our eye-brows are raised, O uncle,
8. Ásī namchā sercatór hắng lö múmmō	8. Our ear-rings are of gold, O uncle,
9. Ásī dắnī múndrā ló múmmō	9. Our teeth are [like] pearls, O uncle,
10. Ásī chúmpō bórcos lo múmmō	10. Our lips are swelling, O uncle,
11. Ásī málmal dzómpō lo múmmō	11. Our village is assembled, O uncle !
12. Lū́bal lúbphruggū spóichā ló múmmō	12. Change [your] dress of sheep-wool, O uncle,
13. Ūthod thróllō spóichā lö múmmō	13. Change [your] beautiful head-covering, O uncle,
14. Tsádar thróllō spóicha lò múmmō	14. Change [your] beautiful scarf, O uncle,
15. Pū́shrō thróllō spóicha lo múmmō	15. Change [your] beautiful flowers, O uncle,
16. Tṓtō thrím thrim thrim thrím.	16. Then hurrah, hurrah !

Notes.

The expression, used in v. 10, with regard to the lips, *bórcos*, means about, that they are ready for a kiss. This expression *thrím thrím thrím thrím*, is an exclamation indicating great joy and frolic.

No. IX. — Love One Another.

Text.	Translation.
1. Lótomótō grázhamắ	1. Let us show love to each other !
2. Nánggongsúruru melígtē	2. Look at the village :
3. Díng pakór khāddi byắi, thrím thrím thrím.	3. [There is] the hen eating green grass, hurrah !
4. Tángsē tṓtō lö tángsē	4. Show, then, oh show [love] !
5. Nánggong sutī́ byắi	5. The hen is lying down in the village,
6. Thsámma thsắm thsām	6. Love, let us show love !
7. Nánggong tṓto lḗyon bún lótomótō grázhamắ	7. The village, then, is the village of foxes, let us show love to each other !
8. Kyíshur tṓtō múizhun bún	8. **Kyishur**, then, is the village of mice,
9. Skyídsā tṓtō phắyul béd	9. [These] happy places, then, are [our] fatherland !
10. Lótomóto grázhamắ	10. Let us show love to each other !
11. Nánggongrū yángmắ pắchung	11. In the lower village barley is ripening,
12. Bárthsamsurū sérmō pắchung	12. In the middle village golden barley is ripening,
13. Yáldorū yángkar pắchung	13. In the upper village white barley is ripening,
14. Kyíshuru tṓtō kyū́kyen yángmā pắchung	14. In Kyishur, then, peas and barley are ripening ;
15. Skyídpō béngbeng béd	15. Happiness has come (is) to us.
16. Tijá nắmo lö khodắ	16. Honour to thee, O God !
17. Lö sátu thrússig thḗ	17. O friends, clap your hands [as a sign of love] !
18. Yáshā tṓtō kṓtrig thḗ.	18. [For] love, then, twirl your hands.

Notes.

With regard to verses 1 and 11 it must be said that the words used in them are no more understood ; the translation, therefore, is only conjectural. For all the rest, the song looks like a collection of fragments from several forgotten songs. The village of Kyishur is also called Kyishur.

No. X. — The Dawn.

Text.	Translation.
1. Béngsē pā́i satiū́n	1. We will gather the sheep ;
2. Lúhyung tō lúhyung tō	2. The morning rises, the morning rises.
3. Múmmō tṓtō treyā́kī yúng	3. Then the uncle is feeling cold
4. Thiár thed to minā́rōsā́ kṓig razū́ng nā́ lò obyā́i	4. It is getting cold, then ; O Dards, what do you say [to that], halloah !
5. Lúhyung tō múmmō tṓto nyákī yū́ng	5. The morning rises ; then the uncle is feeling thirsty.
6. Múmmōs tṓto lápig thiū́ng	6. Then the uncle will make a fire ;
7. Múmmōsē tṓ húpig thúng	7. Then the uncle will drink down a gulp.
8. Lúhyung tṓ múmmō tō thramiā́ yū́ng	8. The morning rises ; then the uncle is feeling hungry ;
9. Mummōsē tō látig thiū́ng	9. Then the uncle will eat a little.
10. Lúhyung to múmmō shrúmiṓ yū́ng	10. The morning rises ; then the uncle is feeling tired ;
11. Béldang tō múmmō sū́ng	11. The uncle will, then, sleep in the evening.
12. Snyīrarū barkhád báyung	12. He will be blessed in his sleep.
13. Cōáltō nam lángsē tō úthiūng.	13. The morning rises, the morning rises, then he will get up.

Notes.

The festival has lasted through the whole of the night, and in the morning people feel tired. From this song we learn that in ancient times, **the Dards of Da and surrounding villages called themselves Minaro** ; at the present day they use the word Minaro only as a name of the Dards near Dras.

No. XI. — Pastoral Song.

Text.	Translation.
1. Cōáltō múmmō páitrī byun	1. It is morning [and] the uncle will go to the pasture-ground ;
2. Zā́mabō moróg thḗ lò múmmō	2. Make a savoury meal, O uncle !
3. Múmmō phúnjidla skyḗ	3. See that [you] are satisfied, uncle !
4. Bḗh tō moróg gyṓ bói lö múmmō	4. Go, carrying a savoury midday-meal, O uncle,
5. Múmmōsē tō pāi tō wár perḗtō, yé	5. Having filled the stomachs of the herds, bring [them back], O uncle !
6. Yáldor zhúngsurū trḗ lö múmmō	6. Go to the middle of the upper village, O uncle ;
7. Tíhoutílmar hū́ng lo múmmō	7. There are *tilioutilmar* flowers, O uncle ;
8. Háldruro spángtsi hā́ng lò múmmō	8. There are *haldruro* and little meadow-flowers, O uncle ;
9. Sábzang khághol hā́ng lo múmmō	9. There is good pasture and sorrel-flowers. O uncle ;
10. Jámthsōvā hása hā́ng lö múmmō	10. There is soft pasture, O uncle ;
11. Béldang nubpád lo múmmō	11. It is getting evening, O uncle ;
12. Pā́i wár peréd lò múmmō	12. The stomachs of the herds are filled, O uncle ;
13. Tijā́ nā́mo lö múmmō	13. Honour to thee, O uncle ;
14. Bū́rū khanjū́ri lö múmmō.	14. Lock [the herds] up in the stable, O uncle !

Notes.

It is interesting to note that in v. 13 the 'uncle of the past,' the *múmmō,* is honoured with the same greeting as were the gods in the previous songs. Compare No. I., 29; No. III., 28; No. IX., 16. Apparently he has risen to the rank of a god.

No. XII. — The Blessed Shepherd.

Text.	Translation.
1. Óyō dū́d théd lo múmmō	1. The goats give milk, O uncle;
2. Khodā́rē zhū́ béd lò múmmō	2. [The shepherds] are praising God, O uncle;
3. Lū́hyungtō lū́hyungto chā́li trud	3. Morning is rising, [and] a kid is born,
4. Bū pū́n lo múmmō	4. [Now] the stable is full [of] goats, O uncle;
5. Dū́d púnjol lò múmmō.	5. Fill in the milk, O uncle!

Notes.

The Dards make use only of the milk of goats. They say that certain spirits are watching their cows and would punish everybody who would dare to take milk from them.

No. XIII. — The Preparation of Curdled Milk.

Text.	Translation.
1. Cōāltō lū́hyungtō lō múmmō	1. The morning is rising, the morning is rising, O uncle;
2. Bū́rū skyīpung to chā́li bōnē béd	2. When looking into the stable, [we see] that the kids are big (= have grown);
3. Chā́li nággaleún lò múmmō	3. Let us take out the kids, O uncle;
4. Chā́li pákor pún lo múmmō	4. The meadow is filled with the kids, O uncle;
5. Chā́lisē thsárag āriénnē lo múmmō	5. The kids are running, O uncle [literally: are bringing a race];
6. Chālndā dū́d chínyun lō múmmō	6. Let us keep the kids from the milk, O uncle,
7. Pōtō dū́d thrū́cun lō múmmō	7. Then let us milk [the goats], O uncle;
8. Ghán tapayún lò múmmō	8. Let us prepare curdled milk, O uncle,
9. Ghán thróllō béd lō múmmō	9. The curdled milk is beautiful, O uncle;
10. Pōto ghánnas phóg diyún lo múmmō	10 Then let us bring an offering from the curdled milk, O uncle;
11. Ghannas ū́sprī sanghún lò múmmō	11. Let us gather the cream from the curdled milk, O uncle!
12. Pōtō úzī dḗ lō múmmō	12. Then give [me] a mouthful, O uncle;
13. Púnjung khuā́ khuā́ lò múmmō	13. Eat, eat until you are satisfied, O uncle!
14. thāring nyeā́ru belasún lo múmmō	14 Let us fill [the curdled milk] into the skin, O uncle!

No. XIV. — The Advantages of Shepherd-life.

Text.	Translation.
1. Pṓtō mā́sa mínikō lo múmmō	1 Then I am making butter, O uncle.
2. Pṓtō ghī́ g͟hórō béd lo múmmō	2 Then the butter is stirred, O uncle;
3. K͟hodā́re zhū̃g théd lo múmmō	3. A prayer is offered to God, O uncle;
4 Ranī́se pákor pún lo múmmō	4 The meadow is filled with sheep, O uncle;
5. Pā́shtō khábkhab béd ló múmmō	5. The wool is growing. O uncle,
6 Shríngē tṓ kírpī béd lo múmmō	6 The horns are growing in screw-windings, O uncle;
7. Míngaiī márrē k͟hón lo múmmō	7. Let us kill and eat a he-goat, O uncle;
8. Kyáilō mairē k͟hón lo mūmmō	8 Let us kill and eat a castrated sheep, O uncle!

VOCABULARY.

Prefatory Note.

This Vocabulary contains all the words found in the songs Words of Tibetan origin are distinguished by a T. The explanations of the Dard forms are only tentative The only information on Dard dialects available to me are: *On the Gurezi dialect of Shina*, by J. Wilson and G. A. Grierson in the *Indian Antiquary*, April, 1899, and a small collection of Dard words and forms which I made at Dras. I may add that the Dras dialect is so different from that of Da that these two tribes of Dards are not now able to converse with each other in their own language. The Roman number, added to the word, is the number of the song in which the word occurs

ambirī́, name of a pass. III.

ārag (perhaps better *árak*, but a Tibetan final *g* is pronounced like a *k*; also final *b* is pronounced like a *p*; final *d* like a *t*), a kind of native brandy which is made of barley. VII.

āiiénnē, they bring; but it may be the passive voice 'is brought.' At any rate, I cannot believe that it is a form of the imperative, for which it is taken in the Tibetan translation in Song No. I. When the word occurs again in No. XIII. it is taken as a present tense in the Tibetan translation.

ásī, our. VIII.

áthrī, eye (or eyes ?). In Tibetan it is not always necessary to denote the plural, and the Tibetan may have influenced the Dardi in this respect. VIII.

athrúngsh, eighteen. The word occurs only in the heading

atiuī́ khóngleágs, name of many orange flowers, among them of the *calendula*. I.

ū́yē, parents, father and mother. III. Others say that it means only 'mother'; but what shall we do then with the word *bōhúndē*, both, by which it is followed ?

Bū́, water. II.

bábpaō, they who descended. T. V.

babs, descended. T. V.

bal, wool. I.

balli, of wool, Tibetan genitive formation.

barkhád, blessing. X.

báithsamsuiū, in the middle part of the village. T., but the locative termination may be *Dardi*. IX.

bū́shō, currants. T. VI.

bāyū̃ng, will be X. Compare *béd*. In case the termination *yū̃ng* is the Tibetan *yong*, this form could be considered as a future tense.

bū́zhē, on the water, dative case. II.

béd (perhaps better *bēt*), it is, they are. V. In No. X. the future tense occurs: *bāyū̃ng*, will be.

bēlasún, let us pour out! Either imperative or future tense. XIII.

beldang, evening. X.

bḗlī, midday-meal. XI.

bḗng, we (or us ?). IX.

bḗngsē, through us, by us. Instrumental case. X.

bḗthrechún, let us offer! It is either imperative tense or future tense. III.

bōhúndē, both. III.

bōi, go! Imperative tense. Compare *byún*. XI.
bōkhār, Russian leather; the Tibetan is *bolgar*. T. III.
bōnē, great. XIII. This may be a plural form.
bōnō, great. I.
bor, a field outside the village, in the desert. Is it derived from the Tibetan *'abrog*? VI.
bórcos, swelling (of the lips when ready for a kiss). VIII.
borō, plural of *bor*. Also *bardru* is given as a plural of *bor*. VI.
bragínē, hand over, entrust. Perhaps an imperative tense. I.
brog, a field outside the village in the desert. It is the Tibetan *'abrog*. T. VI.
Brūshal, a local name. III.
bū, stable for sheep. XII.
bún, village. IX.
bungbúng, in a heap. T. III.
bungleágshan, clever (literally 'good') in making a heap. T. III.
búrdum, name of a flower, the 'fox-tail-flower.' VII.
būru, in the stable; locative case. XI. The termination may be Tibetan.
busgyódtō, afterwards. IV.
byā, bird, fowl. T. II.
byā rgyal rgodpo, eagle. T.
byūi, the same, or is it the plural of the preceding? T. IX.
byún (or *byúng*), will go. IV., XI. Compare *bōi*.

Cabcáb, suddenly, quickly. T. VIII.
chā, come to pass. T. I.
chágs, grew. T. II.
chāli, kid. XII.
chālisē, by the kid. Instrumental case. XIII.
chālíndā, kids, plural. XIII.
Chámbrōzhing, local name. VI.
chándror, name of a yellow alpine flower. T. I.
cháng, native beer made of barley. T. I.
chángsbū, a handful. T. VIII.
chénmō, great. T. VII.
chínyun, let us keep off! It is either imperative or future tense. XIII.
chódde, being finished, come to the end. T. IV.
chóngrī, hill of jewels (*chong* is a precious stone). T. II.
chumpō, lip, lips. VIII.
chūphúd, offering of water. In Tibetan the accentuation would be *chūphud*. T. III.
coáltō, in the morning; also *cólto* is said. X.

Dā, arrow, T. (= *mdā*). IV.
dángpō, first. T. II.
dánnī, teeth; the singular is *dán*. VIII.
darbār, *darvār*, assembly. III.
dē, give! Imperative tense. Compare *dyún*. III.
díng, green. IX.
díz, putting in the mouth, forms a compound with *dē*, give. III.
dōg leágshan, good (or clever) in colour (or colouring). T. In Tibetan it is spelled *mdog legscan*. VII.
dōlo, sky, heaven. V.
drálleágshan, clever in distributing. T. VII.
dralleágshan (= *grál leágshan*), clever in putting in proper order. T. VII.
drīnī, sharp, *drīnisā*. Instrumental case. III.
drúmdrum, curly. VIII.
dūd, milk. I. XII.
dúdulē, name of a flower, the wild marguerite. I.
dyún, let us give. Compare *dē*. It is either imperative or future tense. XIII.
dzóm, assemble! T. (= *'adzom*). I.

ēk, one. I.
ēkpō, one, the same word as the preceding, furnished with the West-Tibetan emphatic article. When used as indefinite article, *ēk* is pronounced *ik* (or *ig* according to Tibetan orthography) and placed after the noun, as is the case in Tibetan.

Gabīs, name of a village. VI.
Ganōgse, name of a village. VI.
g͟hāmō, joy, pleasure (= *dgāmo*). T. III.
g͟hán, curdled milk. I.
g͟hánna, either genitive case, or *status constructus* of *g͟hán*. VII.
g͟hánnas, ablative case of *g͟han*. Perhaps a Tibetan formation. XIII.
G͟hásing manthrōkhar, name of a village (or of two situated close to each other). VI.
g͟hī, butter; not only clarified butter. XV.
g͟hōbong (= *sgobo*), body. T. VIII.

ghóldings, raised, forming a semi-circle (of the eyebrows). VIII.
ghón, bow. III.
ghórō, stirred, shaken (of the butter-milk). XIV.
ghúlī áshag, name of a flower. I.
ghúlī nágrang, name of a flower. (The second part of the name is apparently Tibetan.) I.
ghúlī sásbar, name of a flower ; the rose. I.
Gilid (or *Gilit*), the town of Gilgit. III.
Gilitunurōu, in Gilgit, locative case. III.
Gilsénggē rgyálpō, lion-king of Gilgit. T. III.
ginleágshan, clever (or good) in seizing. VII.
Goái tōkúmar, name of a village. VII.
góshen (=*góschen*), beautiful dress, kind of cloth. T. V.
grázhamā, let us love ! This word is no more in general use ; people are not quite certain of the real meaning. IX.
gúlus, clothing. VIII.
gúrtsag (= *dgu rtsag*), with nine rows (of petals), is used, for instance, of centifolias. T. I.
Gúsur, name of a village, VI.
gyállcang (= *rgyallcang*), 'king's willow.' T. VIII.
gyástod (or *rgya stod*), one of the lunar mansions. T. I.
gyō, bring ! Imperative tense. III.
gyún, let us bring ; it is either imperative or future tense. III.

Háldrūrō, golden (studded with yellow flowers). XI.
hálkā, shining, glossy (of the hair). VIII.
Handrángmír, local name. VI.
hāng, it is, they are ; also said for 'yes.' VII.
Hānū, name of a village. VI.
harángē, from the middle. V.
hásā, soft. XI.
hāyŏn, we. VI.
herasūshig, carry ! Imperative tense. The termination *shig* is of Tibetan origin.
hlā, god, gods. In Tibetan the word is spelt *lha*, but it must be said that also in Tibetan the pronunciation of the word is always *hla*. T. I.
hlādús, assembly of gods. T. I.
hlātren, assembly of gods. VII.
hlāyul, land of the gods, heaven. T. VII.
hlāyuldū, to the land of the gods. T. VII.
hógleágshan, clever (good) in calling out (especially imitating the voice of the hunted animal). III.
hógspa, caller. The Tibetan article is added to the same stem.
hohohō, exclamation. III.
hubig (= *hub ik*), a gulp. T. X.

ig (or *ik*), a, indefinite article. I., X. It is always added behind the word it belongs to.
ígthā, clothing. I.

jā, termination of the dative in *tijā*, to thee. It is probably related to the dative terminations *zha* and *zhe* which we find in other words.
jam (='*ajampo*), soft. T. XI.

kánimal (it is also called *kalimān*), name of a flower. I.
kárcol (= *kalcor*), little pieces of butter, smeared on the margin of a pot, as a sign of abundance. T. VII.
káipō (= *dkarpo*), white. T. III.
kēyón, a small field. VI.
Khāb khab, increasing. XIV.
Kháddī, eating, present participle. IX.
Khághol, ibex. XI.
Khamburā, morsel. III.
khamzhorī, put in ! (a morsel). Imperative tense. III.
khanjūrī, put in ! (into the stable). Imperative tense. XI.
khantiénnē, put on (a flower). I translated it as the 3rd person plural, *präsentis activi*, but it may be a passive formation.
Khūsirō, meat, roasted meat. T. III.
Khodā, God. I.
Khodāre, to God, dative case. XII., XIV.
Khólag, dumplings made of parched grain and a fluid (water, tea, beer, wine, or milk). T. III.
kholátii, the same as *Khólag*. I.
Khón, let us eat ! Either imperative or future tense. XIV.
Khóngmal, *khóngmar*, } flour mixed with butter. T. I., III.

khróm, a place in the middle of a town or village. T. VII.
khuā, eat! Imperative tense. VII., XIII.
kirpi, winding (of the horns). XIV.
Kōig (*kōik*), what? what a? X.
kórkor, bed of flowers, *korkórla*, on the bed. T. VII.
kōtē, trees, either plural, or *status constructus*. II.
kōtō, tree, trees; probably the singular termination is used for the plural.
kōtrig (*kōtr ik*), a salutation of the female Dards when they twirl their hands. *kōtrig thē*, make a salutation! III., IX.
kuikur jólmō, house-hen; a mythological bird. II.
kyūnō, whence? V.
kyúrlō, castrated sheep. XIV.
Kyēshur (or *Kyishur*), name of a village. IX.
Kyēris (or *Kyiris*), *chumghag*, name of a village, or of two villages situated near each other. VI.
kyilleágshan (*skyil legscan*), clever (good) in gathering. T. VII.
kyin, let us go! It is either future or imperative tense. VII.
kyúkyen, pea, peas. IX.

Lábig (or, perhaps, *lap ik*), a flame. X.
lágchā, utensils. T. IV.
lákhilīyō, little flowers on a meadow. I.
lámvē, cut! Imperative tense. III.
lándrang, name of a poisonous plant. T. VII.
lángstē, rising. T. X.
latig (or *lat ik*), a mouthful. X.
lcáng, willow. T. VI.
ldēmbā, well shaped. T. VIII.
leágshan (=*lēgscan*), having goodness; is translated by 'clever in.' T. III., VII. With regard to *leags*, instead of Tibetan *legs*, I may add that the Lower Ladakhi dialect has several parallel cases; for instance, *teags* for *btags*, *teangs* for *btangs*.
lēyon, fox. IX.
leún, let us take! It is either future or imperative tense. XIII.
liún, let us take [off]! It occurs in *sángliún*, and is probably the same as *leún*. XIII.
lōtō, red. II.
lótōmótō, this word is no more in general use. It is supposed to mean 'each other.' IX.
lo, *haloh*! exclamation. The Tibetan corresponding term is *lē*. I.—XIV.
lū (= *glu*), song. T. It occurs in the title.
lú (= *lug*), sheep. T. I.
lúbal (= *lugbal*), sheep-wool T. VIII.
lúbphrug, dress of sheep-wool. T. VIII.
lúg, sheep. T. I.
luhyungtō (is also spelled *lúsyungtō*), the morning (or the light?) is coming. X., XIII.

Mágmal, a better kind of cloth; velvet. V.
makhōding, rhubarb. I.
mál, place, dancing-place (perhaps a Tibetan word). I.
mallurū, to the place; terminative case. I.
mālō, arrow-shaft. III.
mandēde mandēshin, name of Dard deities. VI.
mánikō, making butter. XIV.
márphud, butter-offering. T. I.
márrē, killing; apparently a participle. XIV.
másā, through me, instrumental case. XIV.
mashrón, glorification. VI.
mashrónla, to the glorification. The dative case is Tibetan. VII.
méd, is not. T. I.
mēligte (perhaps *mél ik thē*), look! (make a look!). IX.
mēnnā, is it not? T. VI.
midús (= *mi 'adus*), assembly of men. T. I.
mígsmā, eyebrow. T. VIII.
Minūiōsa, plural of the name of the Dards '*Minūiō*.' The plural *sa* is probably the Tibetan plural in *sag*. But it may be the instrumental case: By the Dard.
mingái, he-goat (or he-goats?). XIV.
mīyul, land of men, the earth. T. I.
moróg, savoury (or *mórog*?). XI.
múzhun, mice; plural. IX.
múmmō, uncle. Ordinary term of address to every male Dard. I.—XIV.
múmmōse, by the uncle. Instrumental case. X., XI.
múndrā (= *mu*[*tig*] *'adra*), pearl-like. T. VIII.

Nā, festival. The word occurs in the title.
nā, holoah! exclamation. X.

nūchung, girl, virgin. T. I.
nūchunga, girls, seems to be *status constructus*. It occurs in connection with *sa* (*sag*), all. III.
nád, illness. T. I.
nágga leún, let us lead out. XIII.
nakhád, they come out (*nakhát*). III.
nakhazún, let us come out! It is either future or imperative tense. V.
nam (= *ynam*), sky, heaven. T. X.
námchā (= *rna cha*), earring. T. VIII.
námkyil, middle of the sky, zenith. T. VI.
nāmō, honor, glorification. XI.
náng, in, inside. T. II.
nánggong, the lower fertile part of the village. T. III, IX.
nōlō, forehead. VIII.
nōmō, honor, glorification. The same as *nāmō*; it is a case of assimilation to the second syllable.
nú, go on! exclamation. VII.
nubbād (*nupāt*), it arrives (they arrive?). XI., VI.
nubbadéngs, arrived; apparently a past participle. III.
nyá, on, upon (translated by 'on the shoulder'). IV.
nyáhi, thirst. X.
nyeárū, into. XIII.
nyīlō, blue. II.
nyīshar, sunrise. T. VIII.

Obyāi, *holoah!* exclamation. X.
ōdtē ámbar (*ōttē*), name of a flower. I.
ōphud, milk-offering. T. I.
ōyō, goat (or goats?). XII.

Pāchung, ripened. Apparently a past participle. IX.
paghór, meadow. IX.
pághur, meadow. Apparently the same as the preceding; which is the more correct form I cannot decide. II.
pagkurrīzha, on the meadow; *zha* and *zhe* are terminations of the dative case. II.
pāitri, to the pasture. XI.
pajūlēsā, the shepherds, *sā*, (= *sag*) is the termination of the plural. I.
pālō, arrow-blade. III.
Parkuddā, name of a village. VI.
pūshtō, the woolly hair on the sheep. XIV.
pāyi, goats and sheep (in a herd). X.
perētō, filled. Compare also *pīrēd*. XI.
phal phál, dispersed. T. III.
phāyul, fatherland. T. IX.
pheág (= *phye*), flour-offering. T. VII.
phéllihi jólmo, black-bird. Name of a mythological bird. II.
phēphud (or *phephúd*), flour-offering. T. I.
phōg, burnt offering of pencil-cedar. T. VII., XIII.
phulichún, let us offer. Apparently related to Tibetan *phulba*. It is either imperative or future tense. III.
phuniénnē, they put on clothing. It may be a form of the passive voice. Compare *āriénnē*. I.
phunjīdla, to [his] satisfaction. It is apparently a mistake for *punjīdla*. Compare *pun*, &c.
phunyún, let us put on [the dress]. It is either imperative or future tense. V.
phyōgsurū, towards the direction. Terminative case. In Tibetan the termination *su* would suffice. T. IX.
pīcag, knife. T. III.
pídleágshan, clever in drinking. VII.
pilāyun, let us wrap round [the turban]. V.
pīrēd (*perēd*, *perēt*), is filled, or are filled. XI.
pōtō, then. III—XIV.
pún, filled. XII.
púnjol, fill! Imperative tense. XII.
púnjung, filled [with food]; satisfied. Apparently a past participle. XIII.
pūshro, flower. I.

Ranīse, with sheep. Instrumental case. XIV.
Ráshtran, local name. I.
Ráshtranur urōu, either locative or terminative case of *Ráshtran*. I.
razā, is said, or is called. II.
rázisinnē, is called. II. Compare such forms as *āriénnē*, *phuniénnē*, &c.
razūng, said. Apparently a past participle. X.
rī, mountain, hill. T. II.

-*riggichénnē,* they prepared; but it may be the past voice: it is prepared. Perhaps related to Tibetan *rigces.* I.
rithriūng, seen. Apparently a past participle. III.
rog rōg, crowded. T. III.
Rong churgyúd, a local name. VI.
rúng, hill, mountain. II.
rúnge, hills. It is either plural or *status constructus.* II.

Sā (= *sag*), all. Termination of the plural. T. III.
sá (or *se*), with. Termination of the instrumental case.
sábzang (=*rtsabzang*), good grass. T. XI.
sáli, near. VI.
sangliún, let us take off. It is either future or imperative tense. XIII.
sángngazinne, they assemble. But it may be the passive voice: they are assembled. I.
Sanídsa, with *Saníd.* Instrumental case of a local name. VI.
satiún, let us gather. It is either future or imperative tense. X.
sátō, flour. X.
sátū, friend (or friends?). IX.
Sáthsil, local name. III.
Sāthsilurunōu, in *Sathsil,* locative or terminative case. III.
sdérlságshan, good in blessing. VII.
sercatōr, golden. (The first part of the word is Tibetan.) VIII.
sérmō, a kind of barley. T. IX.
Shā, flesh, meat. T. III.
shá, arrow. III.
shággal, stony, barren. V. (Tibetan: *shágmā*).
shár, east. T. IV.
shūrō, ibex (singular and plural). III.
Shiggar, name of a village VI.
shō, white II.
shō, one hundred. III.
shōindē, hundred. *Status constructus.* III.
shrūlō (*skralo*), hair. T. VIII.
shring, horn. IV.
shringe, horns (plural?). XIV.
shrúmiyō, tiredness. X.
shúgtug, grove of pencil cedars. The first part of the word is Tibetan. VI.
silmā (Tibetan: *singmā*), clear (of a fluid). VII.
sinmō, happiness. III.
Skárdōghōd, local name. *Skárdōghōddi,* Tibetan genitive. VI.
skármā, star T. I.
skyē, look there! Imperative case. Compare *Skyipung.* XI.
skyés, present. T. III.
skyídsā, place of happiness. T. IX.
skyídpō, happiness. T. IX.
skyipung, looking. It is either a gerund or a participle. Compare *skye.* XIII.
Skyíshur, local name. Apparently the same as *Kyēshur, Kyíshur.* VI.
smánces, powder-horn. T. *smancésurú,* in the powder-horn; locative case. III.
snyīraru (Tibetan: *ynyíddū*), in the sleep. X.
sōdēcan (=*bsod bde can*), blessed T. VI.
spángrtsi, name of a flower. T. XI.
spōicha (Tibetan *spoces*), change! Imperative tense. VIII.
sū, who, whoever, all (in *sūtren*). T. VII.
sūtren, assembly of men. VII.
sūng, asleep. I cannot decide whether this is a participle or another form of the verb. X.
sutí, lying (?). IX.

Tágsē (= *btagste*), making ready. T. VII.
tángsē (or *btangsa*), place of giving [the feast]. T. V.
tapāyún, let us cook (prepare). It is either future or imperative tense. XIII.
tarág, imitates the sound of climbing. T. III.
táruna, youths. This form is apparently *status constructus.* III.
tárunē, youths. Ordinary plural. I.
tēmbrel (= *rten 'abrel*), good omen. T. V.
terā, three II.
terāhinjē, to the three, dative case. T.
thúring, goat-skin, used as a vessel for fluids or butter. XIII.
thē chirē, keep us! I.
thē, make! Imperative tense. III.
thēd (*thēt*), they make. Present tense. XII.
thiyūng, made (perhaps a participle). X.
thrállē, beautiful (plural?). I.
thrár, cold, coldness. X.

thrōllō, beautiful. Compare *thrállē*; *thróllō* is perhaps a case of assimilation of the vowel to the second syllable. VIII., XIII.

thrūcun, let us milk (the cows). It is either future tense or imperative tense. XIII.

thrūssig (*thrús ik*), a hug, an embrace; *thrús ik thḗ*, make an embrace! III., IX.

thrváng, imitates the sound of the bow-string. III.

thsáma thsám thsām, exclamation, expressing love. III.

thsárag (Tibetan: *thsángrag*), a race (running). T. XIII.

thsásbū, little garden. T. VII.

thsṓ (*mthsō*), ocean, lake; *thsṓzha*, on the lake, dative case. T. II.

thsṓva, pasture. T. XI.

thsúg (*btsug*), beginning. T. VI.

thūng, to drink. T. X.

thúrrū, skin. IV.

tijā́, to you. Dative case. I., III., XI.

til, *tiltíl*, far off, can hardly be seen. T. III.

tilū tílmar, name of a flower. XI.

tiríg (*tirík*), quickly. VII.

tṓ, then. I.—XIV.

tṓtō, then. I.—XIV. This is the normal pronunciation. The pronunciation *tōtṓ* is due to the metre.

trāi, going. It is translated by a gerund in the Tibetan. VI.

trḗ, go! Imperative tense. XI.

trityún, let us dance! It is either future or imperative tense. VI.

trēyā́ki, cold, coldness. X.

trúd (*trút*), is born (or are born?). Present tense. XII.

tsándan, sandal-wood. T. III.

tsázar (or *tsádar*), shawl. T. I.

tsēn, near. III.

tsemgṓrū, at the head of the dancers. T. III.

tsḗpa, the great climber (literally: the man of the summit). T. III.

tsés, game, dance (*rtses*). T. IV.

tsḗsā, dancing-place. T. IV.

tsḗsē (*rtsesai*), of the dancing-place. T. III.

túng tung, curly, clustered. I.

Ud (*úth*?), they come out. V.

úsprī (=*osprī*), cream. T. XIII.

úthē, come out! Imperative tense. IV.

úthēā́, come out! rise! Apparently also imperative tense. VIII.

úthiyūng, come out; it looks like a participle, but it can hardly be one. Or is the *yūng* the Tibetan word *yong*? Then it could mean 'rising comes.'

úthod, cap. T. V.

úzī, bit, mouthful. III.

Wár, stomach, stomachs. XI.

Yaldor (Tibetan: *Yardor*), name of a village in the upper part of the valley. *Yaldoru*, in *Yaldor*. T. IX., XI.

yándring, name of Dard gods. V., VI.

yángmā, the most early kind of barley. T. I., IX.

yángkar (*yang dkar*), white barley. T. IX.

yárkō, at first. II.

yáshā, love. T. III, IX.

yḗ, come! Imperative tense. XI.

yḗ, what? II.

yḗzhē, on what? Dative case. II.

yondī́, mountain-pass. III.

yónnòzhā, on the left. (The first part of the word is Tibetan.) IV.

yūng, come. Is this word related to *yḗ*, come, or to the Tibetan word *yong*, come?

Zāmabō, food, meal. T. XI.

zángpō (=*bzangpó*), good. T. I.

zarbā́b, gold or silver-embroidered cloth. V.

zdṓgleágshan, clever in approaching the game. III.

zhā (or *jā*). Dative termination. II.

zhág, day. T. III.

zhágkor, the many pigtails of the women. VIII.

zhē (or *jē*). Dative termination. II.

zhū (*yzhū*), bow. T. IV.

zhū, praying. T. XII.

zhúig (*zhū ik*), a prayer. T. XIV.

zhúllī, sauce. VII.

zhúngsurū, in the middle. The Tibetan would have *zhungssu* or *zhungdu*. T. XI.

zírmig, bright. T. VIII.

znūra, name. II.

zúr rgyan pádmā, name of a flower. T. VII.

Note.

When counting over all the words contained in the above Vocabulary, I found that, of the about 420 words, forms and names, only 130 are of Tibetan origin.

On the map certain districts are marked 'lost districts of the Da dialect.' It must be understood, that these districts were lost comparatively recently. I have discovered traces of the Da dialect at Khalatse. In ancient times the territory of this dialect seems to have extended far beyond Khalatse towards the East.

CHANAKYA'S LAND AND REVENUE POLICY.

(4th Century B. C.)

BY R. SHAMASASTRY, B.A.

(Concluded from p. 59.)

(AA) Country Revenue.

Note.

Such were the several sources of revenue by which ancient kings of India collected for them an enormous income within the several forts of their petty States. Let us now turn our attention to the several sources of revenue in country parts (*râshtra*) of their kingdom.

(AB) Produce from Crown-lands.

Note.

It is an historical fact that the ancient kings owned vast tracts of land and had them cultivated by Government Agency. The produce from Crown-lands was called *sîta*, and it was of great importance in those days.

It was the duty of the Superintendent of Agriculture to see to the cultivation of Crown-lands, to collect various seeds and manure in time, and to attend to the sowing and harvesting work in Crown-lands. Apart from collecting the produce from Crown-lands, the Superintendent of Agriculture had also to receive the proportional quantities of grains due to the king from private collectors.

1.

Out of the grain grown by irrigation carried on by hands (*hasta prâvartima*), the collector shall receive one-fifth of the total quantity so grown. Out of that which is grown by irrigation conducted by carrying water on shoulders (*skandha prâvartima*), he shall receive one-fourth of the total. Out of that which is grown by irrigation conducted by pumping water from rivers (*srôto-yantra prâvartima*) he shall receive one-third of the total. Out of that which is grown by irrigation through water raised from tanks, lakes, and streamlets (*nadîsarastâka kûpôdghâta*), he shall receive one-fourth of the total quantity so grown. Apart from paying the above water-rate (*udakabhâga*), private cultivators (*svavîryôpajîvins*) shall pay as tax from one-fourth to one-fifth of the grain they grow, or more than fixed tax, if they do not get into trouble thereby.



Dards from Da in Ladakh

G HETTASCH, PHOTO

W GRIGGS, IMP.

Note.

We shall see later on that ancient kings, when in war with other kings, used to collect large amount of money by levying such special taxes as *kara* and *bali*; and that while their real object was to provide themselves against impending wars or other undertakings of their own making, their plea in levying *kara* and *bali* was to propitiate gods.

(AC) Merchants in Country Places.

1.

Merchants in country parts like those in forts had to pay the toll, *vyáji*, and other taxes.

(AD) Superintendent of Ferries.

1.

The Superintendent of Boats and Ships shall supervise the voyage of ships on the open sea and navigable rivers, and keep accounts of the fares collected from travellers for crossing rivers, natural or artificial lakes and streams.

2.

Villages on the banks of rivers or on the sea-shore shall pay to the Government such amount of money as has been fixed for them to pay. Fishermen shall pay one-sixth of their haul as charge for license to launch their fishing-boats. Merchants living in cities situated on the sea-shore or on the banks of rivers, shall pay not only the toll on all merchandise they purchase, but also the portion (*bhâga*) which is due to the king out of imported commodities. Collectors of pearls and conch shells, who employ for this purpose Government boats and ships, shall pay a fixed amount of boat-hire. If they employ their own boats and ships, they will be exempt from this charge.

3.

The Superintendent of Boats and Ships shall also be in charge of the accounts relating to commerce in port-towns. He shall show parental regard towards weather-beaten ships arriving at port-towns. The rate of toll on merchandise conveyed by ships shall be one-half of that which is levied on merchandise conveyed by land. He shall beg a certain amount of tolls on all ships' merchandise that touch or anchor in the harbours of port-towns. He shall destroy not only dangerous ships, but also those that are bound for enemies' countries or likely to disturb the peace of trading centres.

4.

On such large rivers as are only fordable in autumn and summer, the Superintendent shall launch big boats provided with a master, a pilot, a sailor, and other necessary crew. Streams that are unfordable only during the rainy season shall be provided with small boats or ferries. With a view to arrest the arrival or departure of enemies, the crossing, without a pass, of all rivers, fordable or unfordable, shall be forbidden. Persons found fording rivers at other than prescribed times shall be punished with a fine of 1,000 *paṇas*. Persons who are found fording rivers without a pass shall pay a fine of 27 *paṇas*, whether such fording be timely or untimely. State spies, messengers, soldiers, servants carrying provisions for the army, fishermen, villagers carrying on their head such commodities as firewood, grass, flowers, fruits and vegetables, and herdsmen shall be at liberty to ford rivers on all occasions. The

Superintendent of Rivers shall issue free pass to persons who launch their own boats or ferries to cross rivers. He shall likewise issue free pass to Brâhmaṇs, ascetics, the young, the old, the afflicted, pregnant women, and persons who carry seeds and provisions to villages situated in marshy tracts.

5.

The Superintendent shall arrest persons of the following description :—

(1) Persons eloping with the wives or daughters of other persons;

(2) Persons carrying stolen property;

(3) Persons of a disturbed appearance;

(4) Persons carrying on clandestine traffic in precious ware;

(5) Persons under sudden disguise;

(6) Ascetics without any sign of their class or faith;

(7) Persons pretending to be afflicted;

(8) Persons of an agitated mind;

(9) Persons that appear to be engaged in carrying on any secret purpose, such as secret message, poisons, and explosives; and

(10) Persons travelling with no definite purpose.

(AE) Rates of Boat-hire.

1.

A person taking his wife or a quadruped with him shall pay as boat-hire one *mâsha* or one-sixteenth of a *paṇa*. Persons carrying a head-load or less than a head-load of any commodities, and persons leading a horse or a cow, shall pay as boat-hire two *mâshas*. The boat-hire for a camel or a buffalo shall be four *mâshas*; for a small cart, five *mâshas*; for a cart of medium size with bullocks, six *mâshas*, and for a big cart, seven *mâshas*. Boat-hire for a cart-load of merchandise shall be four *mâshas*. Boat-hire on large rivers shall be at double the above rates.

2.

Villages situated in marshy places shall pay a fixed quantity of victuals to the Government.

3.

The Superintendent of Boundaries with Rivers shall levy the following taxes on travellers :—

(1) Boat-hire.

(2) Tolls.

(3) Road cess on quadrupeds.

(4) Road cess on merchandise.

Persons carrying on their merchandise without a pass shall be deprived of their merchandise.

Persons conveying any kind of commodity on other than prescribed times, and persons fording rivers in places other than prescribed for fording, shall be deprived of their entire commodity.

4.

Masters of ships shall be held responsible for any loss incurred by travellers on account of want of sufficient crew or on account of sailing in a damaged ship.

5.

The above rules and regulations about ferries and boats shall be in force between the months of June and September (Âshâdha and Kartika) of every year.

(AF) Mines.

1.

Mines which require large outlay of capital and labour to work out may be leased out to private contractors on condition of their paying to the Government either a fixed portion of the output from the mines or a fixed amount of money. Such mining operations as entail no considerable expenditure may be worked out by Government agency.

2.

The king shall maintain as a Government monopoly the essaying of ores, collection of ores, coining and commerce in minerals, and shall levy the following nine rates from miners:—

(1) *Mulya.*—The value of the output from mines.

(2) *Vibhâga.*—A certain portion (one-fifth or one-sixth) of the output.

(3) *Vyaji.*—Five per cent. more, both in cash and kind, over and above the value and portion of the output.

(4) *Parigha.*—Testing charge payable at the rate of one-eighth of a *paṇa* per cent. on the value of the output.

(5) *Atyaya.*—Fixed fines collected from miners for offences which they may or may not have committed in the course of their mining operations.

(6) *Sulka.*—Tolls.

(7) *Vaidharana.*—Compensation on account of causing loss, either in manufacture or commerce.

(8) *Danda.*—Fines imposed on occasions for transgressing mining rules.

(9) *Rûpika.*—Eight per cent. more on the cash payable to the Government by miners.

(AG) Gardens.

Note.

It has been already shown in connection with agriculture how the ancient kings exacted from cultivators two kinds of taxes, one, a land-tax, equivalent to one-fifth or one-sixth part of the total produce, and another, water-rate (*udakabhâga*), equal to one-fifth or one-fourth of the

total produce of fields. Gardens were no exception to these two taxes. Besides these two taxes, which must necessarily have been collected within the area of gardens, gardeners had, while selling their garden-produce, to submit to a further reduction of one-sixth of the value of the garden-produce in the name of tolls. With a view to preventing smuggling and to enforce strict collection of tolls on the sale-proceeds of all kinds of commodities, manufacturers and cultivators were prevented, under the penalty of heavy fines, to sell commodities in the very localities where they were manufactured or grown,

1.

Purchasers of minerals and other commodities from mines shall pay a fine of 600 *paṇas* Sale of flowers and fruits in gardens shall be punished with a fine of 50 *paṇas*. Sale of vegetables in vegetable gardens shall be punished with a fine of 99¾ *paṇas*. Purchase of grains from fields shall be punished with a fine of 150 *paṇas*. A fine of 2½ *paṇas* shall be levied on all kinds of vegetable-produce as a punishment for offences which cultivators are likely to commit unnoticed by the Government.

(AH) Forests,

Note.

Forests were under the management of an official called the "Superintendent of Raw Produce." It was his duty to collect timber, bamboo, hemp, poisons, skins, drugs, and other various raw materials.

(AI) Cattle.

Note.

Except on special occasions needing large amounts of money, no tax seems to have been levied on the cattle of the people in those days, still it seems probable that the ancient kings derived considerable amount of revenue from cattle-pounds and from tolls levied on the sale of cattle.

1.

The seller of a cow shall pay to the Government one-fourth of a *paṇa* per cow sold.

Note.

Owners of quadrupeds had to pay the following fines for allowing them to stray and graze in the village pasture lands:—

1,

A fine of one-fourth of a *paṇa* for a camel or a buffalo; one-eighth of a *paṇa* for a cow, a horse, or an ass; one-sixteenth of a *paṇa* for each of such quadrupeds as goats, &c. Double the above rates of fines shall be paid for allowing quadrupeds to lie down on the pasture lands after grazing,

If stray quadrupeds graze on crops, their owners shall pay double the loss to those who sustained the loss.

(AJ) Special Taxes.

Note.

It is an historical fact that ancient India was, unlike modern India, divided into a number of principalities, under petty kings, who were at war with each other. The natural consequence of this state of things was that ancient kings were in constant need of men and money, not only to maintain the safety of their own States, but also to conquer neighbours. They were, therefore, under the necessity of resorting to the levy of special taxes on their subjects. It appears that they were too full of guile to call such special impositions by the name of tax. They styled it *praṇaya* or "begging."[16]

1.

A king who finds himself in a great financial trouble and needs money, shall collect money by begging. In such parts of his country as purely depend upon rain for water, and are rich in grain, he shall beg of his subjects for one-third or one-fourth of their grain. He shall never beg of such of his subjects as live in barren tracts of his country or are of great help in constructing various kinds of public works, such as, bridges, roads, forts, &c. Nor shall he beg of those who are of great help to him in planting, or maintaining timber, or elephant forests. He shall, on the other hand, supply with grain and cattle those who clear out forest and build cities or villages. He shall also purchase what remains after deducting as much of the grain as is required for seeds and subsistence of his subjects. He shall never touch anything of the property of forest tribes or of Brâhmaṇs. If these people have abundance of grain, the king may purchase the surplus, paying, however, in return more than its worth in money.

2.

If the above measures prove impracticable, then such of the king's employés as the Collector-General and the Superintendent of Agriculture shall do their best to grow summer crops. They shall seize all those persons who are guilty in one way or another, and employ them in the work of such cultivation. During the time of the harvest of summer crops raised by private people, they shall levy from private cultivators one-third or one-fourth of their grain. They shall also collect from the people one-sixth of their forest-produce and of such commodities as cotton, wax, fabrics, wool, silk, medicines, drugs, sandal, flowers, fruits, vegetables, firewood, bamboos, flesh, &c.

3.

They shall also take one-half of all ivory and skins of animals, and punish with a fine of 1,000 *paṇas* those who without obtaining a license from the Government trade in ivory or skins. So much for begging among cultivators.

Note.

Before going on to deal with the special taxes levied by ancient kings on merchants, it is necessary to understand the particular meaning that was attached to the word kara, used by Châṇakya in connection with the taxes on merchants. In his lexicon called *Nâmalingânuśâsana*, Amarasimha regards the words *bhâga*, *bali*, and *kara* as synonymous in the general sense

[16] [A process successfully applied by European kings of old also. — ED.]

of tax, while, in the *Arthaśâstra*, the same words are applied to three different special taxes. As has been already seen, the word *bhâga* is used in the sense of one-fifth or one-sixth of the total produce of a field payable to the Government, while *bali* is a special tax levied apparently for religious purposes.

But since Châṇakya uses such expressions as 50 *karas*, 40 *karas*, &c., the word *kara* seems to imply a certain unit or units of tax in terms of the standard coin current in those days, and it becomes necessary to ascertain what unit is implied thereby.

It has been seen that a herdsman in charge of a hundred State cows had to pay to the Government 8 *varâkas* or 229 *sêrs* of *ghî* per annum. This payment is termed in the *Arthaśâstra* as *kara-prati-kara* or 'payment in lieu of *kara*.' Therefore, 229 *sêrs* of *ghî* was the equivalent to the unit of tax denoted by the *kara*. It has also been pointed out that, at the time of Châṇakya, commodities were five, more probably six, times as cheap as they are now. Hence the purchasing power of a *paṇa*, equal to two-thirds of our rupee, seems to have been 20 *sêrs* of *ghî*. Hence the numerical value of a *kara* seems to be $11\frac{9}{20}$, which is equivalent to the value of 229 *sêrs* of *ghî* at 20 *sêrs* per *paṇa*. Making some allowance for over-valuation and for negligence to consider the effects of supply, demand, over-production and locality on the market value of particular commodities, we may take a *kara* to be equal to 10 instead of $11\frac{9}{20}$. There is ample justification for this assumption in the fact that a *kai* (a hand containing five fingers), used in numbering cowdung-cakes, means five in the Kanarese language. It is, therefore, more than probable that a *kara* was taken to stand for ten, for the reason that the two hands contain ten fingers. In other words, **by a kara was meant ten paṇas.**

4.

Merchants dealing with gold, diamonds, silver, precious stones, pearls, corals, horses, and elephants shall pay 50 *karas* (*i. e.*, 500 *paṇas*). Those that trade in cotton threads, cloths, copper, brass, bronze, sandal, medicine and wines shall pay 40 *karas*. Those that trade in grains, liquids, iron and carts shall pay 30 *karas*.

5.

Those that carry on the trade in glass and also artisans of fine workmanship shall pay 20 *karas*. Inferior artisans and carpenters shall pay 10 *karas*. Those that trade in timber, bamboos, stones and mud-pots, and hotel-keepers, shall pay 5 *karas*. Dramatists and prostitutes shall pay half of their annual earnings. The entire property of goldsmiths shall be confiscated and taken into the king's treasury; no mercy shall be shown to them; for they carry on their fraudulent trade while pretending at the same time to be honest and innocent. So much about begging among merchants.

6.

Persons rearing cocks and pigs shall surrender to the Government half of their stock of animals. Those that keep sheep, goats and other lower quadrupeds shall give one-sixth of their live-stock. Those that keep cows, buffaloes, mules, and asses shall give one-tenth of their live-stock. So much for begging among herdsmen.

7.

Such begging shall be made only once and never twice.

8.

When such begging proves impracticable, the king's employés shall seek subscriptions from citizens and country-people alike under false pretences of carrying this or that kind of business in the interests of the people. Persons taken in concert shall publicly pay handsome donations, and the same fact shall be published among the people at large.

9.

The king's employés shall revile those whose subscriptions fall very low. Worthy people shall be requested to barter their gold for other kinds of precious things which belong to the king. Those who, of their own accord, offer their wealth to the king shall be honoured with a rank in the court, an umbrella, or a turban, or some jewel or medal.

10.

The king's spies, under the guise of sorcerers, shall, under pretence of ensuring safety, carry away the money, not only of the society of heretics (*pashandis*) and of temples, but also of the dead, provided that they are not Brâhmaṇs.

11.

The Superintendent of Religious Institutions and Temples shall collect in one place the money, jewelry, and other property of different temples and other religious institutions and transfer them to the king's treasury.

12.

Either shall he collect money under the pretence of holding at night processions of gods or of performing other religious ceremonies, with a view to avert impending calamities.

13.

Or else shall he proclaim the arrival of gods, by pointing out to the people any of the trees in the king's garden which has produced untimely fruits and flowers. Or by causing a false panic from the arrival of an evil-spirit on a tree in the city, wherein a man is hidden making all sorts of devilish noises, the king's spies, in the guise of *jôgîs*, shall collect money with a view to propitiate the evil-spirit and send it back.

14.

Or the spies, in the garb of *jôgîs*, may call upon spectators to see a serpent with numberless heads in a well connected with a subterranean passage and collect fees from them for the sight.

Or they may place in a bore-hole made in the body of an image of a serpent, or in a hole in the corner of a temple, or in the hollow of an ant-hill, a cobra which is, by diet, rendered unconscious, and call upon credulous spectators to see it on payment of a certain amount of fee.

15.

As to persons who are not by nature credulous, the *jôgî*-spies shall sprinkle over or give a drink of such sacred water to them as is mixed with anæsthetic ingredients and attribute their insensibility to the curse of gods. Either may they infuse faith in the minds of the incredulous by causing an outcast person[17] to be bitten by a cobra. Thus the king's spies, in the garb of *jôgîs*, shall gather, on the pretext of performing religious ceremonies, of showing unusual religious phenomena, or of undertaking remedial measures against impending calamities, sufficient amount of money to fill his empty treasury.

16.

Or else one of the king's spies, in the garb of a merchant, may become a partner to a rich merchant and carry on trade in concert with him. As soon as a considerable amount of money has been gathered by sale, he shall rob the whole and transfer to the king's treasury. Spies in the garb of coiners and goldsmiths may employ similar means to gather gold for the treasury.

17.

Or else a spy, in the garb of a rich merchant or a real rich merchant famous for his vast commerce, may borrow or purchase on credit vast quantities of gold, silver and various commodities on the pretext of exporting them for profitable sale abroad; or attaching his whole commerce, he may not only borrow vast quantities of gold, but also receive value for commodities to be supplied from abroad. After having done this, he may allow himself to be robbed of the same at night.

18.

Prostitute spies, under the garb of chaste women, may cause themselves to be enamoured of persons who are naturally vicious and guilty of various crimes punishable by the Government. No sooner are the guilty persons seen within the abode of the female spies than they shall be seized and their property confiscated to the Government. Or State spies, whose profession is to administer poison to political offenders, may bring about a quarrel between two guilty persons born of the same family, and administer poison to one or the other. The survivor and his party shall be accused of poisoning and their property confiscated and taken to the Government. Or a claimant may be set up against a guilty citizen of wealth to claim a large amount of money professed to have been placed in his custody by the claimant, or a large debt outstanding at the credit of the claimant against the citizen, or a share of parental property. The king's spy may murder him at night and lay the charge at the door of the citizen. Then the citizen and his party may be arrested and their property confiscated and taken to the Government.

19.

Or an outcast person may be induced to enroll himself as a servant to a rich citizen of unrighteous conduct. The servant may be murdered by a spy at night and the citizen accused of the crime. Consequently his property may be confiscated and taken to the Government.

17 ["The outcast person" was evidently looked on as a mere animal held at the pleasure of persons of "caste."—ED.]

20.

Or a spy, under the garb of a *jôgî* and pretending to be proficient in witchcraft, may offer inducements to a guilty citizen of wealth to acquire more wealth by taking in aid his witchcraft, and say :—

"I am proficient in such witchcraft as brings inexhaustible wealth, or entitles a man to get admission into the king's palace, or can win the love of any woman, or can put an end to the life of one's enemy, or can lengthen one's duration of life, or can give a son to any one if desired."

If the citizen shows any desire to carry on the process of witchcraft securing wealth, the *jôgî* may make rich offerings, consisting of flesh, wine and scent, to the deity in such a locality wherein a dead body of a man or of a child with a little quantity of money has been previously hidden. After the performance of worship is over, the hidden treasure may be dug out and the citizen may be told that as the offerings fell short, the treasure is proportionately small; that the richest of offerings should be made to acquire vast amount of treasure, and that he may purchase with the newly-acquired wealth rich offerings. Then the citizen may be caught in the very act of purchasing commodities for offering and accused of crime.

21.

A female spy, under the garb of a bereaved mother, may, in connection with the above case, raise an alarm, crying that her baby was stolen, when other spies may prove the identity of the baby with the dead body of the child dug up in the witchcraft of the previous night.

22.

Or a spy, under the garb of a cooly, may enroll himself as a servant to a rich citizen of wicked conduct and mix counterfeit coins with the money in the possession of his master and make room for his arrest.

23.

Or a spy, under the guise of a goldsmith, may enroll himself as goldsmith to a rich citizen of unrighteous conduct, and, gathering in the house of his master such instruments as are necessary to manufacture counterfeit coins, may allow himself, together with his master, to be arrested (and punished with confiscation of his master's property).

24.

Measures such as the above shall be taken only against the wicked and never against the innocent and virtuous.[18]

(AK) The Principle of Revenue Collection.

1.

Just as fruits are gathered from a garden as often as they become ripe, so revenue shall be collected from the people as often as it becomes ripe. Collection of revenue or of fruits, when unripe, shall never be carried on, lest their source may be injured and the productive capacity of the source itself may be seriously affected.

18 [Clearly the false police case is no new invention in India. — ED.]

MANISHA PANCHAKAM OF SRI SANKARACHARYA, WITH THE GLOSS OF PATANJALI.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

I bow to the Paramâtma of beautiful form, omnipresent, the all-knowing, the all-healthy, the omnipotent, the eternal, the pure, the non-*mâyâvic*, and the formless. I bow to the feet of the Almighty, who is always healthy, who is not manacled by climatic differences nor by change of form, nor by sin, and who is the last and best resort for all people that bow to him.

Siva, mercy and riches incarnate, intent upon freeing the creatures of this world who are immersed in the ocean of misery from the trammels of *samsâr*, appeared in days long gone by, disguised as a chandâla, before Srî Sankarâchârya, who was going to the holy city of Benares. The Rishi only saw Siva as a *chandâla*, and wished him to stand aloof, when the *mâyâvic chandâla* spake to him thus:—

"O, greatest of Rishis! kindly answer the following queries of mine properly: Do you wish my *annamayakôsa* to stand aloof from your *annamayakôsa*? Or, do you wish my animate soul to stand aloof from your animate soul? He who thus questions the veracity of the Rishi's statements, doubts them in order to establish his own theories. It is not right to accept the first question, for as your body is a body made up of food, so also is mine. So, on that hypothesis, you have certainly no right to make me stand aloof from you. Nor is the second question acceptable, for animate existences are the same anywhere and everywhere. So it is improper to talk of a multiplicity of souls and a consequent differentiation between them. Whence arises the difference between a Brâhman and a non-Brâhman in Parabrahmâ, who shines supreme as a waveless ocean unalloyed and pure, and who is far above the *mâyâvic*, inanimate, and sorrowful *ahamkâra* (egoism). To give an example or two, is there any difference between the reflection of the sun as it appears in the holy waters of the Ganges and as it appears in the drains of a *chandâla* street? As the *âkâsa* which fills a golden or an earthen pot is not manacled by any good or bad characteristics, so the soul is characterless. Whoever sees differences in his own things could never be freed from the trammels of *samsâr*, which lead as a necessary consequence to death. It is not right to look for true differences in realities, when such differences are the product of noble and mean bodily *upâdhis*." Having heard the words of the disguised *chandâla*, Siva, the all-wise and the all-worshipped Sankarâchârya learnt the *Vêdânta sûtras* by every means possible, felt no differentiation of caste any longer, as his mind was always wholly immersed in the ocean of Brahmânanda, saw certain *mumukshus* (disciples), revealed his own experiences to them in order that they might be released from caste distinctions without undergoing the preliminary *samâdhis*, and enjoy the true unity with Brahmâ. While narrating to them the means of attaining this, he showed the unity of the individual soul, the witness of all *jâgrathavasthâs*, with the universal soul.

Sankara has said that whichever soul in sleeping, dreaming, and waking states illuminates the universe, remaining in all animate and inanimate existences from protoplasm to Brahmâ, sees the world as a witness, such an intelligent soul is myself, such an intelligent viewer is myself. Whoever has firmness of faith in this, be he a *chandâla* or a twice-born man, I recognise him as my *guru*. Whoever recognises that the always pure Parabrahmâ is himself, and the world in which he sees a differentiation of beings is a mere *mâya*, an illusion, I recognise him as my *guru*, be he a man of any sort or kind. Whoever maintains that this dual world becomes unified in Chit-Brahmâ, and that this Chit-Brahmâ, the universal cause, is the only true existence. Whoever firmly believes that this world is created using the triple-charactered *mâya* (illusion) as an instrument, he is my *guru*, be he any sort of person.

The world, being a busy world, appears to be true. You say that the silver in the mother-o'-pearl is a new reality. How could the world in which we move and which we see every day be a non-reality ? If you should ask how I can account for *advaita*, unless I recognise the non-reality of the world, I answer that the non-reality of the world becomes a necessary consequence if the dual world becomes unified in Brahmâ and we see such a world. Therefore the wise, intelligent Brahmâ remains at last. We must always think that we are Brahmâ, the formless, the void, the one without a second.

The wise men whose minds are free from egoism, envy lust and other similar qualities, suffer pleasures and pains without the least intention on their part, after submitting their bodies to *karmic* law. I bow to that *âtma* which has sway over life, over Indrias, and over sleep.

In talking about the unity of Jiva and Brahmâ, if we should say I am a *sthula* person, I am lame, I am deaf, &c., the word 'I' as referring to self seems to apply to the *âtma* which partakes of the characteristics of the bodily organs. But that which appears like the bodily organs is not the *âtma*. For it is within the reach of every person's experience to say this is *my* body, this is *my* eye, this is *my* ear, this is *my* life, this is *my* mind, this is *my* intelligence, and to consider the difference between the *meum* and the *tuum*. By talking thus we seem to think that the *âtma* is different from the organs of the self.

When the 'I' is referred to the *âtma*, the 'I' in such a case clearly appears to the mind of every object of the creation as different from the organs of the body, the mind, and the intelligence. When we talk of *this* object, *that* object, and refer the words to a pot, &c., we consider the objects as different from ourselves. Similarly, it is manifest by the foregoing sentence that, since we apply the words 'this,' 'that,' &c, to our bodily organs, we consider these as we consider pots, &c., to be different from our *âtma*. It is plain, therefore, that the *âtma* which is called the 'I' is the **Sachidânanda Brahmâ**. The bodily organs to which the word 'this' is applied are not the *âtma*.

The term 'Sachidânanda' was applied to the 'I' without the bodily organs. But while we say 'I am a man,' the expression means that the term 'man' is applied to 'me.' Here 'Sachidânanda' refers to 'man,' and 'I' to the *âtma*.' The expression, therefore, means the bodily 'I.' 'Sachidânanda' has been applied to this bodily 'I.' But in what has gone before, **Brahmâtva** was applied only to the 'I' — the non-bodily *âtma*. In the expression 'I am a man,' if we should at present attribute Brahmâtva to the bodily 'I,' the application seems to be inconsistent. But this inconsistency would be removed from what follows. Bodies are not self-luminous, but their luminosity is guided by Brahmâ. They are, therefore, distinct from the *âtma*. The I-ness or egoism in such bodies is a mere illusion.

By the preceding objection it is manifest that the term 'I' refers to the *âtma* and not to the body. But by stating that the *âtma* is known only by the knowledge of the 'I' it seems to be understood that the *âtma* is not self-luminous, but becomes luminous by the knowledge of the 'I.' This statement stands in direct antagonism to the saying of the truth that the *âtma* is self-luminous. But the objection cannot stand, for the **antahkarana** that is in us rises through the Indrias, sheds its lustre on the external objects, and takes the reflections of such objects into itself, *i. e.*, the external objects are reflected in the *antahkarana*. Had there been no lustre in the mirror, which reflects our faces when we look into it, the power of reflection cannot have been generated in it, and so our faces, too, cannot have appeared in it. Thus, if the *antahkarana* had not been self-luminous, it cannot reflect external objects.

It is evident that the *antahkarana* has luminosity from the fact that by our daily experience we are able to see that it reflects external objects. This luminosity is not innate, but is the product of its contact with *âtma*, and, therefore, the *âtma* itself reflects in the *antahkarana*. It is this *antahkarana* that has been hitherto spoken of as the 'I.' The 'I' has been already spoken of as the *âtma*. To the dull-witted the *âtma* has been spoken of as the *antahkarana*. As the *guru*, when initiating his disciple in **Brahmavidya**, teaches the student first, in order to lead him step by step, that food is Brahmâ, then that life is Brahmâ, and then, after the highest rung of the ladder is reached, shows him that the lowest steps are wrong, so, after establishing at first that the *antahkarana* called the 'I' is the Brahmâ, when the student objects that the *âtma* known by the 'I' loses its luminosity, the *guru* says that what is there called *âtma* is *antahkarana*; if Brahmâ is to be known by a knowledge of the 'I,' the *âtma* is to be known by the *antahkarana*; that the *âtma* appearing as a witness is the cause of the luminosity which appears in the *antahkarana*; and that the *âtma* is to be known only through the *antahkarana* known as the 'I.'

If the *âtma* is self-luminous, is there any necessity of the assistance of the *antahkarana* (known as the 'I') to know it? The *âtma* is surrounded by *agnâna* or ignorance, and to know *âtma* this ignorance ought to be destroyed. When a person firmly knows that the *antahkarana* and *âtma* are one, he attains the *âtma sâkshâtkâra*, being himself above *mâyavic* ignorance. For the destruction of ignorance, therefore, the *antahkarana* known as the 'I' is necessary. To say that **the individual soul is Brahmâ** therefore not faulty.

Sankara, therefore, says that he recognises him as his *guru*, who, after fully knowing that the *âtma* which dwells in the consciences of all creatures and guides the various movements of the Indrias, is the same as the self-luminous *âtma* (the universal soul), enjoys the resulting **Brahmânanda.**

It is but natural for every person to love his *âtma*, *i. e.*, himself, better than any other object. There can be no love for any uninteresting object. Therefore, experience shows that the *âtma* is of greatest interest. Since the form of Brahmâ is *ânanda*, Sankara says that the individual soul attains **Brahmâtva.** Indra and other angels are satisfied with a very little Brahmânanda. The man who enjoys eternal bliss, having an aimless mind, becomes an object of adoration to the angels.

FOLKLORE OF THE TELUGUS.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

(Continued from p. 90.)

No. 2. — Arrogance Defeated.[2]

There was a **lordly tree** on one of the heights of the Himâlayas. In many centuries, it had spread out its branches wide round; its trunk was huge and its twigs and leaves were innumerable. Under its shade, toil-worn elephants in rut, bathed in sweat, used to rest, and many other kinds of animals also. Loaded with fruit and flowers, it was the abode of innumerable parrots, male and female. In travelling along their routes, caravans of merchants and ascetics residing in the woods used to rest under its shade.

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[2] [An instance of Brahmanic moral teaching through a folktale. — ED.]

Once upon a time, **Nârada** approached and addressed the tree, saying — "O, thou art delightful. O, thou art charming! O foremost of trees, I am always delighted at thy sight. O charming tree, delightful birds of diverse kinds, and elephants and other animals cheerfully live on thy gigantic branches and under their shade. I never see any of them broken by the wind-god. Is it, O child, the case that **Pavana** is pleased with thee and is thy friend, so that he protects thee always in these woods? **The illustrious Wind,** possessed of great speed and force, moves from their sites the tallest and strongest trees, and even mountain summits, dries up rivers, lakes, and seas. Pavana undoubtedly protects thee through friendship. It is for this reason that, though possessed of innumerable branches, thou art still graced with leaves and flowers. O lord of the woods, this thy verdure is delightful, since these winged creatures, filled with joy, sport on thy twigs and branches. During the season, when thou puttest forth thy blossoms, the sweet notes of all these denizens of thy branches are heard separately when they indulge in their melodious songs. Then, again, these elephants, bathed in sweat and indulging in cries of delight, approach thee and find happiness here. Indeed, O tree, thou lookest beautiful even like the mountains of Mêru, peopled by creatures of every kind. Resorted to also by Brâhmaṇas, crowned with ascetic success, by others engaged in penances, and by Yakshas devoted to contemplation, this, thy region, resembles heaven itself. Without doubt, the terrible and irresistible god of wind always protects thee out of amity. A close intimacy must subsist between thee and the Wind. I do not know any other tree, mountain, or mansion in this world that I have not seen broken by the wind. Without doubt, thou standest here with all thy branches and twigs and leaves, simply because thou art protected by the wind for some reason or reasons unknown."

To which the tree replied: — "The Wind is neither my mate nor my well-wisher. Indeed, he is neither my great ordainer that he should protect me. My fierce energy, O Nârada, is greater than the Wind's. In sooth, the strength of the Wind comes up to about only an eighteenth part of mine. When the Wind comes in rage, tearing up trees, mountains, and other things, I curb his strength by putting forth mine. Indeed, the Wind that breaks many things has himself been repeatedly broken by me. For this reason, I am not afraid of him when he comes in wrath."

Nârada said: — "O tree, thy perception seems to be thoroughly perverse. There is no doubt in this. There is no created thing which is equal to the Wind in strength. Even Indra, or Yama, or Varuna, the Lord of the waters, is not equal to **the God of the Wind** in might. What need, therefore, to say of thee that art only a tree? Whatever creature in this world does whatever act, the illustrious Pavana it is that is at all times the cause of that act, since it is he that is the giver of life. **When that god exerts himself with propriety, he makes all living creatures live at their ease. When, however, he exerts improperly, calamities overtake the creatures of the world.** What else can it be than weakness of understanding which induces thee thus to withhold thy worship from the God of the Wind, that foremost of creatures in the universe, that being deserving of worship? Thou art worthless and of a wicked understanding. Indeed, thou indulgest only in unmeaning brag. Thy intelligence being confounded by wrath and other evil-passions, thou speakest only untruths. I am certainly angry with thee for thy indulging in such speeches. I shall myself report to the God of the Wind all these derogatory words of thine. **Other trees of good souls** that are far stronger have never, O thou of wicked understanding, uttered such invectives against the Wind. All of them know the might of the Wind, as also their respective powers. For these reasons those foremost of trees bow down their heads in respect to him. Thou, however, through folly, knowest not the infinite power of the Wind. I shall, therefore, repair to the presence of that god for apprising him of thy contempt for him."

Nârada, thereupon, represented unto the Wind all that the tree had said about him, and said: —"There is a certain Sarala Tree on the top of the Himalayas, adorned with branches and leaves. Its roots extend deep into the earth and its branches spread wide around. That tree disregards thee and spoke many words fraught with abuse of thyself. It is not proper that I should repeat them in thy hearing. I know, O wind, that thou art the foremost of all created things. I know, too, that thou art a very mighty being, and that in wrath thou resemblest the Destroyer himself."

Hearing these words of Nârada, the God of the Wind, wending to the Sarala Tree, addressed him in rage thus: —"O Sarala, thou hast spoken in derogation of me before Nârada. Know that I am the God of the Wind. I shall certainly show thee my power. I know thee well; thou art no stranger to me. The puissant grandsire, while engaged in creating the world, had for a time rested under thee. It is in consequence of this incident that I have hitherto shown thee grace O worst of trees, it is for this that thou standest unharmed and not in consequence of thy own might. Thou regardest me lightly as if I were a vulgar thing. I shall show myself unto thee in such a way that thou mayst not again disregard me."

Thus addressed, the tree laughed in derision and replied: — "O Pavana, thou art angry with me. Do not forbear showing the extent of thy might. Do thou vomit all thy wrath upon me? By giving way to thy wrath what wilt thou do me? Even if thy might had been thy own and not derived I would not still have been afraid of thee. They are really strong that are strong in understanding and not in physical strength."

Whereupon Pavana replied: — "To-morrow I shall test thy strength."

But with the advent of the night, the tree, considering what the extent of the Wind's might is, and beholding himself to be inferior to the god. began to say to himself: — "All that I said to Nârada is false. I am certainly inferior in might to the wind, who, as Nârada said, is always mighty. Without doubt I am weaker than other trees. But in intelligence no tree is my compeer. If other trees of the forest all rely upon the same kind of intelligence, then, verily, no injury can result to them from the ireful Wind. All of them, however, are destitute of understanding, and therefore they do not know, as I do, why or how the wind succeeds in shaking and tearing them up."

Having settled this in his mind, the Sarala, in sorrow, himself caused all his branches, principal and subsidiary, to be cut off. Casting off his branches and leaves and flowers at morn the tree looked steadily at the wind as he came towards him. Filled with ire and breathing hard, the wind advanced, felling large trees, towards the spot where Sarala stood. Beholding him divested of top and branches and leaves and flowers, the wind, filled with joy, smilingly addressed the lord of the forest, which had before such gigantic appearance, and said: — "Filled with rage, I would have done to thee precisely what thou hast done to thyself by lopping off all thy branches. Thou art now divested of thy proud top and flowers, and thou art without thy shoots and leaves. In consequence of thy own evil counsels, thou hast been brought under my power."

Hearing these words of the wind, the tree felt greatly ashamed. Remembering also the words that Nârada had said, he began to repent greatly for his folly. It is thus that a weak and foolish person, by provoking the enmity of a powerful one, is at last obliged to repent.

THE CULT OF MIAN BIBI IN THE PANJAB.

BY LALA DINA NATH.

Prefatory Remarks.

THERE are various stories about the following saints and their first appearance. According to the best received account, one **Khwâja Kasmî** had five sons, named **Shâh Madâr**, **Bhôlân Shâh, Shêkh Mâdû, Pîr Sultân Shâh,**[1] **and Pîr Jhôlân Shâh,** and five daughters, named **Jal Parî, Mal Parî, Asmân Parî, Hûr Parî, and Sabz Parî.** Of all these the **tomb of Bhôlân Shâh exists at Jhônawâl,** in *tahsîl* Gaṛhshankar, in the Hoshiârpûr District. The other brothers and sisters are said to have become famous in other parts, and to have died there.

Another story is that **Shâh Madâr,** who is referred to throughout the songs sung by the followers of **Miân Bîbî,** was a Shêkh of Rûm, whose real name was **Badru'ddîn.** Being an adventurous man, he migrated to India and took lodgings in the house of a Court jester. After his arrival his host gained increasing favour with the Court, and he thought this was due to Shâh Madâr's supernatural influence. **Shâh Madâr was called Miân by his host's daughters, and they in return were called by him Bîbî.** The girls became more and more attached to the Miâṅ, and their belief in his supernatural powers grew stronger day by day. One day, it is said, the king, instigated by a minister, who was jealous of the favour shown to the jester, ordered the latter to fight with a tiger. The jester, in his dilemma, asked the Miâṅ's advice, and he, by a miracle, caused a tiger to go into the king's *darbâr*, kill the jealous minister, and to refrain from doing further mischief at the bidding of the Miâṅ's host. This astonished the Court, which sought out the author of the miracle. The Miâṅ, however, was not pleased with the publicity thus given to his powers and desired to leave the place. The girls tried to persuade him not to desert them, but he could not be prevailed upon to remain. At last, seeing that the girls were determined to live and die with him, he disappeared underground with his virgin companions. It is not known when or where this happened, but the above story illustrates a common belief as to the **origin of the cult of Miâṅ Bîbî.**

A third and perhaps the most plausible story, is that **Miâṅ Bîbî was a Shêkh named Saddû of Delhi,** said to have been well-versed in medicine and to have influence over evil-spirits. He had a number of followers and maid-servants, the principle among whom were **Miâṅ Bhôlân Shâh, Miâṅ Chanan, Miân Shâh Madâr, Miân Mâlêrî, Shâh Parî, Hur Parî, Mihr Parî, Nûr Parî, Usmal Parî, and Gungan Parî.** These are not Indian names, and the addition Parî to the female names is intended to signify that the possessors were very beautiful. The ordinary addition to these female names was Bîbî, and it is said that the saint got his soubriquet of **Miâṅ Bîbî** on account of his attachment to his female followers. Hence the origin of the name of Miâṅ Bîbî for a male saint. The saint's followers travelled through many lands and preached the wondrous powers of their head, and credulous women, believing in the spiritual powers of the Miâṅ, held him in great respect, and after his death kept his memory green by the performance of a kind of passion play in his honour. The Miâṅ always showed a preference for women, being shrewd enough to know that his pretensions would be readily believed by the sex and would succeed amongst them. He worked exclusively among women, curing their diseases by his medical skill and attributing his successes to his spiritual powers. He is credited with the possession of an Aladdin's lamp, with which he could attract to himself any woman he chose. And with its aid he is said to have made

[1] [This is a title of the popular saint Sakhî Sarwar. — ED.]

a royal girl fall in love with him, an exploit which resulted in his own death and the destruction of his lamp. His companions in terror fled in different directions, Bhôlâṅ Shâh finding his last resting place in Jhônawâl, *tahsîl* Gaṛhshankar, and Mîâṅ Mâlêrî at Mâlêr Kôṭlâ. Shâh Madâr escaped to the Dakhan and Mîâṅ Chanan to Afghanistan, where their tombs are still to be found. It is said that all this happened in the time of Akbar.

Mîâṅ Bîbî and his wives or female followers were of course all Muhammadans, and their influence was at first confined to the followers of that creed. Gradually as time went on and communion with Hindus and Muhammadans became more general, and an interchange between superstitious practices became common, the Hindus also began to follow him. In this way, though Mîâṅ Bîbî's followers are still principally Bâhtîs, Sainîs and Mîrâsîs, Râjputs and other classes of Hindus and Muhammadans are to be found among his votaries. In no case, however, does any male member of any class or caste propitiate Mîâṅ Bîbî, who is essentially a saint of the female sex alone. It is also remarkable that in most cases it is the young women who adore him. As they become older they neglect the ceremonies pertaining to him, although their regard for the saint himself never diminishes.

No fair is held in his honour and there is no special time devoted to ceremonies relating to him. Generally, when the harvest is newly gathered and the people are at their best in point of wealth, a young believer in Mîâṅ Bîbî will prepare herself for adoration. Such a woman will be in want of a child, or will be a bride desiring a child, or will be eager for relief from some distress; the object of the ceremony being to invoke the assistance of the saint in the fulfilment of her desire. On such an occasion Mîrâsî women are called in with their instruments, and the woman in a new dress, and adorned as on her wedding day, sits in front of them. They sing songs in praise of Mîâṅ Bîbî and descant on his manly beauty, his devotion to the Bîbîs and their love for him, all the while beating on their small drums. The devotee soon begins to move her hands about wildly and nod her head, and as the singing continues she becomes excited and almost frenzied. At this stage she is supposed to have forgotten all about herself and her spirit is believed to have become mingled with that of Mîâṅ Bîbî, whom she now personifies as long as the excitement lasts. Other women, who have faith in her acquired spiritual power, come and offer grain and sweets, which the musical performers appropriate. After the offerings are made the visitors put questions as to coming events in their families. Such questions generally relate to family distress and wants, and the devotee, knowing full well the wants of all her neighbours, answers in ambiguous terms, on which the hearers put the best possible construction, and thus is the power of thought-reading posssessed by the devotee proved to their satisfaction. It is of course believed that it is the Mîâṅ Bîbî, who is speaking through his devotee and fulfilling the desires of his believers. The performers of such devotional exercises are distinguished by a silver amulet hanging round their necks, on which is engraved a portrait of Mîâṅ Bîbî, or by an amulet with a representation of the Bîbîs on it.

While she sings the woman representing Mîâṅ Bîbî sways her head continually in an emotional trance.

Note by the Editor.

The above description of the stories connected with the cult of Mîâṅ Bîbi gives an instructive and characteristic jumble of hagiological tales, partly Hindu and partly Muhammadan. It is apparently a survival of pure folklore going back probably to animistic times and is in reality merely an invocation of supernatural powers in time of distress through a possessed person. In the stories, we have a mixture of the tale of Kṛishṇa and the Gôpîs with legends relating to a number of saints and holy personages, who flourished in widely differing places and times, chiefly because they are

locally famous. Thus we have dragged in Badru'ddîn Aulîâ, with the legends of whom are popularly mixed up Khwâja Khizar and Elias and even Buddha (in Burma), Shah Madâr, the eponymous saint of Mâlêr Kotla, Shêkh Saddû, Bhôlâṅ Shâh and Mîâṅ Chanan. In the songs are added Ghauṅs al-Azam and Sakhî Sarwar, which last is probably also alluded to in the stories. An account of most, if not of all, of these saints is to be found in the *Legends of the Panjâb.*

SONGS ABOUT MIAN BIBI.

A. — The Kâfîs.

Kâfis of Mîâṅ Shâh Madâr.

1.

Khêlê zindâ Shâh Madâr,	When sways the immortal Shâh Madâr,
Maiṅ tâṅ tâṅ jîwâṅ.	Then may I live.
Têrâ nûr bhôrâ dîdâr.	Thy countenance beams with (heavenly) light.
Têrâ Maulâ nâl qarâr.[2]	Thy rest is with God.
Khêlê zindâ, &c.	When sways the immortal, &c.

2.

Shâh Madâr, maiṅ dîwânî.	Shâh Madâr, I am possessed.
Dêkhô, Shâh Madâr, maiṅ dîwânî.	See, Shâh Madâr, I am possessed.
Pîrâ, têrê âwan dê qurbân.	Saint, at thy coming I am a sacrifice.
Tûn tâṅ rôshan dôhîṅ jahânîṅ.	Thou art the light of both worlds.
Kâlâ bakṛâ sawâ man âtâ dêô shâhâṅ mihmânî.	I will offer a black goat and a *man* and a quarter of flour to the kind saint.
Shâh Madâr, &c.	Shâh Madâr, &c.

3.

Sung at weddings when the flower-girl brings the garlands of flowers.

Gunḍ liyâî mâlan phûlôṅ kâ sehrâ.	The flower-girl has brought garlands of flowers.
Aj, Mîâṅ, têrê sir kô mubârak.	Blessings on thy head to-day, Mîâṅ.
Ap Mîâṅjî nê kaṅganâ bandhâyâ.	The Mîâṅjî has himself bound on the bracelet.
Nûr kâ baṭnâ aṅg lagâyâ.[3]	And spread upon his body a *baṭnâ* of light.
Tâj kulâh sir chhatar jhulâyâ.	And covered his head with crown and cap and umbrella.
Aj, banṛâ, têrê sir kô mubârak.	Bridegroom, blessings on thy head to-day.
Aj, Mîâṅ, &c.	Blessings, Mîâṅ, &c.

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[2] The text may be rendered: "thy rest is with God." *Qarâr* means "repose in peace." But it is also explained to mean: "*têrî bâtên Khudâ sê hôtî hain,*" — "Thy conversation is with God."

[3] The meaning here is that the Mîâṅ has covered his body with the light of God.

4.

Râg Mânjî.

I.

Mîrâṅ âê, rê. Shâhji âê, rê !	O, the Mîrâṅ has come! O, the Shâhjî has come!
Shâh Madâr âê, rê ! Albêlâ banṛâ, Mîrâṅ, âê, rê !	O, Shâh Madâr has come! O, the giver of desires, the bridegroom, Mîrâṅ, has come.
Mîrâṅ kê majlis khûb banî hai. Pânch phûl gal pâê, rê.	The Mîrân's following is brilliant. O, he wears the five flowers on his neck!
Mîrâṅ âê, rê ! &c.	O, the Mîrân has come! &c.

II.

Nainâṅ dâ châlâ sânûṅ dê gayâ.	He has thrown us a gleam from his eyes.
Maiṅ wârî hô, Mîrâṅ.	I would be a sacrifice, Mîrâṅ.
Nainâṅ dâ châlâ sânûṅ dê gayâ.	He has thrown us a gleam from his eyes.
Maiṅ wârî hô, Mîrâṅ.	I would be a sacrifice, Mîrâṅ.
Laṭ paṭ chîṛâ, re ! Kêsariâ bândhî, rê !	O, the dishevelled locks! O, the saffron head-dress!
Ghuṅghaṭ maiṅ kuchh kah gayâ.	I have told him a secret.
Maiṅ wârî hâûṅ, Mîrâṅ.	I am a sacrifice, Mîrâṅ.
Nainâ dâ chalâ, &c.	He has thrown, &c.

III.

Zindâ Shâh Madâr,	The immortal Shâh Madâr,
Mîrî Mîrâṅ âûndâ dêkhâ.	I have seen my Mîrâṅ coming.
Hai Madâr ! Hai Madâr ! Ni uddhâr !	It is Madâr! It is Madâr! O, my deliverer!
Mêrâ Mîrâṅ âûndâ dêkhâ.	I have seen my Mîrâṅ coming.
Shâh Madâr, têrîâṅ chauṅkîâṅ[4] bhardî, nûr bhariâ didâr !	Shâh Madâr, fill thy seat, O, countenance filled with light.[5]
Mîrî Mîrâṅ âûndâ dêkhâ.	I have seen my Mîrâṅ coming

Kâfîs of Bhôlâṅ Shâh.

1.

Mîâṅ Bullan Shâh jâwânî mânê.	May Mîâṅ Bullan Shâh live for ever.
Karam karê tâṅ mainûṅ jânê.	When he doth kindness may he remember me.
Têrîâṅ ditîâṅ lakh karôṛâṅ.	Thy gifts are myriad.
Têrê vich darbâr jô âvê,	Who comes into thy court,
Apniâṅ man diâṅ murâdâṅ pâvê.	Obtains her own heart's desires.
Terîâṅ ditîâṅ, &c.	Thy gifts, &c.

[4] *Chaukî bharnâ* relates to a custom. When women have made vows to a saint and those vows are fulfilled, they repair to the saint's shrine and sit there for a day and a night. The Bharâîns, or priests of Sakhî Sarwar, derive their name from this custom.

[5] That is, with the light of God

2.

Addressed to the tomb of Bhôlân Shâh.

Tân maiṅ âwâṅ têrê, Pîrâ,
Deh murâdâṅ tûṅ man diân, Pîrâ.
Têrî chahâr dîwârî sańîânwâlî.
Têrî qabar tê jalê charâgh, Pîrâ.
Tân maiṅ âwâṅ, &c.

Khûhî têrî ṭhandî, Pîrâ.
Têrê bâghîn bôlê môr, Pîrâ.
Têrê chahâr dîwârî khulî, Pîrâ.
Têrê hath vich sâdî dôr, Pîrâ.
Tân maiṅ âwâṅ, &c.

Then may I come to thee, O Saint
If thou givest my heart's desires, O Saint.
Thy four walls are of pearl.
Lamps burn at thy tomb, O Saint.
Then may I come, &c.

Cool are thy wells, O Saint.
Peacocks call in thy garden, O Saint.
Open are thy four walls, O Saint.
In thy hands are all our deeds, O Saint.
Then may I come, &c.

3.

Bullan Shâh jawânî mânê.
Hun bahûrêṅ, tân jânân.
Terîân lakh karôrâṅ ditîâṅ.
Mîân fazal karên, tâṅ jânâṅ.

May Bullan Shâh remain ever young.
If he avails me, then may I know him.
Thy gifts are myriad.
If the Mîân hath mercy, then may I know him.

A Kâfî of Pîr Banôî.

Pîr Bannâjî, maiṅ arz karân têrê âgê,
Sab dukhîâṅ nûṅ pâk jô kardâ,
Ratî dêr na lâgê.
Jinnâṅ bhûtâṅ nûṅ dûr tûṅ kardâ.
Jôt têrî ôh sahnê lâgê.[6]
Pîr Bannâjî, &c.

Pîr Bannâjî, I would make my appeal before thee,
That purifiest all that grieve,
Without any delay.
Thou drivest afar the *jinns* and evil-spirits.
They flee at thy glory.
Pîr Bannâjî, &c.

Kâfîs of Mîâṅ Âlâ Bakhsh Gangôhî.

1.

Mêrê pêshwâ Alâ Bakhsh Pêshwâ,
Mahbûb-i-Khudâ mâmûn[7] *Alâ Bakhsh Pêshwâ.*
Mêrê Sâhib-i-Aulîâ Alâ Bakhsh Pêshwâ.
Ḍôlî pâk karê mêrê, Alâ Bakhsh Pêshwâ.

My leader is Alâ Bakhsh Pêshwâ,
Alâ Bakhsh Pêshwâ, the beloved of God and protected by his peace.
My Chief of Saints is Alâ Bakhsh Pêshwâ.
Purify my (marriage) *ḍôlî*, Alâ Bakhsh Pêshwâ.

[6] The text is thus explained *woh têrê jalwê kô bardâsht karnê lag jâtê haiṅ*, "they gradually bear thy glory." But it is also explained thus *têrê jalwê sê khauf khâkar daur jâtê hain*, practically as translated above.

[7] *Mâmûn* is explained to mean *Khudâ kê amân sê mahfûz*, *i e.*, "protected by the peace of God."

2.

Mámún Alá Bakhsh, pânôn ka bîrá liáwáṅ têrê pás — God-protected Alâ Bakhsh, I would bring thee *pân bîrâ*.

Jê tûn kaprôṅ ká jôṛá mângêṅ, darzî buláwáṅ têrê pás. — If thou demandest clothing, I would call a tailor for thee.

Jê, mámún Alá Bakhsh, dûdh pêrê mujh sê mángê, halwâî kô buláwán jhaṭ têrê pás. — If, God-protected Alâ Bakhsh, thou demandest milk from me, I would at once call a confectioner for thee.

Jê, mámún Alá Bakhsh, pân bîrá mángê, main panwárî kô buláwán fauran têrê pás — If, God-protected Alâ Bakhsh, thou demandest *pân bîrâ*, I would at once call the *pân*-seller for thee

A Kâfî of Ghauns al-Azam, Pîrân Pîr, of Baghdâd.

Mansá karát sukh charan tihárê, — I supplicate and worship thee,
Mêrî murádáṅ parsan piárê, — That fulfillest my desires
Jô sukh áiê, sô phal pâvê, — Who comes sweetly obtains her reward,
Ghauns Nabî kô lágê piárê — And is beloved of Ghauns Nabî.
Mansá karát, &c. — I supplicate, &c.

B. — The Khiâlât-i-Mîân, or Thoughts about the Mîâṅ.[8]

1.

Râg Kaliân Imân.

Zindá Sháh Madár. — The immortal Shâh Madâr.
Alláh, kinê áúndá dêkhiá? — O God, who has seen him coming?
Madár, ni Madár — Madâr, O Madâr,
Nîlê ghôrêwálá. — Of the dark grey horse,
Sabz doshálêwálá. — Of the green shawl,
Báṅkiâṅ faujáṅwálá. — Of the handsome retinue.
Kinê áúndá dêkhiá? — Who has seen him coming?
Zindá Sháh, &c. — The immortal Shâh, &c.

2.

Râg Kaliân Imân.

Bêrá bannê, ládê, Jî. — Let my ship sail, my Lord.
Mêrá bêrá bannê lámnâ. — Let my ship sail across[9]
Táriâṅ dênán aukhî wêlá, Jî. — I would make invocation in the time of trouble, my Lord

Maiṅ Sarwar[10] sêmîâṅ, — I would worship Sarwar,
Mushkil kai dê ásâṅ, — He will make easy my difficulty.
Táriâṅ, dênán, &c. — I would make invocation, &c.

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[8] The difference between a *kâfî* and a *khiâl* is this A *kâfî* is sung by *faqîrs* according to the hour, day or night, fixed for the ceremony. A *khiâl* can only be sung at the particular time set apart for it.

[9] Let all my difficulties be removed.

[10] The allusion here is to the popular Panjâb Saint, Sakhî Sarwar.

3.

Râg Kaliân Imân.

Puttân dê kâran, Dûlô, sêmâṅ mâîyâṅ.

Mân diâṅ murâdâṅ mêrê Pîr nê pujâîyâṅ.
Mushkil kardê âsân.
Tânâṅ dênâṇ, &c.

Mothers worship thee, O Bridegroom, for the sake of sons.
My Saint has interceded for my heart's desires.
He makes easy my difficulty.
I would make invocation, &c.

4.

Râg Bihâg Târtîṅ.

Kar nazar mihar dî, Jî Mîrâṅ.
Jî Mîrâṅ, maiṅ taiṅ par baṛî sadqê kîtî qurbân, Mîrân.
Kar nazar, &c.

Look kindly, Lord Mîrâṅ.
Lord Mîrâṅ, I am making great sacrifice to thee, Mîrâṅ
Look, &c.

5.

Râg Bihâg Târtîṅ.

Mainûn hâl Mîrân dâ dasîṅ.
Mainûn hâl, &c.
Chûr dîwârî jhurmatwâlî vich Mîrâṅ chaukhandî, bê!
Mainûṅ hâl, &c.

Tell me about Mîrâṅ.
Tell me, &c.
O, between four-shaded walls is the Mîrâṅ's seat!
Tell me, &c.

6.

Khiâl Kanahrâ.[11]

Râg Bîbî.

I.

Alâ albêlârîâṅ! Alâ albêlârîâṅ!

Mêrî Shâh Parî, bhig gâîyâṅ suhiâṅ chunâriâṅ.
Maiṅ chalî pîâ bhâgh tamâshê.
Bhig gaîyan suhiâṅ chunâriâṅ.
Alâ albêlârîân, &c.

Greatest giver of desires! Greatest giver of desires!
My Shâh Parî, thy red garments are wet.
I am going to the *tamâsha* in the garden.
The red garments are wet.
Greatest of givers, &c.

II.

Shâh Madâr kê darbâr mêṅ khêlê Shâh Parî.
Oh diâṅ kasumbhariâṅ chôlâriân, rê.
Bahîn chûrê harê, rê, mêrî Shâh Parî.
Shah Madâr, &c.

In the Court of Shâh Madâr sports Shâh Parî.
O, her skirts are of *kasumbhâ*-colour.
O, my Shâh Parî wears bangles of green.
In the Court, &c.

11 This *khiâl* is addressed to the *Bîbîs*, or female consorts of Mîân Bîbî.

THE PRACTICAL VALUE OF ANTHROPOLOGY.[1]

BY SIR RICHARD TEMPLE

THERE has lately been established at Cambridge a Board of Anthropological Studies, the object of which is to add a working knowledge of mankind to the equipment of those already possessed of a matured, or at least a considerable, acquaintance with science or literature generally. The aim is, in fact, to impart a human interest to scholarship or to scientific attainment, which are otherwise apt to become mere exercises of the intellect: — an aim rendered practicable by the research and study, in certain directions, during quite recent years, of a number of independent students, hailing from all parts of the civilized world The particular directions in which Anthropological Science has thus been developed, to an extent that has obtained for it a recognised and important position among the sciences, are in Archæology, Ethnology, and Physical and Mental Anthropology. The archæologists have included enquiries into Prehistoric and Historic Anthropology in their researches, the ethnologists have included Sociology, Comparative Religion and Folklore, while Mental Anthropology covers a study of the whole field of psychological investigation.

Now, when we are started on a new line of research, when we add a new course of studies to a University curriculum, there is a question that we cannot help facing — a question, in fact, that ought to arise — What is the good of it all? What is the good of Prehistoric Anthropology, for instance, or of Comparative Religion, to an undergraduate about to undertake a course of study, which is to enable him to embark fittingly on the practical affairs of life? This is the problem that it is proposed to tackle now.

Let us commence a survey of the trend of this last development of scientific effort with a truism. Every successful man has to go on educating himself all his life, and the object of a University training is to induce in students a habit of self-education, which is in the future to stand them in such good stead. Before those freshly passed through an English University there is a very wide field spread. Year by year whole batches of them are destined to go forth to all parts of the world to find a livelihood; to find places where work, lucrative, dignified and useful, awaits them; to find themselves also in a human environment, strange, alien and utterly unlike anything in their experience. It is a fair question to ask: — Will not a sound grounding in anthropology be a help to such as these? There is a patter saying: — 'The proper study of mankind is man.' Will not a habit, acquired in a University, of systematically pursuing this study, of examining intelligently, until their true import is grasped, customs, modes of thought, beliefs and superstitions, physical and mental capacities, springs of action, differences and mutual relations, and the causes leading up to existing human phenomena, be of real value to the young Englishmen sent among aliens? Will it not be a powerful aid to them in what is called 'understanding the people'?

And do not let us run away with the idea that such knowledge is easily or quickly acquired because one is in the environment. There is another patter saying: — 'One half the world does not know how the other half lives.' This is applied to, and is only too true of those who belong to the same religion, who have been born, as it were, with the same social instincts, and are endowed presumably with the same mental and physical capacities. How many English Roman Catholics, living among Protestants, could tell one, on enquiry, anything of practical value as to Protestant ideas, and *vice versâ*? How many of the gentry can project themselves successfully into the minds of the peasantry? And how many peasants understand the workings of the gentleman's mind, or the causes leading to his actions? How often do

[1] An Address delivered at Cambridge, on November 17th, 1904

masters complain of the utter misunderstanding of themselves exhibited in the comments of their servants? But do they always, in their turn, understand the actions of their servants? Do masters always grasp why the most faithful and honest of menials may also be confidently predicted in given circumstances to be unblushing liars? Do the upper classes have a clear conception of the reason why the lower orders will scrupulously see fair play in some circumstances, but be incapable of fair play in most others? It is the same all the world over. Lifelong neighbours among Hindus and Muhammadans living chock-a-block in the same street usually know nothing of each other's ways. Again, every Indian talks of 'caste,' but there is nothing more difficult than to get information of practical value from an Indian about any caste, except his own, though the instinct of caste is so strong in the people that new 'castes' inevitably spring up in new communities, when these are faced with novel social conditions. So strong, indeed, is it, that Muhammadan 'castes' abound, despite this condition being a contradiction in terms, and even the native Christians of India are frequently by themselves, and usually by others, looked upon as belonging to a 'caste.'

We often talk in Greater Britain of a 'good' magistrate or a 'sympathetic' judge, meaning thereby that these officials determine the matters before them with insight, that is, with a working anthropological knowledge of those with whom they have to deal. But observe that these are all phenomena of human societies with identical social instincts, shewing the intense difficulty that individuals of the human race have in understanding each other. Pondering this, it will be perceived what the difficulties are that await him of an alien race, who essays to project himself into the minds of the foreigners, with whom he has to deal and associate, or whom he has to govern: an attempt that so many who pass through an English University must have to make in this huge Empire of ours. If such an individual trusts to his own unaided capacities, a mastery of his business will come to him but very slowly and far too late. It is indeed everything to him to acquire the habit of useful anthropological study before he commences, and to be able to avail himself practically and intelligently of the facts gleaned, and the inferences drawn therefrom, by those who have gone before him.

At the same time it is of the highest importance personally to men of all kinds, who have dealings of the superior sort — such as it is presumed young men with a University training are destined to have — with those with whom they are thrown at home, and more especially abroad, to be imbued with as an intimate a knowledge of them as is practicable. It matters nothing that they be civil servants, missionaries, merchants, or soldiers. Sympathy is one of the chief factors in successful dealings of any kind with human beings, and sympathy can only come of knowledge. And not only also does sympathy come of knowledge, but it is knowledge that begets sympathy. In a long experience of alien races, and of those who have had to govern and deal with them, all whom I have known to dislike the aliens about them, or to be unsympathetic, have been those that have been ignorant of them; and I have never yet come across a man, who really knew an alien race, that had not, unless actuated by race jealousy, a strong bond of sympathy with them. Familiarity breeds contempt, but it is knowledge that breeds respect, and it is all the same whether the race be black, white, yellow or red, or whether it be cultured or ignorant, civilised or semi-civilised, or downright savage.

Let me quote what is now another glib saying: — 'One touch of nature makes the whole world kin.' It is necessary to grasp the truth underlying this, if one would succeed. Who is the better or more useful regimental officer than he who knows and sympathises with his men, who knows when to be lenient and when to be strict, when to give leave and when to refuse it, when a request for a favour is genuine and when it is humbug, when treatment is disciplinary and when it is merely irritating? And what British officer in charge of British troops will achieve this sympathy, but he who takes the trouble to know them? But place a British officer with local troops: take him to Egypt, the Soudan and Uganda, to Nigeria and

the Gold Coast, to Rhodesia and South Africa, to India and Burma, to the Straits Settlements and China, to the West Indies and the Pacific Islands, and put him in charge of regulars, irregulars or police. Who will so well bring about the all-essential sympathy between himself and his men, as he who has acquired a habit, till by reason of his early training it has become a pleasure to him, of finding out all about them?

Take the merchant, trader, squatter, planter, or dealer of supplies to alien races. Who is successful in commerce but he who finds out where the market is, and having found the market, knows how to take advantage of it and what to avoid? In seeking a market, the habits, ways, predilections and prejudices of many kinds of people have to be learnt, and this is the case in a much higher degree in preserving the market when found. Practically nearly all the blunders made by British manufacturers in supplying foreign markets, and mistakes made by British merchants whereby markets have been lost, have been due to ignorance of the local inhabitants, and others have been due to their own pride born of the same ignorance. 'We have always made the article in this way in the past for home consumption, and we are not going to make it in any other way for the foreigner,' is an argument that has lost many markets. But it is hopelessly wrong. No foreigner has ever taken what he did not happen to like, and no foreigner ever will. No one who has a knowledge of mankind generally would think so. The civilised will have things exactly to their liking, and it cannot be too clearly impressed on the trading community that this prejudice is even more strongly characteristic of the savage and the semi-savage. Beads as beads do not appeal to the savage, but it is a particular kind and form of bead that he wants for reasons of his own, practical enough in their way — and so on through every article of trade.

It is here that what one may call 'the anthropological habit' will come to the aid of those engaged in commerce, and an anthropological training in youth will certainly not tend to the diminishing of later profits. It is a common commercial saying that trade accommodates itself to any circumstances. So it does; but he who profits first and best is he who knows the most of mankind and its ways. Many successful mercantile firms with a foreign trade have not been slow to appreciate this truth. Taught by the spectacle of unlooked-for failures, there have been firms which have long since insisted on their youngsters acquiring a knowledge of the local languages and of the local peoples. This insistence has often been of the highest profit to them. As one instance of its value among many, let me quote the case of a well-known firm which took to supplying, as an essential part of its work, the wax candles used at Buddhist shrines, temples, and ceremonies. This proved a wide and profitable field for enterprise, because the candles were made in the right way, which right making came of anthropological knowledge of more than one kind, and of more than one place and community.

It is not only direct knowledge that is necessary to the merchant, and I will give an instance where mercantile bodies have found a kind of knowledge that is apparently remote as regards their business to be of paramount importance to them. A few years ago I made efforts to establish a series of wireless telegraphic stations in the Bay of Bengal which are now bearing fruit, partly on account of the value of the meteorological information that could be gathered in time to be of practical daily use to the immense amount of shipping traversing the Bay in all directions. I found that among my strongest supporters were the great Chambers of Commerce, not only in the shipping interests, but in those of general commerce also. One can readily understand the value of trustworthy weather forecasts to the great agricultural industries depending on a heavy rainfall, such as rice, jute and sugar, but their value to the dealers in cotton clothes is not so apparent. These dealers, however, had found out that the success of such crops, out of which the millions made their living, depended on the rainfall, and that on the success of the crops

depended the purchasing power of the millions, and that on that depended the quantity of the stuffs, which could be profitably exported from year to year. Consequently there were no more anxious students of the meteorological returns than the manufacturers and merchants of dry goods in far-away England, and no set of men to whom accurate meteorological information was of higher value.

Now, the point I would like to drive home from this object-lesson is that the apparently remote study of anthropology, in all its phases, is of similar value. The habit of intelligently examining the peoples among whom his business is cast cannot be over-rated by the merchant wishing to continuously widen it to profit. It may be said that the kind of knowledge above noted can be, and often has been in the past, successfully acquired empirically by mere quickness of observation. Granted : but the man who has been obliged to acquire it without any previous training in observation, is heavily handicapped indeed in comparison with him who has acquired the habit of right observation, and what is of much more importance, has been put in the way of rightly interpreting his observations in his youth. This is what such a body as a University Board of Anthropological Studies can do for the future merchant.

Then there are the men who have to administer, the magistrates and the judges. One has only to consider for a moment what is involved in the term 'administration' to see that success here rests almost entirely on knowledge of the people. Take the universally delicate questions of revenue and taxation, and consider how very much the successful administration of either depends on a minute acquaintance with the means, habits, customs, manners, institutions, traditions, prejudices and character of the population. And think over both the framing and working of the rules and regulations, under laws of a municipal nature, that affect the every-day life of all sorts and conditions of men. In the making of laws, too close a knowledge of the persons to be subjected to them cannot be possessed, and however wise the laws so made may be, their object can be only too easily frustrated, if the rules they authorise are not themselves framed with an equally great knowledge, and they in their turn can be made to be of no avail, unless an intimate acquaintance with the population is brought to bear on their administration. For the administrator an extensive knowledge of those in his charge is an attainment, not only essential to his own success, but beneficial in the highest degree to the country he dwells in, provided it is used with discernment. And discernment is best acquired by the 'anthropological habit.' The same extent and description of knowledge is required by the judges and the magistrates in apportioning punishments, and by the judges in adjudicating effectively in civil cases. No amount of wisdom in the civil and criminal laws of the land in the British possessions will benefit the various populations, unless they are administered with discernment and insight.

To the administrator and the magistrate and to the judge especially, there is an apparently small accomplishment, which can be turned into a mighty lever for gaining a hold on the people : the apt quotation of proverbs, maxims, and traditional verses and sayings. They are always well worth study. Quote an agricultural aphorism to the farmer, quote a line from one of his own popular poets to the man of letters, quote a wise saw in reproof or encouragement of a servant, and you cannot but perceive the respect and kindly feeling that is produced. Say to the North Indian, who comes with a belated threat: 'You should have killed the cat on the *first* day';[2] stay a quarrel with the remark that 'when two fight one will surely fall';[3] repeat to one in trouble a verse from one of the Indian mediæval reformers; jingle

[2] *Billî kô marnâ pahilê hî rôz.*

[3] *Dô larê ek tô girê hî gâ.*

a nursery rhyme to a child;[4] quote a text from the Pâli Scriptures to a Burman or a text from the *Qurân* to Musalmân; speak any one of these things with all the force, vigor and raciness of the vernacular, and you will find as your reward the attention arrested, the dull eye brightened, the unmistakable look that comes of a kindred intelligence awakened. The proverbs of a people do not merely afford a phase of anthropological study; they are a powerful force working for influence.

Let me take another class of men largely educated at the Universities, — a class which one would like to see entirely recruited from amongst those who have been subjected in early life to the University method of training, — the missionaries. Now, what is the missionary in practice required to do? He is required to bring about in alien races a change of thought, which is to induce in them what we consider to be a higher type of faith and action than their own religion or belief is capable of inducing. There is perhaps no more difficult task to accomplish than this on a scale that is to have a solid effect on a population, and surely the first requisite for success is that the missionary himself should have an insight into three mental characteristics, at any rate, of those he is seeking to convert: — that is to say, into their customs, their institutions, and their habits of thought. That this applies with tremendous force in the case of civilised peoples is obvious on very slight consideration, but it is possibly not equally well understood that it is no less applicable in reality in the case of the semi-civilised, and even of the untutored savage. There is perhaps no human being more hidebound by custom than the savage. It should be remembered that custom is all the law he knows. Custom, both in deed and thought, represents all the explanation he has of natural phenomena within his ken. It controls with iron bands all his institutions, — and the customary institutions of savages are often complicated in the extreme, and govern individual action with an irresistible power hardly realisable by the freer members of a civilised nation. Let any one dive seriously, even for a little while, into the maze of customs connected with tabu, or with the marriage customs, — laws if you like, — of the Australian aborigines or of the South Sea Islanders, and he will soon see what I mean.

So far as regards civilised peoples, what individual of them is not bound and hampered by custom and convention in every direction? From what does the civilised woman, who, as we say, falls, suffer most? From the law or from custom? What is her offence? It is against law? Or, is it against convention? If it were against law, would the law pursue her so long, so persistently and so relentlessly as does custom? I quote this as an incontrovertible example of the irresistible nature of public feeling among our own class of nations. Well: Among vast populations the most heinous offence, the one offence customarily unpardonable is to become a pervert to the faith, that is, to become a convert to Christianity. Some of my readers may have seen the result of committing that offence. I can recall a case in point. I knew a medical man, by birth a Brahman and by faith a Christian, with an European education. What was his condition? His habits were not English and he could only associate on general terms with English people, and then he was an outcast from his own family and people, in a sense so absolute that a Christian realises it but with difficulty. That was a lonely life indeed and few there be of any nation that would face it. But mark this. He was ostracised, not because of any crime or any evil in him that made him dangerous, but because of custom and the fear of breaking through custom on the part of those connected or associated with him.

[4] *E. g., Râm nâm laddû,*
Gôpâl nâm ghî,
Har kâ nâm misrî:
Ghôl ghôl pî.

One of the saddest of creatures in my experience was a servant of my own, who had been what is known in India as a child 'caste widow.' She had nevertheless married a Muhammadan and become a Muhammadan, her own kind and religion being in the circumstances impossible to her, and she paid the penalty of isolation from her home all her life. These are the instances and these are the considerations, which show how serious a personal matter it can be to change one's mother faith.

Of course, it has been done over and over again, and missionaries have succeeded with whole populations, but in every case success has been obtained by working on the line of least resistance, and has been the reward of those who have exercised something of what we call the wisdom of the serpent in ascertaining that line. This involves a most extensive knowledge of the people; and their work and writings prove how closely the great missionaries of all sorts have studied those, amongst whom their lot has been cast, in every phase. It has always and everywhere been so. The varying festivals of Christianity in Europe, its many rituals and its myriad customs, show that the missionaries of old succeeded by adapting to their own ideals, rather than by changing, the old habits they found about them. In the East, the Buddhists were in ancient days, and nominally still are, great missionaries, and they have invariably worked on the same lines. I have also elsewhere had reason to point out that in the present day the most successful missionary in India is, after all, the Brahman priest, and that because he apparently changes nothing, accepts the whole hagiolatry and cosmogony of the tribe he takes under his wing, declares the chief tribal god to be an emanation from the misty Hindu deity Siva, starts a custom here and a ceremony there, induces the leaders to be select and particular as to association with others, and as to marriages. eating, drinking, and smoking, and straightway is brought into being a new caste and a new sect, belonging loosely to that agglomeration of sects and small societies known generically as Hinduism. The process can be watched wherever British roads and railroads open up the wilder regions.

All this is working tactfully, and because tact is instinctive anthropological knowledge, it is working anthropologically, and wherever, without the immediate aid of the sword and superior force, any other method is tried, — wherever there has been a direct effort to work empirically, — wherever a sudden change of old social habits has been inculcated, — there has been disaster, or an unnecessary infliction of injury, or a subversion of the constituted social system, or an actual conflict with the civil authority. Mischief, not good, comes of such things. I remember, many years ago, having cause to examine the religious ideas of a certain Indian tribe, and being advised to consult a missionary, who had lived with it for about twenty-five years. I wrote to him for my information, and the answer I received was that he could not give it, as his business was to convert the heathen to Christianity, not to study their religion. Such a man could not create a mission station, and was not likely to improve one placed in his charge. Another instance of the wrong spirit, born of anthropological ignorance, comes to light in the existence of certain all-important provisions in Acts of the Indian Legislature and in judicial decisions affecting the natives of India, which prevent a change of religion from affecting marriages celebrated, and the legitimacy of children born, before the change, and prevent reliance on customs opposed to the newly-adopted religion. Men have become Muhammadans in order to apply the Muhammadan law of divorce to former wives, as they thought legally, and men have become Christians in order to get rid of superfluous wives and families, and — what is to the point here — Christian converts have been advised by their pastors to put away extra wives. Think of the cruel wrongs which would thus have been inflicted on lawfully married women and lawfully begotten children, and the wisdom of the legislature and of the judges will be perceived. But the strongest instance

I can recall of the results of anthropological ignorance is the sad case of the Nicobar Missions in the Bay of Bengal Off and on for two hundred years, missionaries of all sorts and nationalities attempted conversion and colonisation of these islands. They were well intentioned, enthusiastic, and in one sense truly heroic, and some of them were learned as well, but they were without practical knowledge and without proper equipment. Their lives were not only miserable, they were horribly miserable, and every mission perished. What is more, so far as I could ascertain after prolonged enquiry, their efforts, which were many and sustained, have had no appreciable effect on the people, indeed apparently none at all. And this has partly been due to an anthropological error. They worked with their own hands. It may seem a small thing, but with the population they dealt with, it meant that they could secure no influence, and it is a truth that, wherever you go, if you are to have influence, you must have anthropological knowledge. There is a mission in the Nicobars now, and when I last heard of it, it was flourishing, but the leader has been a contributor to the *Journal* of the Anthropological Institute, and has had it borne in on him that a knowledge of the people in their every aspect is essential to his success. Many a time has he used his knowledge to the practical benefit of the islanders, converts or other.

So far we have been discussing the case of those who dwell and work abroad. Let us now pay a little attention to that of a very different class, the arm-chair critics, academical, philosophical, political, pragmatic, doctrinaire — those gentlemen of England that live at home at ease. It is a commonplace amongst Anglo-Indians that the ignorance of the home-stayer of India and its affairs is not only stupendous: it is persistent and hopeless, because self-satisfied. But the home criticism is of great importance, as the ultimate power for good and evil lies at the headquarters of the Empire. It must be so: and what is true of India is true also of any other outlying part of the world-wide dominion of the British race. But do the glib critics of England pause to dwell on the harm that severe criticism of their fellow-countrymen abroad often does? Do they stop to consider the pain it causes? Or to ponder on the very superficial knowledge, on which their strictures are based? Or to think that there is no adverse criticism that is more annoying or disheartening than that which is wholly ignorant, or springs from that little knowledge which is a dangerous thing? Indeed, the chief qualification for a savage onslaught on the striver at a distance is ignorance. He who knows and can appreciate, is slow to depreciate, as he understands the danger. I do not wish to illustrate my points too profusely out of my own experience, but, on the whole, it is best to take one's illustrations, so far as possible, at first hand, and I will give here an instance of advice tendered without adequate anthropological instruction. For some years I had to govern a very large body of convicts, among whom were a considerable number of women. Some pressure was brought to bear on me among others from England, to introduce separate sleeping accommodation among the women, on the intelligible grounds, that it is well to separate the unfortunate from the bad, and that in England women who had found their way into jail, but were on the whole of cleanly life, highly appreciated the privilege of sleeping apart from those whose lives, thoughts and speech were otherwise. But I avoided doing this, because the Indian woman in all her life, from birth to death, from childhood to old age, is never alone, especially at night, and if you want to thoroughly frighten the kind of woman that finds herself in an Indian prison, force her to sleep, or to try to sleep, in a solitary cell, where her wild superstitious imagination runs riot. It is an act of torture.

Now, those who fill posts that bring them constantly before the public eye soon become callous to the misinterpretation that dogs the judgment of the ill-informed critic. They are subjected to it day by day, and the experience early comes to them that it does no personal harm. But the case is quite different with men who lead solitary lives on the outskirts of the Empire, surrounded by difficulties not of the ordinary sort, and working under unusual

conditions. The loneliness tries the nerves and leads to brooding, and, then the unkind word, the thoughtless criticism, wounds deeply. It disheartens, discourages, and takes the zest and spirit out of the worker. To test the truth of this, let any stay-at-home quit the comfortable walls of the hub of a mighty Empire and go out on to the bare tyre thereof, and see for himself. There is probably no kind of worker abroad, though he is only too often guilty of it himself, who suffers more from ignorant criticism than the lonely missionary, and he is so placed that he cannot ignore it.

Even those, who should be thicker of skin, often do not escape the soreness caused in this way, and I cannot forget the heart-burning that arose on the spot, during the very difficult pacification of the country after the last Burmese War, out of the relentless criticism set up at home with so little knowledge, though there must have been many who must have known that the treatment they received but repeated that meted out to the controllers of the operations in the previous war. One of the most pathetic of public speeches is that of General Godwin, at Rangoon, shortly before his death, referring to the ruthless persecution to which he had been subjected for his conduct of the war of 1852. It has always been so. Read about the Peninsular Campaigns, the Sikh Wars, the so-called Sale of Kashmir, and again about the late South African War and the present struggle in the Far East. The remarks one sees in the daily Press are uninformed enough in all conscience, but they have all the same evidently wounded at times even so collected a people as the Japanese. The point is then, that ignorant criticism does harm, even in the case of the experienced in human affairs.

To show how easy and even natural it is to judge wrongly, let me quote as an example the unjust attacks that have often been made, by missionaries among others, upon those who have had truck with savages. Savages within their limitations are very far from being fools, especially in the matter of a bargain with civilised man, and never make one that does not for reasons of their own satisfy themselves. Each side in such a case views the bargain according to its own interest. On his side the trader buys something of great value to him, when he has taken it elsewhere, with something of small value to him, which he has brought from elsewhere, and then he can make what is to him a magnificent bargain. On the other hand the savage is more than satisfied because with what he has got from the trader he can procure from amongst his own people something he very much covets, which the articles he parted with could not have procured for him. Both sides profit by the bargain from their respective points of view, and the trader has not as a matter of fact taken an undue advantage of the savages, who as a body part with products of little or no value to themselves for others of vital importance, though of little or none to the civilised trader. The more one dives into the recorded bargains with savages, the more clearly one sees the truth of this view. Taking advantage of the love of all savages for strong drink to conclude unconscionable bargains, by which they part with their produce for an insufficient quantity of articles of use to them, is another matter, and does not affect the argument.

Every administrator of experience can recall many instances of conventionally wrong judgments, even in high places, on public affairs abroad, based on anthropological misapprehension; but one of the most humiliating in my own recollection was the honest, but doctrinaire and pragmatic, onslaught in England on the Opium Traffic of India, whereby, if it had succeeded, some entire populations would have been deprived of those little but very highly prized comforts assured in overcrowded agricultural localities by the cultivation of opium, and others of the most valued prophylactic they possess against physical pain and suffering by its medicinal consumption. In both cases it is this much-abused product of the fields that enables the very poor in large areas to keep their heads above water, so that their not very happy lives may be worth living.

There is another most venerable anthropo logical error, quaintly expressed by a seventeenth century writer on Greenland, who describes that country 'as being so happy as not to know the value of gold and silver.' It is to be found all the world over and in all times. It is expressed in Ovid's hackneyed lines —

Effodiuntur opes, irritamenta malorum
Jamque nocens ferrum, ferroque nocentius aurum
Prodierant.

But it is based on a misunderstanding of the ways of mankind in given circumstances. Barter, sale and purchase must go on, whether there is money in the land or not, and an examination of the state of commercial business in any country in pre-coinage days will soon convince the student that the opportunities for unfair dealing, where the value of gold and silver for currency has not been discovered, are just double those where money exists; and opportunity is the mother of sin. The actual monetary condition of a country without a definite and settled currency and without the bullion metals is not by any means of that desirable simplicity, which civilised man is, without due thought, so apt to attribute to savages and semi-savages. Simplicity in dealings can only exist where money consists of a recognised coinage, and where wealth is expressed in terms of that coinage. Indeed, the invention of money, based on the metallurgical skill which can produce from the ore gold and silver of a fixed fineness, is one of the mightiest triumphs of the human brain, and one of the most potent blessings evolved by man for the benefit of his kind.

But mischievous as uninformed criticism is, there is nothing of greater value and assistance than the criticism of the well-informed. Lookers-on see most of the game, provided they understand it. That is just the point. They must understand it to perceive its drift and to forward it by useful comment. By learning all about it, by viewing it at a distance, by the very detachment and general grasp that a distant view secures, the critic at home can materially help the worker abroad. Comment made with knowledge never offends, because it is so very helpful. It cheers, it invigorates, it leads to further effort, it creates a bond of sympathy between the critic and the criticised. It does nothing but good. In this immense Empire, it means that all, from the centre of the hub to the outer rim of the wheel, can work with one mind and one mighty effort, with one strong pull together, for the magnificent end of its continued well-being. Therefore, it behoves the critic at home of all men to cultivate the anthropological instinct.

Let us now turn to another class, such as Universities are pre-eminently capable of affording; the professors, the lecturers, the teachers and leaders of literary and scientific, not to mention anthropological, study. Let no one be filled with the idea that their labours, in so far as anthropology is concerned, are a negligible quantity, as only resulting in abstract speculation of no immediate and probably of no ultimate practical value. What the obscure calculations of the pure mathematicians, the inventions based on applied mathematics, and the deductions of the meteorologists have done for so eminently practical an occupation as navigation; what the abstract labours of the chemist and the electrician have done for the manufacturer and the doctor; what the statistician and the actuary have done for such purely practical bodies as the Insurance Companies and the underwriters; what the desk work of the accountant does for commerce and finance: that can the analyses of the anthropologist do for that large and important class of workers which labours among men. Let not the remoteness of any particular branch of his subject from the obviously practical pursuits deter him, who spends his energies in research. Let him remember that after all the best instrument for approaching ancient and mediæval history is the abstract study of the ways and thoughts of the modern savage and semi-civilised man. Let him remember, too, that many of the customs and ideas of the most civilised and advanced of modern nations have their roots in savage and semi-civilised beliefs. What can be remoter at first sight from the navigation of an ocean steamer than logarithms? But let anyone who has reason to go on a long sea voyage keep his eyes open, and he cannot but perceive

how important a part applied logarithmic calculations play in the sure pilotage of the ship he is in from port to port. And what is more to the effective point, let us hope that the controllers of the Universities will not be turned back by any such considerations as apparent remoteness from pursuing the course they are now embarked on; let us hope that the tentative scheme put forward at Cambridge is but the first timid step towards the establishment of what will ultimately prove to be an important School of Applied Anthropology

And if the Universities generally should take up this study in earnest, let me draw attention to another point. It is said in a thoughtful obituary notice of my old friend, the great Orientalist, Professor Georg Bühler, of Vienna, that not only was he a thorough scholar, a hard worker and a master of general Oriental learning, but that he had also the insight to perceive that judicious collections promote and even create those studies, the advancement of which he had at heart. In all such matters there must not only be the desire to learn, there must also be the opportunity, for if desire be the father, then assuredly opportunity is the mother of all learning. So he hunted up, collected, and presented to seats of learning every MS. or original document his own financial capacity or his powers of persuasion permitted to himself or to others. Where the carcase is, there shall the eagles be gathered together. In the present case, if the students are to be attracted and encouraged, there must be collected together the Museum and the Library, a carcase fitted for their appetite I do not say this in a mere begging spirit. Cast your thoughts over the great specialised schools of learning, present or past, and consider how many of them have owed their existence or success to the Library or Museum close at hand. It is a consideration worthy of the attention of the governing body of a University that these two, the Library and the Museum, are as important factors in the advancement of knowledge as teaching itself.

And now we come to the last, but not the least important point for consideration: the personal aspect of this question. We have been dealing so far with the value of an early anthropological training to a man in his work. Is it of any value to him in his private life? For years past I have urged upon all youngsters the great personal use of having a hobby and learning to ride it early, for a hobby to be valuable is not mastered in a day. The knowledge of it is of slow growth. At first the lessons are a grind. Then until they are mastered they are irksome. But when the art is fully attained there is perhaps no keener pleasure that human beings can experience than the riding of a hobby. Begin, therefore, when you are young and before the work of the world distracts your attention and prevents or postpones the necessary mastery. But what is the use of the mastery? There comes a time, sooner or later, to all men that live on, when for one reason or another they must retire from active life, from the pursuits or business to which they have become accustomed, from occupations that have absorbed all their energies and filled up all their days. A time when the habits of years must be changed and when inactivity must follow on activity. Then is the time when a man is grateful for his hobby. By then he has mastered it. Its pursuit is a real pleasure to him. It is a helpful occupation as the years advance, and even when he can no longer push it on any further himself, he can take his delight in giving his matured advice and help to those coming up behind him, and in watching their progress and that of their kind with the eye of the old horseman.

And what better hobby exists than anthropology? Its range is so wide, its phases so very many, the interests involved in it so various, that it cannot fail to occupy the leisure hours from youth to full manhood, and to be a solace in some aspect or other in advanced life and old age. So vast is the field indeed, that no individual can point the moral of its usefulness, except from a severely limited portion of it. At any rate, I have learnt enough in an experience of a third of a century in its study to prevent me from going beyond my personal tether, though perhaps my lines have been cast in a favorable spot, for rightly or wrongly Anglo-Indian anthropologists consider

India to be an exceptionally, though far from being the only, favoured land for study. In it can be observed still dwelling side by side human beings possessed of the oldest and youngest civilisations. In it can be traced by the modern eye the whole evolution of most arts and many ideas. For instance, you can procure in quite a small area of the country concrete examples, all still in use, of the whole story of the water-pipe or *huqqa* starting from the plain cocoanut with a hole to suck the smoke through. You can then pass on to the nut embellished with a brass binding at the top and next at the top and bottom, until it is found covered over with brass and furnished with a sucking pipe. Then you can find the nut withdrawn and only the brass cover remaining, but this requires a separate stand, like a miniature amphora. Then it is turned over on to its wider end and the stand is attached to it, and finally the stand is widened and enlarged and the vessel narrowed and attenuated to give it stability, until the true *huqqa* of the Oriental pictures with its elegant and flexible sucking pipe is reached, which differs from a cocoanut in appearance about as much as one article can be made to differ from another. Go and buy such things in the bazaars, if you have the chance, and find out for yourselves how great the interest is.

Sticking to my own experience, for reasons given above, and leaving it to my hearers to follow the line of thought indicated from theirs, let me here give an instance of so of the pleasures of research. In Muhammadan India especially there are many cases, some beyond doubt, of the marriage of daughters of royal blood, even of the most powerful sovereigns, to saintly persons of no specially high origin. It is to Europeans an unexpected custom, and is not the finding of the explanation of interest to the discoverer? In the contemporary vernacular history of the Sixteenth Century Dynasty of the Bâhmanîs in Southern India, we read that Sultân Muhammad Shâh Bâhmanî gave two sisters in marriage to two local saints, with a substantial territorial dowry to each, 'for the sake of invoking the divine blessing on his own bed.' An Indian anthropologist sees at once in this what the native line of thought has been. The custom is simply a nostrum for procuring sons. The overwhelming hankering after a son in India is of Hindu origin, based on the superstition that the performance of funeral obsequies by a son is a sure means of salvation. The desire has long become universal in the country and the whole wide category of nostrums known to the inhabitants is employed by the barren or the sonless to overcome their misfortune. This is one of them.

Again, is it not of interest to trace out the origin of the well-known customary ill-treatment of Hindu widows in India, ill-treatment of relatives being so foreign to a class with such strong family feelings as the Hindus? Work it out and you will find that this is an instance of the quite incalculable misery and suffering caused to human beings, that has for ages arisen out of 'correct argument from a false premiss.' The theory is that misfortune is a sin, and indicates a sinful condition in the victims thereof, defining sin as an offence, witting or unwitting, against social conventions. The good luck of the lucky benefits their surroundings and the bad luck of the unlucky as obviously brings harm. Therefore the unlucky are sinful, and what is of supreme importance to them, must be punished accordingly, as a precautionary measure for their own safety on the part of those around them. The fact that as in the case of widows, the misfortunate is perfectly involuntary and uncontrollable does not affect the argument. This in its turn has given rise to an interminably numerous and various body of nostrums for the prevention of the dreaded sin of misfortune, and a cumulative ball of folk-custom has been set rolling.

Take again the ancient royal prerogative of releasing prisoners on customary occasions of personal royal rejoicing, nowadays in civilised Europe attributed solely to kindliness and mercy. This is, in Indian song and legend, given, in the directest phraseology, its right original attribution of an act to insure good luck. Is not this of interest also?

Now, these ideas, and with modifications these customs, are not confined to India, and the interest provided by all such things is their universality among human beings, pointing to the existence of a fundamental principle, or Law of Nature, which I have elsewhere endeavoured to develop in propounding the principles underlying the evolution of speech : namely, that a convention devised by the human brain is governed by a general natural law, however various the phenomena of that law may be. Controlled by their physical development human brains must in similar conditions, subject to modifications caused by the pressure of two other fundamental natural laws, think and act in a similar manner.

As a concrete example, let us take the idea of sanctuary, asylum, or refuge, as it is variously termed. Wherever it is found, in ancient and modern India, in ancient Greece, in mediæval Europe, in modern Afghanistan, its practical application is everywhere the same: protection of the stranger against his enemy, so long as he pays his way, and only so long. Pursuing this universal idea further, it will be seen that the Oriental conception of hospitality and its obligations is based on that of sanctuary, and is still, in many instances, not distinguishable from it. The practical reflection, You scratch my back and I will scratch yours, is at the bottom of all this, however far final developments in various places may have diverged from it.

Work out the idea of virtue, which for ages everywhere meant, and still in many parts of the earth means, valour in a man and chastity in a woman, being nowhere dead in that sense, as the modern European laws relating to martial and conjugal fidelity show, and you will find that it rests on very ancient conditions of society. The men preserved themselves by their valour and the women preserved their tabu to the men by their chastity. It was so everywhere. The zone as a term and as an article of costume shows this. There was always the female girdle or zone, the emblem of chastity, and the male zone, or sign of virility and fighting capacity.

Then there is the royal custom of marriage with a half sister, found in ancient Egypt, in the modern Malay States, and in the quite lately deposed Dynasty of Burma and elsewhere. This is not mere incest, itself an idea based in many an apparently queer form on a fundamental necessity of human society. It is and was a matter of self and family protection, to be found in a much milder form in the familiar English idea of the marriage of heir and heiress to preserve the 'ring fence.'

Take the custom of succession of brothers before sons, found in old England, in Burma, in some of the Indian mediatised States, and in other places, and we have again a custom arising out of the environment : the necessity of providing a grown man to maintain the State. And so one could go on to an indefinite multiplication of instances.

But in unworked-out directions, unworked-out that is, so far as known to myself, the interest and principles are the same. Let me give an instance to which my attention was some years ago attracted, though I have not yet had the leisure to follow it to a satisfactory conclusion. At Akyab on the Arakan-Burma Coast is a well-known shrine, nowadays usually called Buddha-makân. It is repeated conspicuously further South at Mergui, and inconspicuously elsewhere along the Coast. The name is an impossible one etymologically. Investigation, however, shewed that the devotees were the Muhammadan sailors of the Bay of Bengal, hailing chiefly from Chittagong, and that the name was really Badr-maqâm, the shrine of Badr, corrupted in Buddhist Arakan into Buddha-makân, the house of Buddha, by folk-etymology striving after a meaning. The holy personage worshipped was Badru'ddîn Auliâ, who has a great shrine at Chittagong, and is the

patron saint of the sailing community. This Badru'ddîn Aulîâ is one of the misty but important saints, those Will-o'-the-wisps of Indian hagiology, who is mixed up with another, the widely-known Khwâja Khizar, *par excellence* the Muhammadanised spirit of the flood: and here is the immediate explanation. But Khwâja Khizar is mixed up with Mehtar Ilîâs, the Muhammadan and Oriental form of the prophet Elias of the legends, to be traced in the same capacity in modern Russia. This god, and in some places goddess, of the flood is traceable all over India, even amongst the alien populations of Madras. We are now involved in something universal, something due to a line of popular inductive reasoning. Will it not repay following up, as a matter of interest, and probing to the bottom by a mixed body of investigators, Oriental and Occidental, in the same manner as Indian epigraphical dates and the eras to which they refer were, several years back, worked out and settled by scholars, mathematicians, and astronomers, working together?

A study of the highest anthropological interest is to be found in an examination of currency and coinage, and of the intermingled question of weights and measures. Perhaps nothing leads to so close a knowledge of man and his ways of life and notions, and perhaps no subject requires more sustained attention, or a greater exercise of the reasoning powers. Here, too, there is a universal principle to be unearthed out of the immense maze of facts before one, for, as in the case of the days of the week, there is a connected world-wide series of notions of the penny-weight, ounce, pound and hundredweight, and of their equivalents in cash, based on some general observation of the carrying capacity of a man and of the constant weight of some vegetable seed, and also of the value of some animal or thing important to man. Here, too, a combination of Oriental and Occidental research and specialised knowledge is necessary.

But experience will show that in following up all such subjects as these, there are two Laws of Nature, in addition to that of the fundamental community of human reasoning, which must never be lost sight of, if the successful elucidation of an anthropological problem is to be achieved. These laws are that there is no such thing as development without outside interference, or as development along a single line only. Everything in Nature is subjected to and affected by its environment. A little is picked up here, and snatched there, and what is caught up becomes engrafted, with the result that the subsequent growth becomes complicated, or even diverted from its original tendency.

Bear these principles in mind and work continuously as opportunity offers, and it will be found that Anthropology is a study of serious personal value. Not only will it enable the student to do the work of the world, and to deal with his neighbours and those with whom he comes in contact throughout all his active life, better than can be otherwise possible, but it will serve to throw a light upon what goes on around him, and to give an insight into human affairs, past and present, that cannot but be of benefit to him, and it will provide him with intellectual occupation, interest and pleasure, as long as the eye can see, or the ear can hear, or the brain can think.

CORRESPONDENCE.

COMPENSATION FOR ANCESTOR-WORSHIP

SIR, — Mr H A Rose, *ante*, Vol XXXII. p. 377, asks what the meaning of "compensation for ancestor-worship" is? In reply I would explain that visits to shrines are obligatory on those who are entitled to perform the *Śrâddha* ceremony, which is ancestor-worship The ceremony usually consists of feeding the Brâhmans there with *cooked* food and in offering balls of rice and libations to the dead relatives of the visitors. This involves no small inconvenience in a strange place, especially if the shrine is crowded with persons of all sorts of sects. Also the ceremony has to be performed fasting, so it becomes a necessity to perform it on the day of arrival. Therefore, by way of compensation for not performing the *Śrâddha* in the regular manner, money with *uncooked* food is offered instead. This is the *hiranya* (or golden) *Śrâddha*.

G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

THE VARNANARHAVARNANA OF MATRICETA.

BY F W. THOMAS.

THE poem of which the first half with a translation is here appended has already been brought to notice in an article entitled "Mātriceta and the Mahārājakanikalekha," which was printed in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXII. pp. 345—360, where the opening verses were cited. The traditions concerning the author having been there examined and a list of his works set forth, it will be sufficient now to note that verses 15, 16 of this poem appear to refer to an incident recorded by I-tsing (*A Record of the Buddhist Religion, &c, &c.*, trans. Takakusu, p. 157), who states that Mātriceta's conversion to Buddhism was due to the knowledge that his birth (or name) had been foretold by Buddha himself. Any further observations may be reserved for the second part of this publication.

The translation is rendered difficult by the obscurity of the Tibetan language and also in this instance by the character of the original Sanskrit text, which was a learned composition full of philosophic conceptions. The text represents the India Office edition of the Tanjur (Narthang, 1731) compared with the 'red' edition belonging to the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg. The two editions differ only in minutiæ, as where that of Narthang has *compendia scripturae* such as *ẖtshalo, ṛjesu*, for *ẖtshal • lo, ṛjes • su*, in which cases I have now preferred to give the longer form, which even in the Narthang edition alternates with the shorter, and therefore has the greater weight of consistency, as well as of prescription. I have inserted references to the folios of both the editions; the numbers of the 'red' edition being enclosed within brackets. The notes marked P., as well as other valuable suggestions, adopted in the translation, I owe to Professor de la Vallée Poussin.

Text.	Translation.
93b [97b]	
‖ Rgya • gar • skad • du | varṇa • ra • ha • ba • ra • ne • bha • ga • va • to ‖ bud • dha • sto • tra • ya • śākya[1] • sta • va • nā • ma | bod • skad • du | saṅs • rgyas • bcom • ldan • ẖdas • la • bstod • pa • bsṅags • par • ẖos • pa • bsṅags • pa • las • bstod • par • mi • nus • par • bstod • pa • zes • bya • ba |	In the speech of India: —Vaṛṇanārhavarnane bhagavato Buddhastotre 'Sakyastavanāma. In the speech of Tibet; In the hymn to Buddha. "The Delineation of the Worthy to be Delineated," "the Celebration of Him who Cannot be Celebrated."
| Dkon • mchog • gsum • la • phyag • ẖtshal • lo |	Hail to the Three Precious Ones!

Chapter I.

[98a]	
1 | żiṅ • daṅ • żiṅ • min • ma • ẖtshal • te | | sgra • tsam • gyi • ni • rjes • ẖbraṅs • nas | | bdag • gis • noṅs • te • snon • chad • ni | | bsṅags • min • bsṅags • pa • brjod • pa • gaṅ |	1. — Whereas formerly, not knowing what is and what is not a theme, following merely in the track of speech, I sinfully delineated what should not be delineated,
2 | ṅag • gi • dam[2] • gis • gos • pa • de | | thub • pa • bsod • nams • ẖbab • kyi • stegs | | bżud • pa • khyod • la • brten • bcas • nas | | rab • tu • bkru • ba • ẖdi • brtsam • mo |	2. — Besmeared with the filth of utterance, I will in reliance upon thee, who art gone to[3] the bathing ghât of a muni's merits, essay this cleansing.
3 | ẖdi • ni • bdag • gis • mchog • tshogs • la | | gti • mug • ldoṅs • pas • noṅs • bgyis • gaṅ | | sdig • pa • de • yi • noṅs • pa • dag | | sel • bar • bgyid • paẖi • bsad • byed • lags |	3. — What sin I, blinded with darkness, thus committed against the Precious Ones, the sinfulness of that fault I now remove and drive away.[4]

[1] *Sic for Varnanārhavarṇane . stotre 'Sakya.* P.

[2] *Sic for ẖdam?*

[3] 'become'? 'leadest to' [Rather 'I, gone to, &c, &c' P]

[4] Or 'destroy' or 'requite' (*bsad*). [That fault and its sinfulness P]

4 | bdag • ni • mya • ṅan • ẖdas • bar • du |
| khyod • kyi • gsuṅ • daṅ • khyod • kyi • ni |
| yon • tan • brjod • pa • gaṅ • lags • paẖi |
| tshig • lam • gñis • nas • ñams • ma • gyur |

4. — In celebrating the words and the virtues of thee until Nirvāṇa, may I not come short of both [these?] paths of speech.

5 | gtam • ẖdi • tsam • żig • sñiṅ • por • bas |
| de • las • gżan • don • ma • mchis • pas |
| smra • na • ẖdi • ñid • smra • bar • śog |
| yaṅ • na • bdag • ni • ma • smrar • śog |

5. — Not to speak of this story only being in my heart, matter other than this there being none, if I *speak*, this same may I speak, or may I not speak at all.

6 | khyod • kyi • chos • ni • kho • na • daṅ |
| khyod • mñam • khyod • ni • ñid • la • mṅaẖ |
| de • slad • chos • gżan • thams • cad • ni |
| khyod • las • khyad • du • khor • ma • lags |

6. — Truly the like of thy *dharma* and of thee is in thee alone. Therefore all other *dharmas* are not superior to thee.[5]

7 | gaṅ • te • sans • rgyas • chos • rnams • ni |
| bsam • pa • bgyis • na • thams • cad • kyi |
| phul • tu • phyin • gyur • dṅos • po • gżan |
| mi • gtsaṅ • ñid • daṅ • ẖdra • bar • gyur |

7. — Which being the case, the *dharmas* of Buddha, when considered,[6] have surpassed all and other things have become like impurity.

8 | khyod • ẖdra • ẖgaẖ • yaṅ • ma • mchis • na |
| lhag • pa • lta • żig • smos • ci • ẖtshal |
| khyod • pas • khyad • par • cuṅ • zad • kyis |
| dman • pa • tsam • yaṅ • ẖgaẖ[7] • ma • mchis |

8. — Since none is equal to thee, of a superior what need to speak? Even inferiority by a slight difference from thee there is none.

9 | ẖdren • pa • khyod • la • gaṅ • żig • gis |
94a
| dper • brjod • dpe • ni • ma • mchis • pas |
| dpe • yi • glags • ni • spaṅs • pa • po |
| dpe • med • khyod • la • phyag • ẖtshal • lo |

9. — Since of thee, O guide, by whatever means comparison is made, compeer is there none, O thou who hast left behind the possibility of comparison, to thee, the Incomparable, hail!

10 | saṅs • rgyas • chos • ni • gżal • yas • phyir |
| de • las • gżan • paẖi • gaṅ • zag • ni |
| rnam • grob • ẖdra • ba • thob • rnams • kyaṅ |
| khyod • daṅ • khyad • par • śin • tu • che |

10. — Since the *dharma* of Buddha is without a peer, though others than he may have won liberation, as it were,[8] in thee the superiority is altogether great.

11 | ston[9] • pa • tsam • du • ẖdra • slad • du |
| su • żig • khyad • par • ma • ẖtshal • nas | [98 b]
| ba • spuẖi • bu • ga • stoṅ • pa • ni |
| chuṅ • nu • nam • mkhaẖ • dag • daṅ • sgrun |

11. — Since their equality being only in their void, none can claim superiority:[10] the void of hair cavity compares but poorly with the heavens.

12 | graṅs • med • pa • la • su • żig • ẖgraṅ |
| tshad • med • pa • la • su • żig • ẖjal |
| khyod • kyi • yon • tan • graṅs • daṅ • ni |
| mthu • la • dpogs • pa • ma • mchis • so |

12. — The uncomputable who can compute? The measureless who can estimate? In the number and power of thy virtues there is no measure.

13 | ji • ltar • dpag • bsam • śiṅ • gi • tshal |
| ẖbyam • klas • naṅ • du • ẖkhyams • pa • ltar |
| bdag • ni • khyod • la • legs • spyad • kyis |
| ṅoms • ma • ẖthsal • te • mthaẖ • mi • rtogs |

13. — As though roaming in a limitless grove of trees of paradise, in thee, insatiate of well doing, no end can I find.

[5] *khor?*

[6] *Sc* 'by me'?

[7] Text *dgaẖ*.

[8] 'a sort of liberation'? ['The same liberation' P]

[9] *stod*, I. O. and Pet.

[10] 'No superiority is known'?

14 | yon • tan • rnams • kyi • yon • tan • mtsho |
| khyod • kyi • de • bźin • gśegs • chos • rnams |
| gal • te • bstan • du • mchis • gyur • na |
| nam • mkhar • yan • ni • śon • mi • gyur |

14. — If the *dharmas*, O Tathāgata, of thee, the virtue-ocean of virtues, should be set forth, they could not be contained even in the heavens.

15 | khyod • kyi • mñon • sum • bsñen • bkur • ba |
| sans • rgyas • chos • kyi • sde • dpon • po |
| ñan • thos • kun • gyi • tog • gyur • pa |
| zab • mo • rjes • su • sgrogs • pa • la |

15. — When to thy famous worshipper, champion of the *dharma* of Buddha, head of all *śrāvakas*, celebrated as the Deep,[11]

16 | kun • mkhyen • ñid • phyir • bcom • ldan • gyis |
| rmas • na • ma • mtshal • źes • gsol • pas |
| sans • rgyas • chos • kyi • zab • mo • ñid |
| bas • ma • ḥtshal • bar • bśad • pa • lags |

16. — I prayed, saying 'The reverend one since he knows all, refuses not[12] if request is made' declared the depth of the *dharma* of Buddha to know no bound[13]

17 | gal • te • gtso • bo • de • dag • kyan |
| khyod • la • nus • pa • rdugs • lags • na |
| bdag • ḥdra • srid • pa • mi • gtsan • baḥi |
| srin • bus • bsam • skabs • ga • la • mchis |

17. — If even those chiefs[14] find their powers worsted in regard to thee, for a being like me, an impure worm, where is there the possibility of thought?

18 | sā • laḥi • śin • chen • khyod • ñid • kyi |
| yon • tan • yal • ga • thugs • brtse • bas |
| btud • pa • rnams • la • skye • bo • ḥdi |
| cun • zad • ḥju • ba • tsam • du • bas |

18. — Enough for this creature to grasp even a little one among the compassion-bowed branches of the virtues of thee, the great Sāl tree.

19 | char • sprin • tshogs • ni • chen • po • yis |
| char • gyi • rgyun • rnams • phab • pa • las |
| so • gaḥi • tsha • bas • gduns • pa • yi |
| khuns • rtas • ḥtshal • naḥan • ci • źig • ḥtshal |

19. — When the great rain clouds have let fall their streams of rain, what does the high-bred horse,[15] tormented by the summer heat, though he crave it, crave?

20 | ma • dros • pa • yi • mtsho • las • ni |
| chu • bo • chen • po • bźi • ḥbab • kyan |
| de • zad • bgyid • par • mi • nus • na |
| gźan • dag • ḥbab • pas • smos • ci • ḥtshal |

20. — When even the four great rivers descending from lake Mānasa cannot diminish it, what need is there to mention the descent of other [streams]?

94 b

21 | rin • chen • ḥbyun • khuns • rnams • kyis • ni |
| ḥjig • rten • rgyas • bgyis • bas • ma • ḥtshal |
| mgon • khyod • yon • tan • brjod • pa • ḥan |
| bdag • ni • de • ḥdra • kho • nar • sems |

21. — The world extended by the mines of jewels knows no end.[16] Lord, though I praise thy virtues, I deem them verily like that.

22 | bsgribs • nas • khyod • kyi • bstan • ñid • las |
| yon • tan • me • tog • rnams • btus • te |
[99 a]
| ran • gi • me • tog • dag • gis • ni |
| śin • bźin • khyod • la • me • tog • gsol |

22. — From thy teaching, while it covers me, gathering the flowers of virtues, with thine own flowers I make to thee, as to a tree, my offering of flowers.

[11] *Gambhīra?* [12] *mtshal?* [13] *bas?*
[14] Or 'if even they, O Lord' Plural of respect? or should we have a plural in v. 15 also?
[15] *khuns • rta?* [= *ājāneya aśva* P.]? *so • ga* = *sos • ka*
[16] *bas?* Read *bsam • ma • ḥtshal*, 'cannot be conceived'?

23 | raṅ • gi • dbyig[17] • gis • h̲byuṅ • khuṅs • bžin |
| raṅ • gi • tshon • rtsis • ri • lta • bur |
| raṅ • gi • dri • yis • tsan • dan • bžin |
| raṅ • gi • chu • yis • mtsho • lta • bur |

23. — As with its own riches a mine, as with its own colours[18] a mountain, as with its own paste a sandal tree, as with its own water a lake:

24 | raṅ • las • byuṅ • bah̲i • gser • ñid • kyis |
| gser • h̲byuṅ • ba • yi • rin • chen • bžin |
| khyod • bstan • ñid • las • btus • pa • yi |
| yon • tan • rnams • kyis • khyod • mchod • do |

24. — As with the self-originated essence of gold a jewel made of gold, I do honour to thee with virtues gathered from thine own teaching.

25 | nam • mkhah̲i • dkyil • nas • zla • h̲od • thams • cad • du |
| phros[19] • pa • ril • gyi • h̲bab • h̲gyur • ma • yin • la |
| zla • h̲od • sa • steṅ • bab • pas • kha • phye • na |
| me • tog • ku • mu • da • tshal • mi • rgyas • min |

25. — While the rays of the moon, issuing in all directions, fall not entirely from the circle of heaven, expanded by the rays fallen upon the earth, the bed of white lotuses is not without its open buds.

26 | de • bžin • yon • tan • dpag • med • chu • ldan • pa |
| rgyal • bah̲i • bsṅags • pa • rgya • mtsho • mthah̲ • med • la |
| de • yi • phyogs • gcig • brjod • pas • dad • ldan • pah̲i |
| skye • boh̲aṅ • h̲dod • pah̲i • h̲bras • bur • mi • ldan • min |

26. — So in the boundless sea of the delineation of Jina, the water of which is immeasurable virtue, by celebrating a part, the faithful also is not without the fruit of his desire.

27 | saṅs • rgyas • bsṅags • pa • brjod • tshig • h̲bras • bu • yod |
| skye • bah̲i • zoṅ • brin • bder • gyur • gegs • med • lam |
| tshaṅs • pah̲i • theg • h̲gyur • dad • sogs • yon • tan • gyi |
| rtsa • bah̲i • ser • rme • de • la • sogs • pa • yod |

27. — Celebration of the praise of Buddha is the fruit of speech: it is the red spot and so forth of the root[20] of faith and other virtues, which are the pure conveyance of the happy road, free from obstacles, brisk with the markets of lives.

28 | dbaṅ • po • rab • tu • daṅ • par • gžol • gyur • ciṅ |
| saṅs • rgyas • bstod • pah̲i • gžuṅ • la • brtson • pa • rnams |
| skad • cig • re • rer • chos • rgyun • h̲byuṅ • ba • gaṅ |
| kun • mkhyen • min • pas • cun • zad • gžuṅ • mi • nus |

28. — Those who, amenable with senses in repose, are earnest in giving heed to the celebration of Buddha are unable, since each moment various streams of *dharmas* [qualities] present themselves, through lack of omniscience, to heed even a little.

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[17] *dbyigs*, Pet.

[18] *Sc.*, the colours of its minerals

[19] *h̲phros*, Pet.

[20] ['There is gathered the collection (*ser • rme*) of the roots' P.]

29 | mthu • bdog • mi • rtag • par • yan • žugs • gyur • la |
| dal • h̲byor • h̲dı • yań • śin • tu • dkah̲ • ba • las |
| gań • dag • las • h̲di • la • ni • mi • brtson • pa |
| de • las • bslus • par • gyur • pa • gžan • ci • yod |
95 a
sańs • rgyas • bcom • ldan • h̲das • la • bstod • pa • bsńags • par • h̲os • pa • bsńags • pa • las • bstod • par • mı • nus • par • bstod • pa • žes • bya • ba • ste • leh̲u • dan • poh̲o ||

29. — Since even to a strong man ever faithful this assemblage of good[21] is exceedingly difficult, what of others who, enticed away from it, are not earnest in this work ?

In the hymn to Buddha, "The Delineation of the Worthy to be Delineated," the first chapter, entitled "The Celebration of Him who Cannot be celebrated."

Chapter II.

30 | bcom • ldan • khyod • ni • žal • bśugs • tshe |
| bdag • nı • dad • dban • gžol • gyur • ba |
| gań • slad • thugs • rjes • brlan • pa • yı |
[99 b]
| sans • rgyas • spyan • gyis • gzigs • mdzad • pa |

30. — O holy one, in the time of thy presence here I was of a mind open to faith, wherefore thou didst look upon me with the eye of Buddha moistened by compassion.[22]

31 | khyod • kyi • thugs • rje • de • ñid • nı |
| yid • la • mchis • pa • mńon • bgyıs • nas |
| phyag • bgyir • h̲os • pa • khyod • la • bdag |
| mńon • sum • bžın • du • phyag • h̲tshal • lo |

31. — That same compassion of thine being in thy heart, as is manifest, thee worthy to be hailed, I hail as if manifested.

32 | kun • mkhyen • ma • lags • gań • gis • kyań |
| kun • mkhyen • khyod • ko • ji • ltar • rtogs |
| bdag • ñid • che • rgyas • bdag • ñid • kyıs |
| mkhyen • pa • khyod • la • phyag • h̲tshal • lo |

32. — Hail to thee who, with a soul large with magnanimity, knowest how even by him that is not all knowing thou verily art seen to be all knowing !

33 | h̲di • lags • h̲di • h̲draho̲ • žes • bgyir • |
| khyod • bdag • h̲dra • bah̲i • yul • ma • lags |
| gań • lags • gań • h̲dra • h̲ań • mı • sńo[23] • ste |
| khyod • h̲dra • ba • la • phyag • h̲tshal • lo |

33. — 'This is like this' — if so we say, thou art not within the sphere of comparison. Not venturing what is like to what, thee, like to thyself, I hail !

34 | mgon • po • khyod • ni • ñid • dań • h̲dra |
| rgyal • rnams • ci • h̲dra • khyod • dań • h̲dra |
| gań • h̲dra • gžan • h̲gah̲ań • ma • mchıs • pa |
| de • h̲dra • khyod • la • phyag • h̲tshal • lo |

34. — O lord, like to thyself alone, what kings are like to thee ? Hail to thee, whose like none other is !

35 | ji • ltar • khyod • ni • ñid • kyis • mkhyen |
| jı • ltar • khyod • ni • khyod • h̲dras • mkhyen |
| ji • ltar • khyod • gžan • ma • h̲tshal • ba |
| de • h̲dra • khyod • la • phyag • h̲tshal • lo |

35. — As thou art by thyself only known, as thou art known by him that is like thee, as others than thee know thee not, to thee, being such, hail !

[21] [*dal • h̲byor = ksanasampad.* P]

[22] Does this refer to the story told by I-tsing (trans. p. 157) ?

[23] *sńo ?*

36 | ji • ltar • khyod • ni • bdag • ñid • kyis |
| thugs • rje • stobs • bcu • la • sogs • kyi |
| yon • tan • rnams • kyis • bsgrags • mdzad • pa |
| de • h̲dra • khyod • la • phyag • h̲tshal • lo |

36. — As by thyself thou makest thyself famed through the virtues of compassion, the ten powers, and others, to thee, being such, hail!

37 | dpe[24] • nas • bzuṅ • nas • khyod • kyi • ni |
| yon • tan • h̲byuṅ • gnas • sñiṅ • po • dag |
| de • ñid • las • ni • mṅos • btus • nas |
| ci • nus • khyod • la • phyag • h̲tshal • lo |

37. — Beginning with an example, thine is the possession of a heart which is a mine of virtues: thereof again summarizing the essence, so far as is possible, hail to thee!

38 | dgra • bcom • khyod • la • phyag • h̲tshal • h̲dud |
| mchod • h̲os • khyod • la • phyag • h̲tshal • h̲dud |
| rigs • pa • khyod • la • phyag • h̲tshal • h̲dud |
| khyod • la • h̲dud • cin • phyag • h̲tshal • lo |

38. — To thee, Arhat, hail and homage! To thee, Worthy of Worship, hail and homage! To thee, Knower, hail and homage! To thee in homage hail!

39 | rdzogs • pah̲i • saṅs • rgyas • rin • chen • te |
| rin • chen • chos • kyi • raṅ • bẑin • lags |
| dge • h̲dun • rin • chen • h̲byuṅ • gnas • te |
| rin • chen • gsum • tshogs • khyod • la • h̲dud |

39. — The perfect Buddha being a Jewel, Jewel is the nature of his Dharma: the Sangha being a mine of Jewels, to thee, Sum of the Three Jewels, homage!

40 | mchod • h̲os • khyod • ni • rin • chen • te |
| thugs • kyi • dgoṅs • pah̲aṅ • rin • chen • lags |
| dam • chos • rin • chen • h̲byuṅ • gnas • te |
| kun • nas • rin • chen • khyod • la • h̲dud |

40. — Thou, worthy of worship, being a Jewel, the purpose of thy mind is a Jewel; the good religion being a mine of Jewels, to thee, in all ways a Jewel, homage!

41 | rin • chen • kun • gyi • mchog • gyur • pas[25] |
| rin • chen • thams • cad • zil • gyis • gnon |
95 b [100 a]
| rin • chen • kun • gyi • h̲byuṅ • gnas • pa |
| yaṅ • dag • rin • chen • khyod • la • h̲dud |

41. — By being the best of all jewels, thou art the conqueror of all jewels; to thee, the mine of every jewel, the Perfect Jewel, homage!

42 | phyag • h̲tshal • rin • chen • thugs • khyod • la |
| phyag • h̲tshal • rin • chen • chos • khyod • la |
| phyag • h̲tshal • thams • cad • rin • chen • la |
* * * * * * * * * * * *[26]

42. — Hail to thee, whose heart is a jewel! Hail to thee, whose Dharma is a jewel! Hail to thee, who art wholly a jewel!

43 | srid • med • bsgom • pa • goms • mdzad • pas |
| thub • pa • kun • gyi • mchog • gyur • pa |
| phyag • bgyir • h̲os • pah̲i • dgra • bcom • pa |
| khyod • la • gus • par • phyag • h̲tshal • lo |

43. — To thee, who by practice of meditation upon non-existence, art become the chief of all sages, to thee, Arhat worthy to be hailed, in reverence hail!

[24] *daṅ*, Pet [*dan • nas* = *ādutah*. P. What is *mṅos*? = *mdor • bsdus*?

[25] *Sic*, Pet. and I. O.

[26] A line is here missing (I. O. and Pet.).

44 | ẖgal • bar • bgyis • par • gaṅ • lags • pa |
| yan • dag • mthaẖ • la • gnas • pa • po |
| dge • sbyoṅ • gi • ni • mthar • phyin • pa |
| bla • med • khyod • la • phyag • ẖtshal • lo |

44. — To thee, who standest at the final end of error, who has attained the end of pious doing, to thee, the Highest, hail!

45 | rnam • pa • thams • cad • phun • tshogs • pas |
| mdzes • pa • gžan • kun • zil • gnon • cin |
| dus • rnams • kun • tu • dgaẖ • mdzad • pa |
| sans • rgyas • padma • khyod • la • ẖdud |

45. — To thee, who by perfections of every kind surpassest all else that is charming, who at all times givest delight, the [red] Buddha Lotus, homage to thee!

46 | kha • dog • bzaṅ • la • dri • žim • žiṅ |
| blta • na • sdug • la • mi • riṅ • ba |
| rdzogs • paẖi • saṅs • rgyas • padma • dkar |
| kha • bye • khyod • la • phyag • ẖtshal • lo |

46. — The fair of hue yet fragrant, the dear to view yet not far, to thee, the Expanded White Lotus of the perfect Buddha, hail!

47 | bde • baẖi • ñiṅ • khu • rab • spyaṅs • pa |
| bžed • dgur • reg • pa • brñes • pa • po |
| skyid • par • bsgrun • paẖi • dge • sbyoṅ • ni |
| rab • gžon • khyod • la • phyag • ẖtshal • lo |

47. — To thee, the Tender Youth (*sukumāra ?*), who hast relinquished the taste of joy, who hast attained to contact with the nine desires, and for whom asceticism countervails delight, hail!

48 | ẖo • brgyal • ẖbras • bu • mchis • gyur • pas |
| mthar • phyin • mthaẖ • dag • brñes • nas • ni |
| dam • pa • gsuṅ • bar • dam • bcas • paẖi |
| dge • spyod[27] • khyod • la • phyag • ẖtshal • lo |

48. —To thee, who hast attained to all eminences that are the fruit of suffering, the Ascetic with a vow maintained inviolate, hail!

49 | tshaṅs-spyod[28] • brten • ciṅ • rig • byed • daṅ |
| rig • byed • kun • gyi • yan • lag • mkhyen |
| rig • daṅ • žabs • kyis • bsaṅs • pa • yi |
| tshaṅs • pa • khyod • la • phyag • ẖtshal • lo |

49. — To thee, who, keeping to the Brahmacārin's way, art learned in the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas all, the Pure, purified in knowledge and *caraṇa*,[29] hail!

50 | ẖphags • paẖi • chos • ni • mi • ẖphrogs • śin |
| ẖphags • paẖi • ẖphrin • las • phul • tu • byuṅ |
| ẖjig • rten • slob • dpon • bya • ba • mdzad |
| ẖphags • pa • khyod • la • phyag • ẖtshal • lo |

50. — To thee, who not violating the Ārya-dharma, hast reached the summit of an Ārya's deeds, to thee, the Ārya, who dost the works of a world-*guru*, hail!

51 | thugs • ni • dkaẖ • thub • brtul • žugs • dag |
| yaṅ • dag • glaṅs[30] • pas • gtsaṅ • mar • mdzad |
| sdig • pa • thams • cad • bkrus[31] • gyur • pa |
| khrus • mdzad • khyod • la • phyag • ẖtshal • lo |

51. — To thee, who by the assumption of ascetic vows makest clean the heart, to thee, the Cleanser (*snātaka ?*), with all sins scaled away, hail!

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[27] *sbyoṅ*, I. O.
[28] *sbyon*, I. O.
[29] *žabs*, 'foot'? [For this etymology of *vidyācarana*, see *Nāmasaṅgīti* Comm vi. 12. P.]
[30] *blans*, Pet.
[31] *bgrus*, 'washed,' Pet.

52 | mnah̲ • bdag • mchog • ni • brñes • gyur • ciṅ |
[100 b]
| sems • can • thams • cad • zil • gyis • gnon |
| seṅ • geh̲i • ṅa • ro • sgrogs • mdzad • pa |
| seṅ • ge • khyod • la • • phyag • h̲tshal • lo |

52. — To thee, who, having won the highest sovereignty, overcomest all sentient creatures, the Lion, with the lion's roar, hail!

96 a
53 | rtogs • pa • brjod • pah̲i • rjen • śul • che |
| dam • chos • spo • la • brten • pa • mdzad |
| chos • gźan • thams • cad • h̲jig • pa • po |
| glaṅ • chen • khyod • la • phyag • h̲tshal • lo |

53. — To thee, who makest thine abode on the summit of the good religion, where is the great empty road[32] of *Avadānas*, the Great Elephant, devastating all other religions, hail!

54 | chos • ñid • śin • du • dkah̲ • bah̲i • lam |
| khyod • min • gźaṅ • gyis • mi • bzod • pa |
| gsal • mdzad • gśegs • pa • h̲jig • rten • gyi |
| lam • gyur • khyod • la • phyog • h̲tshal • lo |

54. — To thee, who didst pass, making clear the very difficult path of religion, by others than thee not to be endured, to thee, who art become the World's Path, hail!

55 | des • la • śin • tu • dul • gyur • bzod |
| śugs • daṅ • mdog • bzaṅ • stobs • daṅ • ldan |
| yan • lag • rdzogs • pah̲i • sku • mnah̲ • ba |
| caṅ • mkhyen • khyod • la • phyag • h̲tshal • lo |

55. — To thee, whose body is perfect in [every] limb, possessed of the strength of gold and a force in chastity[33] with utter self-restraint enduring, to thee, the All-knowing, hail!

56 | phyogs • daṅ • h̲bab • stegs • spyod • yul • mkhyen |
| brtan • la • gya • gyur • bźud • mi • mnah̲ |
| khyu • mchog • gnas • ni • brñes • pa • yi |
| khyu • mchog • khyod • la • phyag • h̲tshal • lo |

56. — To thee, who, knowing the directions and the ways to *tīrthas*, art a sure and unerring guide, to thee, who hast won the place of leader of the herd, Leader of the Herd, hail!

57 | gdul • bah̲i • thabs • ni • mthah̲ • dag • la |
| mkhas • śin • le • lo • mi • mnah̲ • ba |
| skyes • bu • h̲dul • bah̲i • kha • lo • sgyur |
| mchog • rab • khyod • la • phyag • h̲tshal • lo |

57. — To thee, learned in all the means of self-restraint and without indolence, to thee, the Best of Charioteers, that disciplinest the people, hail!

58 | gaṅ • slad • khyod • bstan • ma • mchis • na |
| skal • ba • can • yaṅ • don • ma • mchis |
| de • slad • kun • gyi • tshaṅs • spyod[34] • du |
| gyur • pa • khyod • la • phyag • h̲tshal • lo |

58. — To thee, who, since even the fortunate were without resource, if thy teaching were not, didst therefore live in Abstinence from All, hail!

59 | yon • tan • phun • sum • ldan • pa • kun |
| yaṅ • dag • śin • tu • yons • rdzogs • pas |
| dge • bah̲i • chos • la • h̲dun • pa • kun |
| rgyun • bcad • khyod • la • phyag • h̲tshal • lo |

59. — To thee, who, verily perfected in every consummate virtue, hast Stayed the Flow of every aspiration towards (in ?) the good religion, hail!

60 | ñid • kyi • don • ni • yoṅs • rdzogs • śin |
| gźan • gyi • don • la • mñon • brtson • pa |
| dam • chos • bdud • rtsi • stsol • ba • po |
| tshim • par • mdzad • pa • khyod • la • h̲dud |

60. — To thee, who, thine own good fulfilled, strivest for the good of others, to thee, who, giving the ambrosia of the good religion, Satisfiest, homage!

[32] Read *sul* 'valley'?

[33] *des • la*, ? *ṅes • la*, 'in truth'? [*des • pa* = *surata*. P.]

[34] *sbyoṅ*, I. O.

61 | ẖjigs • pa • du • mas • ẖjigs • gyur • ba |
| pha • rol • min • paẖi • mu • spaṅs • nas |
| chu • bo • chen • po • lags • brgal • źiṅ |
| pha • rol • gśegs • pa • khyod • la • ẖdud |

61. — To thee, who, happily passed the great shoreless water without bounds, terrible with divers terrors, hast Reached the Further Shore, homage !

62 | ñon • moṅs • nad • ni • kun • sel • ciṅ |
| zug • rṅu • thams • cad • ẖbyin • mdzad • pa |
| rig • sṅags • ẖchaṅ • ba • grub • pa • po |
| sman • paẖi • gtso • bo • khyod • la • ẖdud |

62. — To thee, who hast attained the amulet of knowledge, dispelling every malady of trouble and extracting every ache,[35] to thee, the Chief of Physicians, homage !

[101a]

63 | mchog • dan • mchog • min • lam • mkhyen • ciṅ |
| źi • baẖi • phyogs • ni • ston • par • mdzad |
| grub • dan • bde • ba • bskyed • pa • yi |
| ded • dpon • khyod • la • phyag • ẖtshal • lo |

63. — To thee, who, knowing the good road and the bad, teachest the way of quietude, to thee, Leader of the Caravan, who accomplishest perfection and happiness, hail !

64 | rtag • tu • mun • pa • sel • mdzad • ciṅ |
| rtag • tu • spyan • ni • ẖbyed • par • mdzad |
| rtag • tu • mi • bsñel • chos • mṅaẖ • ba |
| śin • tu • bźeṅs • pa • khyod • la • ẖdud |

64 — To thee, ever dispelling the dark, ever opening the eye, ever of unforgetting nature, ever At the Zenith, homage !

96 b

65 | dri • maẖi • ẖdam • ni • ṅes • bkrus • pas |
| dam • chos • dri • ma • med • baẖi • chu |
| mchog • tu • rnam • par • byan • ba • po |
| śin • tu • rnam • dag • khyod • la • ẖdud |

65. — To thee, who, having washed away the mud of defilement, hast utterly cleansed the undefiled water of the good religion, to thee, the Completely Purified, homage !

66 | sdig • daṅ • bsod • nams • spaṅs • gyur • ciṅ |
| stoṅ • ba • ñid • kyi • bsgos • paẖi • bdag |
| phan • daṅ • gnod • pa • bgyid • sñom • ba |
| śin • tu • chags • bral • kyod • la • ẖdud |

66. — To thee, who, sin and merit left behind, thy soul imbued in vacuity, art sated of doing good and harm, to thee, entirely Detached from Clinging, homage !

67 | kun • nas • ñon • moṅs • bag • chags • kun |
| ṅes • par • bsal • bas • dri • med • thugs |
| rnam • thar • sgrib • pa • mi • mṅaẖ • ba |
| śin • tu • rnam • grol • khyod • la • ẖdud |

67. — To thee, in heart undefiled through dispelling all sin and passion, the emancipate, the void of darkness, the Verily Liberated, homage !

68 | blta • bas • mi • ṅoms • gzugs • mṅaẖ • źiṅ |
| sku • ni • ẖod • kyis • lha • ger • mdzes |
| blta • bya • kun • gyi • naṅ • na • ni |
| blta • na • sdug • mchog • khyod • la • ẖdud |

68. — To thee, of whose form the sight wearies not,[36] brilliantly charming with thy body's radiance, among all visible things that which is most Dear to See,[37] homage !

69 | skyes • bu • chen • poẖi • mtshan • rnams • kyi |
| dpe • byad • bzaṅ • poẖi • tshogs • bcas • pa |
| sum • cu • rtsa • gñis • daṅ • ldan • pas |
| blta • bar • ẖos • pa • khyod • la • ẖdud |

69. — To thee, with the sum of the goodly tokens which are the marks of a great one, through possession of the two and thirty [signs] Worthy to be Seen, homage !

[35] [*rig • sṅags • ẖchaṅ • ba = vidyārājamantra : zug • rṅu = śalya.* P]

[36] *āsecanaka ?*

[37] *priyadarśana ?*

70 | saṅs • rgyas • chos • ni • bla • med • pa |
| mi • hjigs • pa • daṅ • stobs • tshogs • kyis |
| hgro • bahi • nan • du • sgra • bsgrags • pa |
| dgah • bar • hos • pa • khyod • la • hdud |

70. — To thee, who through the sum of the fearlessnesses and the strengths, the supreme *dharmas* [qualities] of the Buddha, hast in the world a joyous glory, homage!

71 | hphags • chos • dkar • po • bla • med • pa |
| goms • par • bya • ba • rnams • kyis • ni |
| sku • gñis • po • dag • bsgos • gyur • ba |
| bsgom • par • bya • ba • khyod • la • hdud |

71. — To thee, having both thy bodies imbued with the practice of the white supreme Aryan *dharma*, to thee, Fit Object of Meditation, homage!

72 | sku • gsuṅ • thugs • kyi • phrin • las • rnams |
| śin • tu • rnam • par • byaṅ • gyur • pas |
| tshul • khrims • bsruṅ • ba • las • hdas • pa |
| gtsan • sbra • dag • pa • khyod • la • hdud |

72. — To thee, through entire purification of the functions of body, speech, and thought passed beyond the guardianship of morality, to thee, the Altogther Pure,[38] homage!

73 | ñon • moṅs • pa • yi • brjod • pa • spaṅs |
| źi • bahi • las • kyi • mthah • la • dgoṅs |
| mi • gsuṅ • daṅ • du • bźes • mdzad • pa |
| thub • pa • źi • bo • khyod • la • hdud |
[101 b]

73. — To thee, who, leaving behind the mention of sin, the end of ascetic work attained, art earnestly engaged[39] in silence, the Īśvara[40] of Sages, homage!

74 | bde • ba • daṅ • ni • sdug • bsṅal • gyis |
| thugs • mi • hphrogs • la • brtan • pahi • thugs |
| thams • cad • zil • gnon • sems • can • gyi |
| sñiṅ • po • mchog • gyur • khyod • la • hdud |

74. — To thee, with heart steadfast and not a prey to happiness and grief, the all-surpassing Friend of Creatures, homage!

75 | kun • la • rnam • pa • thams • cad • daṅ |
| rten • gyi • blo • daṅ • dgoṅs • pa • dag |
| legs • par • gnas • phyir • mi • bsñel • bahi |
| chos • can • khyod • la • phyag • htshal • lo |

75. — To thee, who through right setting of the objective thought and meditation of every kind in every matter art of a Never-Forgetting *dharma* [quality], hail!

76 | hjig • rten • hdas • kyi • yon • tan • phyug |
| hjig • rten • zaṅ • ziṅ • rnam • par • hjig |
| hjig • rten • snaṅ • bar • mdzad • pa • po |
| hjig • rten • mgon • po • khyod • la • hdud |

76. — To thee, in world-outgoing virtues rich, the world's externalities destroying, the world illuminating, Lord of the World, homage!

77 | bśes • daṅ • dgra • daṅ • bar • mar • sñoms |
| sems • can • kun • la • phan • dgoṅs • pa |
97 a
| rjes • su • brtse • bar • mdzad • pa • po |
| thugs • rje • chen • po • khyod • la • hdud |

77. — To thee, to friend and foe and those between indifferent, to all creatures meditating good, mercifully dealing, Greatly Compassionate, homage!

78 | chos • kyi • hdu • śes • kun • rdzogs • pa |
| skyob • pa • mṅon • śes • chen • po • mṅah |
| byas • mkhyen • ma • byas • mkhyen • pa • po |
| thams • cad • mkhyen • pa • khyod • la • hdud |

78. — To thee, complete in all intuitions of *dharma*, the saviour with the great insight, knower of things done, knower of things undone, All Knower, homage!

79 | glags • kyi • skabs • ni • kun • spaṅs • śiṅ |
| kun • nas • hchiṅ • ba • bcad • gyur • pa |
| śes • rab • gsal • bar • mdzad • pa • po |
| sred • pa • bsal • ba • khyod • la • hdud |

79. — To thee, with all means of hindrance outgone, bonds severed, illuminator of wisdom, Clear of Passion, homage!

38 *sbra* (for *spra*), I. O and Pet *gtsan • spra* = *śrotriya*?

39 *daṅ • du • bźes* = *dan • du • len*?

40 *zi • ba*? = 'Śiva' or 'danta'?

80 | mñes • par • bgyi • h̲os • phyag • bgyir • h̲os |
| brgal • bar • h̲os • min • noṅs • mi • mṅah̲ |
| h̲bad • de • mchod • par • bgyis • h̲os • pa |
| rigs • pa • gsum • ldan • khyod • la • h̲dud |

80. — To thee, worthy to be loved, worthy to be hailed, not to be contravened, sinless, worthy to be sedulously worshipped, having the Triple Knowledge, homage!

81 | phan • pa • ma • lags • sel • mkhas • śiṅ |
| phan • pa • bskyed • par • mṅon • brtson • pa |
| gcig • tu • brtse • bar • gżol • ba • yi |
| bśes • gñen • dam • pa • khyod • la • h̲dud |

81. — To thee, skilled in dispelling what is not kind, active in promoting what is kind, to mercy alone inclined, Best of Friends, homage!

82 | skye • dgu • lam • log • żugs • pa • rnams |
| rtag • tu • dam • pah̲i • lam • la • ni |
| mṅon • phyogs • mdzad • par • mṅon • brtson • pa |
| rtsa • lag • dam • pa • khyod • la • h̲dud |

82. — To thee, active to direct ever in the best way the beings who have entered upon the wrong way, Best of Kinsmen, homage!

83 | go • h̲phañ[41] • mkhyen • pa • rnams • kyi • phul |
| khyod • kyis • go • h̲phañ • mchog • brñes • nas |
| rkañ • gñis • rnams • kyi • mchog • gyur • pa |
| de • las • go • h̲phañ • h̲phags • ma • mchis |

83. — Surpassing all the knowers of preëminence, having attained the highest preëminence, thou hast become of two-footed creatures best: than this a higher preëminence is not.

84 | go • h̲phañ • bla • na • med • brñes • nas | [102 a]
| sdug • bsñal • thams • cad • sel • mdzad • ciṅ |
| ma • chogs • ñer • len • mi • mṅah̲ • bah̲i |
| rkañ • gñis • mchog • gyur • khyod • la • h̲dud |

84. — To thee, attained supreme preëminence, and dispelling all distress, without passion and free from craving, Best of Two-Footed Creatures, homage!

85 | khyod • kyi • bstan • la • ma • brten • par |
| h̲gas • kyañ • de • ñid • mi • mthoṅ • bas |
| hjig • rten • loṅ • ba • lta • bu • yi |
| mig • du[42] • gyur • pa • khyod • la • h̲dud |

85. — Since without relying on thy teaching not one beholds reality, to thee, the Eye of a world as it were blind, homage!

86 | sa • steṅ • gdugs • ni • ma • mchis • na |
| żugs • mchis • mar • meh̲añ • mchis • gyur • la |
| rgyu • skar • nor • bu • zla • ba • dag |
| mchis • kyañ • gsal • ba • rdzogs • mi • h̲gyur |

86. — If day is not, though there be fire, though there be a lamp, though there be planets, jewels, and the moon, the earth has not a full illumination.

87 | snañ • ba • de • dañ • gżan • dañ • ni |
| de • bas • khyad • par • ches • h̲phags • pa |
| mchis • kyañ • khyod • ni • mi • bżugs • na |
| h̲gro • ba • snañ • ba • mchis • ma • lags |

87. — Though there be those lights and others, by far higher than those, if thou art not there, the universe is without light.

88 | de • ltar • h̲jig • rten • ma • rig • pah̲i |
| mun • nag • thibs • pah̲i • liṅ • tog • gis[43] |
| bsgribs • pah̲i • sems • ldan • smag • gyur • pah̲i |
97 b
| sgron • mar • gyur • pa • khyod • la • h̲dud |

88. — To thee, thus the Lamp of a world of blinded creatures obscured by the thick film of the darkness of ignorance, homage!

[41] *h̲phañs*, Pet. [42] I. O. *tu*. [43] *liṅ • rtog • gis*, Pet.

89 | chos • la • blo • gros • ma • byaṅ • bas |
| phan • paẖan • phan • par • ma • ẖtshal • żiṅ |
| gnod • paẖaṅ • gnod • par • ma • ẖtshal • la |
| byaṅ • baẖaṅ • khyod • la • brten • nas • gyur |

89. — Though with a mind not made pure in *dharma* even the good knows not how to do good, may even the harmful, knowing not to harm, through reliance upon thee, be made pure.

90 | byis • pa • phal • cher • gnod • pa • dag |
| dor • bar • ẖtshal • la • phan • pa • spoṅ |
| phan • pa • gñer • yaṅ • ma • ẖtshal • bas |
| gnod • pa • so • sor • bsten • par • bgyid |

90. — Generally the foolish, wishing to surrender harmful things, renounce the good: even the man devoted to good attaches himself through ignorance to the harmful.

91 | de • dag • thabs • ni • ston • mdzad • phyir |
| khyod • la • brten • nas • gñis • ka • yaṅ |
| yaṅ • dag • ji • bżin • rtogs • gyur • bas |
| sman • par • gyur • pa • khyod • la • ẖdud |

91. — To thee, who, to teach those the means by due and full reflection upon both in reliance upon thee, art become the Healer, homage!

92 | gtso • khyod • gaṅ • gi • blar • gyur • pa |
| de • yaṅ • ẖjig • rten • bla • ma • lags |
| de • slad • bla • ma • rnams • kyi • yaṅ |
| blar • gyur • bla • ma • khyod • la • ẖdud |

92. — To whom thou, Lord, art become the *guru*, he verily is the *guru* of the world: to thee, therefore, the *guru*, the *guru* even of *gurus*, homage!

93 | ẖjig • rten • mkhas • pas • mchod • pa • yaṅ |
| yid • ches • ṅo • bo • khyod • la • mchod |
| mchod • ẖos • rnams • kyis • mchod • bya • ba |
| mchod • ẖos • dam • pa • khyod • la • ẖdud |

93. — Though worshipped by the wise of the world, a believing soul renders worship to thee: to thee, Best of the Worthy of Worship, to be worshipped by the worthy of worship, homage!

94 | bsṅags • ẖos • bsṅags • pa • gaṅ • lags • paẖi |
| skye • bo • des • kyaṅ • khyod • bsṅags • te |
| bsṅags • par • ẖos • pa • rnams • kyis • kyaṅ |
| bsṅags • par • gyur • pa • khyod • la • ẖdud |

94. — Even they who are praised by the praiseworthy praise thee: to thee, Praised even by the Praiseworthy, homage!

[102 b]

95 | lha • rnams • kyaṅ • ni • khyod • la • ẖdud |
| khyod • la • draṅ • sroṅ • rnams • kyaṅ • ẖdud |
| phyag • bgyir • ẖos • pa • rnams • kyis • kyaṅ |
| ẖdud • bar • bgyi • ba • khyod • la • ẖdud |

95. — Even the gods pay homage to thee; to thee even the sages pay homage, to thee, Meet for the Homage even of the worthy to be hailed, homage!

96 | sems • daṅ • bcas • pa • su • żig • ni |
| bsod • nams • żiṅ • ni • dpag • med • pa |
| ẖdud • ẖos • khyod • la • phyag • bgyid • pas |
| nam • żig • na • ni • ṅoms • par • ẖgyur |

96. — What sentient creature in hailing thee, the worthy of homage, the illimitable realm of goodness,[44] is ever satisfied?

97 | de • ltas • khyod • la • phyag • ẖtshal • ẖdud |
| ẖdud • par • ẖos[45] • pa • khyod • la • ẖdud |
| phyag • gi • rgyun • ni • mi • ẖchad • par |
| rtag • tu • khyod • la • phyag • ẖtshal • lo |

97. — Therefore to thee in homage hail! To thee, Worthy of Homage, homage! With no intermission of hailing, ever to thee hail!

44 [*Puṇyakṣetra* P.]

45 *ẖod*, Pet.

98 | rtag • tu • dam • pah̲i • spyod • pa • lam • daṅ • ldan |
| byas • daṅ • ma • byas • thob • pa • yaṅ • dag • rig • pa • mkhyen |
| chod • pa • che • mṅah̲ • phyag • bgyir • h̲os • pa • mtshuṅs • med • pa |
| h̲dud • par • h̲os • pah̲i • dgra • bcom • khyod • la • phyag • h̲tshal • lo |

98. — To thee, whose is the way of ever righteous living, knower of the perfect science that reaches both things done and things not done, whose was the Great Resolve, the Worthy to be Hailed, the Peerless, the Arhat Worthy of Homage, hail!

99 | dpe • med • yid • h̲oṅ • sku • mṅah̲ • khyod • la • phyag • h̲tshal • lo[45] |
| mchog • tu • gsuṅ • sñan • mṅon • sgrogs • khyod • la • phyag • h̲tshal • lo |
| dri • med • rnam • dag • thugs • mṅah̲ • khyod • la • phyag • h̲tshal • lo |
98 a
| yon • tan • tshogs • bsgoms • bdag • ñid • khyod • la • phyag • h̲tshal • lo |

99. — To thee, with thy winning form unequalled, hail! To thee, with the glory of thine exceeding pleasant speech, hail! To thee, with thy stainless soul most pure, hail! To thee, whose self is instinct with the sum of the virtues, hail!

100 | ẑiṅ • ẑes • bsam • pas • saṅs • rgyas • la • h̲dud • pa |
| dri • ma • med • la • bkra • śis • thams • cad • kyis |
| char • yaṅ • mi • phod • mchod • sbyin • kun • gyis • min |
| dkah̲ • thub • brtul • ẑugs • min • te • khrus • kun • min |

100. — 'The theme,' with pure homage, so thinking, to Buddha not all things well omened may cope even in a part, not all sacrifices, not the ascetic's severities, not all bathings.[46]

101 | thub • pah̲i • dbaṅ • po • la • h̲dud • pa |
| sñan • par • grags • śiṅ • dpal • du • byed |
| sdig • pa • thams • cad • druṅs • nas • h̲byin |
| gzi • brjid • dag • kyaṅ • rnam • par • h̲phel |

101. — He who renders homage to the lord of sages makes to prosper the tree of his fame, uproots all sins, and increases his prestige,

102 | dgra • rnams • thams • cad • sel • bar • byed |
| h̲jig • rten • dag • na • mi • rnams • kyi |
| rgyud • ni • bde • h̲gror • ṅes • byed • ciṅ |
| ṅes • mthar • ẑi • bah̲i • h̲bras • bur • smin |

102. — Dispels all enemies, and establishing in happiness the race of men in the worlds, at last is ripe for the fruit of resignation.

103 | de • ltar • yon • tan • maṅ • bsams • śiṅ |
| lus • kyaṅ • h̲jigs • pah̲i • ṅaṅ • bsams • na |
| mkhas • gaṅ • saṅs • rgyas • phyag • h̲tshal • las |
| lus • kyi • las • gẑan • spyad[47] • par • byed |

103. — Reflecting upon many virtues such as these, and reflecting on the body as of a terrifying[48] nature, whoso is wise performs other bodily acts after salutation to Buddha.

104 | h̲chi • bdag • sel • bar • byed • pa • yi |
| bstan • pa • h̲di • ni • nub • gyur • ciṅ |
| kun • nas • mun • bas • khebs • gyur • na |
| gaṅ • ẑig • la • ni • bkur • sti • bya |

104. — Should this teaching of him who banishes the Lord of Death have sunk, covered with darkness, to whom must honour be paid?

[46] *h̲tshale*, I. O.

[47] *Sic.*

[48] ? read *h̲jig*, 'perishable.'

[103 a]

105 | de • lta • bas • na • mtshuṅs • med • paḥi |
| mchod • pa • bya • ba • smyur • te • gyis |
| ma • ḥoṅs • pa • yi • ḥjigs • pa • dag |
| da • lta • ñid • nas • phyuṅ[49] • zin • to |
| saṅs • rgyas • bcom • ldan • ḥdas • la • bstod • pa • bsṅags • par • ḥos • pa • bsṅags • pa • las • phyag • ḥtshal • ba • źes • bya • ba • ste • leḥu • gñis • paḥo ||

105. — This being so, render worship speedily to the peerless one by such a course fears for the future are expelled.

In the hymn to Buddha, "The Delineation of the Worthy to be Delineated," the second chapter, entitled "The Hailing."

Chapter III.

106 | ñi • maḥi • gñen • gyur • ñi • ma • yi |
| ḥod • pas • śin • tu • ḥod • gsal • ba |
| phyag • bya • kun • gyi • rab • daṅ • mchog |
| phyag • ḥos • phyag • bgyis • khyod • la • ḥdud |

106. — To thee, kinsman of the sun, shining exceedingly with the sun's rays, best by far of all that are meet to be hailed, hailed by the worthy to be hailed, homage!

107 | stobs • chen • dpaḥ • bo • chen • po • pa •
| mṅon • śes • che • la • mthu • yaṅ • che |
| gyul • ṅor • mdaḥ • chen • ḥphen • mdzad • pa |
| dgaḥ • ston • chen • po • khyod • la • mchod |

107. — To thee, the great hero of great strength, great in insight and great in force, hurler of the great missile in battle, the Great Festival, worship!

108 | ḥjig • rten • mchod • ḥos • mchod • ḥos • mchog |
| ḥjig • rten • mchod • pas • mchod • pa • po |
| mchod • paḥi • snod • ni • bla • med • pa |
| mchod • par • ḥos • pa • khyod • la • mchod |

108. — To thee, best of those worthy to be worshipped by those worthy to be worshipped by the world, worshipped by the worshipped of the world, supreme vessel of worship, worthy of worship, worship!

109 | mchod • daṅ • mkhyen • pas • rtogs • pa • brñes |
| dgoṅs • pa • ṅa • rgyal • bag • mi • mṅaḥ |
98 b
| brjed • ḥos • khyod • la • ṅa • rgyal • gyi |
| sems • bor • nas • ni • brjed • par • bgyi |

109. — When by worship and knowledge insight has been obtained, the will has no regard to egotism: to thee, the worthy of reverence, must reverence with abandonment of egotism be paid.

110 | gus • bgyid • ma • gus • pa • la • sñoms |
| ḥjig • rten • gus • pas • mchod • bgyis • pa |
| khyod • la • bkur • stir • gźol • ba • yi |
| dbaṅ • pos • gus • par • bkur • sti • bgyid |

110. — To thee, indifferent to him who shows respect and who does not, worshipped by the world's respect, with senses[50] open to adoration is respectful adoration paid.

111 | khyod • daṅ • ḥdra • ba • ḥgaḥ • ma • mchis |
| lhag • pa • ma • byuṅ • ḥbyuṅ • mi • ḥgyur |
| de • slad • sems • can • kun • la • khyod |
| dgra • zin • sñoms • paḥi • mñam • med • lags |

111. — Like to thee is none; superior there has not been, will not be: therefore to all sentient beings thou art unequalled in indifference.[51]

112 | ma • ḥdris • ḥphags • paḥi • gduṅ • las • byuṅ |
| saṅs • rgyas • kun • daṅ • skal • pa • mñam |
| mdog • daṅ • śes • rab • snaṅ • ba • yis |
| phyogs • rnams • snaṅ • bar • mdzad • de • ḥkhruṅs |

112. — Sprung from an unmixed Āryan lineage, equal in fortune with all Buddhas, born illuminating the regions with the light of colour[52] and wisdom,

[49] *pyuṅ*, I. O. [50] *dbaṅ • pos* = 'by Iśvara'? [51] *dgra • zin?*
[52] *varṇa*, 'caste colour.' In *phyogs* = *pakṣa* (= 1. regions, 2. alternatives) there is probably a *śleṣa*.

113 | sum • cu • rtsa • gñis • mtshan • daṅ • ldan |
| mdom • gaṅ • ẖod • kyi • ẖod • zer • spro |
| mtshan • daṅ • mthun • paẖi • dpe • byad[53] • bzaṅ |
| brgyad • cus • ẖbar • baẖi • gzi • brjid • can |

113. — Possessed of the thirty-two marks, giving forth rays of light a full fathom long, having a dazzling effulgence with the eighty fair tokens equal to the marks,

114 | rgyal • chen • dpal • daṅ • ldan • paẖi • sku |
| kun • gyi • mdzes • pa • zil • gnon • pa |
[103 b]
| ẖjig • rten • snaṅ • bar • mdzad • nas • ni |
| ñi • ma • gẑan • ẑig • lta • bur • bẑugs |

114. — Thy form, having the majesty of a great king, surpassing the charm of every [body], comes like a second sun, illuminating the world.

115 | bcom • ldan • dus • kun • rtogs • paẖi • chos |
| rnam • kun • ẖbyuṅ • gnas • thams • cad • ni |
| phyag • mthil • sgyu • su • ra • lta • bur |
| khyod • kyi • thugs • ni • spyod • yul • gyur |

115. — Bhagavad, whose quality it is to meditate upon every time, all origins of every kind, like the berry[54] in the hand, are the range of the motions of thy mind.

116 | chos • rnams • gyo • daṅ • mi • gyor • bcas |
| gcig • daṅ • sna • tshogs • so • so • la |
| mkhaẖ • la • rluṅ • dag • rgyu • ba • bẑin |
| khyod • kyi • thugs • ni • thogs • mi • mṅaẖ |

116. — In all things together and severally, joined to *dharmas* [qualities] changing and unchanging, as the wind moves in the heavens, thy mind is without attachment.

117 | bya • ba • mdzad • pa • khyod • kyis • ni |
| ji • ltar • thugs • bskyed • tsam • gyis • su |
| khyod • la • bẑed • dgur • kun • ẖgrub • pa |
| de • ltar • chos • dbyiṅs • legs • thugs • chud |

117. — To thee, in the doing what should be done, by the mere act of calling to mind, every wish is accomplished, so well is the *dharmadhātu* set in thy mind.

118 | dge • mthar • phyin • pa • khyod • la • ni |
| sbyor • byuṅ • dge • ba • ẖgaẖ • mi • mṅaẖ |
| khyod • ni • gaṅ • ẑig • bẑed • na • yaṅ |
| bẑed • pa • tsam • la • rag • las • so |

118. — In thee, who hast come to the end of merit, there is no merit sprung from accumulation: even when thou desirest aught, it stands at the disposal of the mere desire,

119 | chos • rnams • kyi • ni • chos • yod • daṅ |
| chos • ñid • daṅ • ni • chos • kyi • mthu |
| so • sor • rgyu • daṅ • bcas • gnas • śiṅ |
| rkyen • daṅ • ẖbras • bur • bcas • pa • daṅ |

119. — Of *dharmas* [qualities], the possession of *dharma* [quality], the essence as *dharmas* [qualities], and the force as *dharmas* [qualities], established in conjunction with the several causes, and accompanied by the accessory causes and the fruit,

120 | khams • daṅ • dbye • ba • tha • dad • bcas |
| skye • daṅ • ẖjig • bcas • rgyas • pa • de |
| thams • cad • so • sor • rnam • kun • tu |
| kun • mkhyen • khyod • kyis • mkhyen • gẑan • miṅ |

120. — This in full, accompanied by the variations of space and species, with birth and dissolution, together and separately[55] in every fashion, by thee all knowing is known, by others not.

99 a

121 | khyod • la • śin • tu • bsgribs • pa • ẖaṅ • mnon |
| śin • tu • riṅ • baẖan • ñe • ba • ste |
| śin • tu • ẖdziṅs • pa • ẖaṅ • sal • gyis • dag |
| śin • tu • mthon • po • ẖaṅ • dmaẖ • ba • lags |

121. — To thee even the quite hidden is patent, even the quite far is near, even the quite rough[56] is pure with light, even the quite high is low.

[53] *byas*, Pet. [54] Is *sgyu • ru • ra* = *badara*, as in the proverb *karabadara* or *hastāmalaka*, or is it = *sgyur • ba?*

[55] *samasta vyasta ?*

[56] *? ẖdziṅs*, 'deep'?

122 | śin • tu • gnag • pahaṅ • snaṅ • bar • bcas |
| śin • tu • the • tshom • gnas • kyaṅ • ṅes |
| śes • bya • śin • tu • zab • mo • yaṅ |
| khyod • la • sa • ler[57] • gdah • ba • lags |

122. — Even the quite dark is accompanied with light, the quite uncertain is sure, the knowable, though quite deep, is to thee pellucid.

123 | dbaṅ • po • chen • pohi • glaṅ • chen • gyis |
| rked • ciṅ • gser • las • bgyis • pa • ltar |
| chos • ñid • śin • tu • zab • mos • kyaṅ |
| khyod • ni • ho • brgyal • hgyur • ma • lags |

123. — As though made of gold with the loins of great Indra's elephant, by *dharmas*, though quite deep, thou art never fatigued.

124 | chos • kyi • naṅ • na • chags • bral • ltar |
| ṅes • hbyin • naṅ • na • draṅ • po • ltar |
| phun • tshogs • naṅ • na • saṅs • rgyas • ltar |
| khyod • ni • sems • can • kun • gyi • mchog |

124. — Among *dharmas* like passionlessness, among *nidānas* like the right, among perfections like Buddha, thou art of all sentient creatures best.

125 | rnam • grol • naṅ • na • mi • gyo • ltar |
| rigs • pahi • naṅ • na • chos • ñid • ltar |
| śes • rab • naṅ • na • kun • mkhyen • ltar |
| khyod • ni • lus • can • kun • gyi • mchog |

125. — Among emancipations like the unchanging, among sciences like the essence of qualities, among wisdoms like omniscience, thou art of all embodied creatures best.

[104a]

126 | dag • pahi • naṅ • na • rnam grol • ltar |
| de • ñid • naṅ • na • stoṅ • pa • ltar |
| dkah • thub • naṅ • na • bzod • pa • ltar |
| khyod • ni • srog • chags • kun • gyi • mchog |

126. — Among pure things like emancipation, among realities like vacuity, among asceticisms like patience, thou art of all living things best.

127 | gzugs • kyi • naṅ • na • khyod • sku • ltar |
| sems • kyi • naṅ • na • khyod • thugs • ltar |
| chos • kyi • naṅ • na • khyod • chos • ltar |
| khyod • ni • srog • chags • kun • gyi • mchog |

| saṅs • rgyas • bcom • ldan • hdas • la • bstod • pa • bsṅags • par • hos • pa • bsṅags • pa • las | thams • cad • mkhyen • pa • ñid • grub • pa • žes • bya • ba • ste • lehu • gsum • paho |

127. — Among forms like thy body, among intelligences like thy mind, among *dharmas* like thy *dharma*, thou art of all living things best.

In the hymn to Buddha, "The Delineation of the Worthy to be Delineated," the third chapter, entitled "The Winning of Omniscience."

Chapter IV.

128 | bde • bar • śegs • pa • khyod • gcig • pa |
| chos • gcig • chos • kun • snaṅ • mdzad • pa |
| rnam • pa • thams • cad • mkhyen • pa • yis |
| de • daṅ • ldan • gyi • gžan • ma • lags |

128. — O Sugata, thou alone, illuminatest one *dharma* [quality], every *dharma*, with knowledge of all kinds: like this is no other.

129 | khyod • hbah • žig • gi • ye • śes • kyis |
| śes • bya • mthah • dag • khyab • lags • kyi |
| khyod • las • gžan • pa • thams • cad • kyi |
| śes • bya • kho • na • lhag • pa • lags |

129. — While by the knowledge of thee alone all knowable things are pervaded, for all other than thee the knowable is verily too much.

130 | rgyu • rkyen • hdi • las • hbras • bu • hdi |
| hdi • las • hdi • ni • mi • yin • žes |
| gnas • daṅ • gnas • min • ṅes • pa • kun |
| khyod • kyis • mkhyen • gyi • gžan • kyis • min |

130. — 'From this cause and accessory this fruit,' 'from this this comes not,' every such certainty of fitness and unfitness, while known by thee, by others is not known.

[57] *Sic* for *sal • ler*?

131 | las • chos • yaṅ • dag • blaṅs • pa • yi |
| rnam • smin • dus • ni • thams • cad • pa |
| sa • kun • rtogs • pa • thams • cad • ni |
99 b
| rnam • kun • khyod • mkhyen • gźan • gyis • min |

131. — Of an act which has assumed a *dharma* [quality], the perception of all times and every place of ripening by thee is in all ways known, by others not.

132 | rnal • ḫbyor • sa • ni • ma • lus • pa |
| kun • nas • ñon • moṅs • rnam • gźag • daṅ |
| rnam • par • byaṅ • bcas • zab • mor • bcas |
| khyod • gcig • kho • nas • thugs • su • chud |

132. — The *yogabhūmis* without exception, with sin altogether put away, and accompanied by entire purity and depth, thou alone dost verily set in thy mind.

133 | dbaṅ • po • mchog • daṅ • mchog • min • pa |
| chuṅ • daṅ • ḫbriṅ • daṅ • chen • po • daṅ |
| cha • śas • dbye • ba • mthaḫ • yas • pa |
| khyod • las • gźan • gyis • rtogs • ma • mchis |

133. — The intellectual powers good and not good, small and medium and great, with their infinite parts and varieties, by others than thee are not conceived.

134 | mthun • par • ḫgyur • ba • gaṅ • lags • daṅ |
| mi • mthun • ḫgyur • ba • gaṅ • lags • pa |
| mi • yi • nus • pa • sna • tshogs • kun |
| khyod • gcig • kho • nas • thugs • su • chud |

134. — All the powers of man, such as are conformable, and such as are not conformable, thou alone dost verily set in thy mind.

135 | ḫjig • rten • ḫdi • khams • sna • tshogs • te |
| sna • tshogs • khams • ñid • mthaḫ • dag • ni |
| sna • tshogs • khams • dbye • khyod • gcig • pus |
| mkhyen • gyi • gźan • gyis • ma • lags • so |

135. — This world being of various elements, the various elemental essences in full, the various kinds of elements, by thee alone are known, by others not.

[104 b]
136 | rgyu • daṅ • rkyen • ni • sna • tshogs • las |
| sna • tshogs • mṅon • par • ḫgrub • pa • ni |
| kun • tu • ḫgro • baḫi • lam • stobs • kyis |
| thams • cad • khyod • kyis • thugs • su • chud |

136. — The production of the various perceptions from various causes and accessories thou, with a force the path of which penetrates in every direction, dost set all in thy mind.

137 | thog • med • srid • par • byuṅ • ba • daṅ |
| tha • ma • med • par • ḫbyuṅ • gyur • gaṅ |
| de • la • khyod • kyis • ye • śes • ni |
| mṅon • sum • bźin • du • gźigs • pa • ḫjug |

137. — What exists in a state without beginning and what endlessly comes into being, therein thy knowledge pierces as with visual perception.

138 | sṅon • gyi • mthaḫ • daṅ • phyi • maḫi • mthar |
| ḫjig • rten • yaṅ • dag • ḫgrub • pa • daṅ |
| de • bźin • ñid • mtshams • sbyor • ba • ni |
| mthaḫ • yi • bar • bźin • khyod • kyis • gzigs |

138. — The completion of the world at its former and latter end, and the composition of its essence, are by thee as it were near[58] beheld.

139 | ñe • ḫam • yaṅ • na • riṅ • yaṅ • ruṅ |
| ji • ltar • khyod • la • mṅon • sum • pa |
| de • ltar • sgrib • pa • bag • chags • daṅ |
| bcas • te • khyod • kyis • spaṅs • pa • lags |

139. — That near or far, whatever it be, to thee is manifest, so far has darkness together with propensity been by thee abandoned.

[58] *mthaḫ • yi • bar* = *antike* ?

140 | dṅos • h̲di • yoṅs • su • ma • mkhyen • ciṅ |
| ñon • moṅs • h̲di • yi • bag • chags • ni |
| lhag • ma • lus • śes • mi • bsñad • pah̲i |
| go • h̲phaṅ • de • ni • khyod • kyis • brñes |

140. — Not knowing this reality, the propensity to this sin remains[59]: such is the unspeakable eminence thou hast attained.

141 | khyod • kyis • bar • du • gcod • gsuṅs • gaṅ |
| ṅes • par • de • dag • bar • du • gcod[60] |
| khyod • kyis • lam • bstan • gaṅ • lags • pa |
| de • gcig • kho • na • ṅes • par • h̲byin |

141. — What by thee has been defined as obstacle, in truth those things are obstacles; what roads have been by thee shown, those only are the real solutions.

142 | de • yis • bar • gcod • mi • nus • śe • h̲am |
| de • yis • nes • h̲byin • mi • h̲gyur • źes |
| gźan • gyi • klan • ka • cha • śas • kyaṅ |
| de • la • srid • pa • ma • mchis • so |

142. — 'Thereby is an obstacle not possible surely,' 'thereby a solution is not found,' such censures on the part of others have there, even in a fraction, no being.

143 | khyod • kyis • rgyal • bgyi • ma • rgyal • min |
| śes • bya • mi • snaṅ • bgyis • ma • mchis |
| dbaṅ • phyug • khyod • ñid • kun • mkhyen • cin |
100 a
| kun • rgyal • lags • kyi • gźan • ma • lags |

143. — By thee nought conquerable is unconquered, nought knowable unilluminated: while thou thyself, Īśvara, art all knowing, all conquering, none other is so.

144 | stobs • ldan • h̲jigs • mi • h̲gyur • bas • khyod |
| mi • bsñeṅs • gaṅ • lags • rigs • lags • na |
| mthu • mṅah̲ • bźin • du • h̲gah̲ • la • yaṅ |
| khyad • du • mi • gsod • gaṅ • de • rmad |

144. — Since the strong has no fear, that thou apprehendest not is known: that being master of force thou despisest not any, there is the wonder.

145 | log • pah̲i • ṅa • rgyal • can • h̲gah̲ • źig |
| dregs • daṅ • h̲bral • ba • mdzad • pa • gaṅ |
| gdul • ba • yi • ni • thabs • tsam • ste |
| des • ni • stobs • sñems • yoṅ • ma • lags |

145. — To make one possessed of wrong conceit act without arrogance, thine[61] only means is self-restraint: therefore the pride of strength suffices not.

146 | h̲jig • rten • dag • na • stobs • ldan • pas |
| kun • las • rgyal • źes • gaṅ • brjod • pa |
| de • ni • gźan • la • bstod • par • bas |
| go • h̲phaṅ • de • ni • khyod • la • rdzogs |

146. — 'In the world the strong conquers all,' of this saying in praise of others enough! That eminence is in thee perfect.

147 | h̲dren • pa • khyod • la • chos • mthun • par | [105 a]
| h̲gas • kyaṅ • brgal • bar • nus • ma • lags |
| klan • ka • btsal • h̲os • ma • lags • te |
| noṅs • mi • mṅah̲ • bah̲i • bde • ba • brñes |

147. — Against thee, Guide, none can rightly make reproach: a sinless merit, deserving no utterance of censure, hast thou won.

148 | noṅs • mi • mṅah̲ • bas • gaṅ • la • kyaṅ |
| bźi • ni • bsruṅ • bar • bgyi • mi • h̲tshal |
| bźi • bo • yoṅs • su • rdzogs • slaḍ • du |
| khyod • la • sus • kyaṅ • glags • mi • thod |

148. — Enough of 'sinless'! Even what four acts need not to be observed, even those four being fulfilled, in thee is found[62] by none an occasion.[63]

[59] Rendering doubtful.
[60] *gtsod*, Pet.
[61] 'the'?
[62] *thod?* = *thob?*
[63] *i. e.* 'a fault,' 'weak spot,' *chidra*, *marma*.

149 | kun • la • mi • thogs • blo • gros • can |
| dgoṅs • pa • kun • tu • ñe • bar • gnas |
| kun • la • thugs • rje • sñoms • pa • po |
| thugs • ni • kun • la • chags • mi • mṅaẖ |

149. — With mind in all ways unattached, in purpose wholly set, towards all indifferently compassionate, with heart in everything void of propensity,

150 | śes • byaẖi • rgya • mtsho • kun • rgal • ba |
| bag • chags • thams • cad • gtan • nas • spaṅs |
| bar • chad • kun • gyi • khyad • par • mkhyen |
| ṅes • par • ẖbyin • pa • kun • la • mkhas |

150. — Crossing the whole ocean of knowables, all propensities determinedly relinquished, knowing the character of every obstacle, in every solution learned,

151 | kun • gyi • bsam • pa • mkhyen • pa • po |
| gdul • ba • thabs • kyi • pha[64] • rol • gśegs |
| ñon • moṅs • sna[65] • tshogs • thams • cad • kyi |
| gñen • po • la • yaṅ • bsñeṅs • mi • mṅaẖ |

151. — Knower of every creature's thought, come to the further shore of the means of self-restraint, although the adversary of all the various sins yet without fear,

152 | khyod • la • brten • nas • smra • ba • po |
| byis • pa • śed • bye • ma • gyur • gaṅ |
| de • ni • ma • rig • mun • pa • yi |
| tshaṅ • tshiṅ • mi • bzad • mthu • lags • so |

152. — Upon thee relying if a child not yet mature speaks, he is of a strength not to be overborne by the jungle of the darkness of ignorance.

153 | khyod • kyi • bkaẖ • la • brten • nas • kyaṅ |
| bral • bar • ma • gyur • gaṅ • lags • pa |
| de • daṅ • de • sgrib • ces • bgyi • ste |
| de • daṅ • de • sgrib • mi • zad • lags |

| saṅs • rgyas • bcom • ldan • ẖdas • la • bstod • pa • bsṅags • par • ẖos • pa • bsṅags • pa • las • stobs • daṅ • mi • ẖjigs • pa • la • bstod • pa • žes • bya • ba • ste • leẖu • bži • paẖo ||

153. — What darkness is even by reliance upon thy command not removed, 'this and that is darkness' — so if he shall say this and that darkness overcomes him not.

In the hymn to Buddha, "The Delineation of Him who Should be Delineated," the fourth chapter, entitled "The Hymning of the Strengths and the Fearlessnesses."

SOME ANGLO-INDIAN WORTHIES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY LAVINIA MARY ANSTEY.

Prefatory Note by Sir R. C. Temple.

WITH the assistance of Miss Anstey, I have, for some years past, been preparing for the Hakluyt Society a MS. by Thomas Bowrey relating to the countries round the Bay of Bengal during the years 1669—1679.

Thomas Bowrey mentions a number of Anglo-Indians of his day, and, in the voluminous notes that have been appended to his text, I have given brief histories of each of them, so far as these could be ascertained. Some of his contemporaries, however, had remarkable careers, which have become forgotten. The notes gathered on these were in certain cases too numerous and long for publication as footnotes to Thomas Bowrey's MS., and accordingly, at my request, Miss Anstey has collected together, in brief biographies, the information regarding the worthies concerned, which information has been unearthed from all sorts of original and usually unworked sources. These biographies it is now proposed to publish in this *Journal.*

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[64] I. O. *ma.*

[65] I. O. *sma.*

No. I.

WILLIAM JEARSEY.[1]

William Jearsey, the younger son of John Jearsey, a brewer of Cheshunt, Herts, was a well-known character of the time, and there is a very brief account of him among the biographies in Yule's *Diary of William Hedges*, Vol. II. p. 199. The MS. records at the India Office contain ample material for a whole volume on his doings during the thirty odd years in which he either served or defied the Company. The outlines of the career of this fiery and interesting individual are as follows: —

In 1650 Master Badgate was the Merchant and William Jearsey the Accountant of the *Ruby*, a "new ship" which sailed from Masulipatam to Pegu, and returned in the following year. In Jan. 1652, "The Bay Portion [of the Pegu goods] had emission in a Moores Junck, in charge of William Jearsey one of the factors returned from Pegu." From 1653 till 1655 Jearsey appears to have been Chief at Siriam, the Company's settlement at Pegu. In the latter year he received news of his father's death. John Jearsey died in 1653, and his will was proved on the 19th May. There is reason to think that William Jearsey ran away from home and worked his way out to India, for his name is not mentioned in his father's will. John Jearsey bequeathed a house to his elder son John, and everything else to his widow, "trusting in her care for the children." The will is dated 15th Oct. 1652, at least three years after the younger son had left home. There is no record to show how or when William Jearsey became one of the East India Company's servants.

In accordance with orders from the Court directing the withdrawal of all the small factories subordinate to Fort St. George, a consultation was held in Verasheroon on the 16th Oct. 1655, when it was decided that the factory at Pegu should be given up, and the factors (with the exception of Francis Yardley, who was left to get in the debts) should take their passage to Fort St. George on the "Dutch ship or the Nabob's Junck." Jearsey delayed his departure, and roused the ire of the Council, who complained of him to England. On the 31st Dec. 1657 the Court replied as follows, "Little better dealing then what wee have received in the Bay, wee are like to find by our Pegu Factors William Jearsy who as you advise us having gott together 700 or 800 Pagothes of our Pegu Remaines, refused to take his passage (according to your order) on a Dutch ship, but came on the *Expedition* for Metchlepatam,[2] from whence receiving his Accompt, it appeares Unto you, that a great parte of the said some is expended by him and also 100 lbs. taken thereout on accompt of his Sallarie, These his unwarrantable Actions, as you noe way approve, Soe wee hope you will not only exact a reason, but also enforce him to make sattisfaction for these his irregular Courses."[3]

After this episode, Jearsey's connection with the Company was severed for a time, but he remained in Madras as a Freeman, and was a constant worry to the Council at Fort St. George. In May 1661 they complained bitterly of Messrs. Turner and Jearsey, who had attempted to send a frigate to Pegu on their own account, and of "their insolent behaviour in holding out the great house at Madapollam with great gunns and armed men, These and others that call themselves Freemen, are harboured in these Parts contrary to Our Consents." The fiery temper with which Jearsey is always credited had already become notorious, "We see by Mr Jearsey's Protest how much Choller prevailed with him, which does not agree with the title Mr Andrewes hath formerly given him of a Civill person for more indiscreeter language wee have not read." However, the Court had by this time modified their opinion of Jearsey. In Aug. 1661 they wrote to Fort St. George, "Wee having received a good report of Mr William Jearsey, his honesty and

[1] *Sources of Information*: — India Office Records, *viz.*, Factory Records (Fort St. George, Masulipatam, and Miscellaneous), Letter Books, O. C. Collection; Notes and Extracts from the Government Records at Fort St George; Madras Press List; List of Burials at Madras, by C. H. Malden; Wills at Somerset House.

[2] Masulipatam.

[3] *Letter Book*, No. 1.

abilities, wee doe therefore thinck him . . . fitt to Succeed [at Masulipatam], However wee leave it to you . . . to fix . . . . yet soe that Mr Jearsy bee setled in a place Suitable to his abillities, if hee desire it." Jearsey accepted the offer of reinstatement in the Company's service, and in Aug. 1662 he succeeded **Johnson** as Chief at Masulipatam. With regard to this appointment **Blake** remarked, "His experience will be very advantageous as to the Expedition of Our Masters commands."

In 1662, also, Jearsey probably received news of his mother's death. **Mary Jearsey**, whose will was proved in Jan. 1661, left a considerable amount of property. At her husband's death, his possessions were mortgaged, and there were "divers debts." Either owing to the widow's business capacity, or to the help of her son-in-law Thos. Glenne, a brewer, the property was cleared at the time of her death. In the ten years that had elapsed since John Jearsey's death, the elder son John had also died, leaving a son and a daughter. The son, **another John**, eventually joined his uncle William in India (before 1669), when he may have brought out the money realized by the property Jearsey inherited from his mother. Mary Jearsey left him the "Castle and Vine" inn with 3½ acres of land, "the great chest inlayed with black and yellowe wood standing in the chamber over the parlour on that side which is towards the stable, and all the things in it and two fether beds, two boulsters fower pillowes and one greene rugge and a great payer and little payer of Andirons in the said chamber." If William Jearsey died before his return to England, these household goods were to go to his four sisters. The executors were directed to collect the rents and administer the estate until "my sonne William Jearsey shall returne from beyond the seas."

In the same year (1662) **Sir Edward Winter** arrived as Agent at Fort St. George. Jearsey was made third of Council, and it was not long before the two fiery natures came into collision. Jearsey's high-handed policy at Masulipatam had procured him many enemies, and by the end of 1664 a long account of his misdemeanours had reached the Directors. Among the "Informations against Mr Jearsey" laid before the Court were the following: — "That hee gives Commissions to Moores Jouncks to Saile with English Pylotts notwithstanding the Company's &c Orders to the contrary and hath done the Company greate prejudice by neglecting their affaires. Hee neglects to receive the Fraight due from the Owners of the *Madrass Marchant* (to and from Syam) notwithstanding hee had the management of it in his owne hands; That hee contrary to order deteyned the *American* 9 daies, and the *Castle* friggatt 11 daies at Metchlepatam without Ladeing any Goods, and puts the Company to greate Charges, and disobeyes all orders from the Agent and Councell, *Vide* The Articles Exhibited against him by the Agent and Counsell in fort St. George. That hee ordered Tymana and Verana Marchants in Madras to provide for his accompt 110 Corge[4] and 400 Patch[5] of severall sorts of Callicoes. Hee sends and Imployes English Pylotts in his owne Shipps, haveing sent One Shipp to Pegu and another to Persia. See and Examine the Articles Exhibited against him by **Mr Ackworth**, which are Registred at the Fort. That his proceedings in the Companies affaires are Unjust and Irreguler, and that the difference with the Moores at Metchlepatam was occasioned by Mr Jearsies abuseing their King Governor &c. That he with **Mr Probie** and **Nicklaes**, Ordered Mr Ackworth to have 20 Drubbs at the Flaggstaff for writeing of a Letter to **Mr Sallesbury**, wherein hee made mention of Private Trade, and of Mr Jearsies name, also kept him Prisoner, and would suffer none to speake with him. That he related to the Officers of Shipps &c. that hee had provided 2000 peeces Fine Moorees, having worked day and night to Imbale Fine Cloth for them."

Worse still, Jearsey was accused of encouraging ungodliness. In Dec. 1665 the Court severely reprimanded the inhabitants of Masulipatam for their disregard of the Sabbath in only having Morning Prayer read, and spending "the rest of the day vainely." The Council at Fort St. George was ordered to send them some "good Sermon books.' A Sermon was ordered to be read

[4] Score.

[5] Two cloths joined together. See *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Patch.

"publickely" after the "Common Prayer both forenoone and afternoone" and the rest of the day to be occupied by "every particular Person in readeing Gods word, or Holy Conference."

At this time Sir Edward Winter and Jearsey were openly antagonistic, and the former lost no opportunity of maligning his wealthy rival. Jearsey's mercantile adventures were extensive. **John Cooper,** who was chief mate of Jearsey's ship *Ruby* on her voyage to Pegu in 1664, and who commanded the *Adam and Eve* in 1665, and the *Advice* in 1666, stated in his "Declaration" on the 18th Sept. 1669[6] that Jearsey also owned the *Consent*, the *Nonsuch*, the *Adventure*, the *New shipp*, the *Diamond* and the *Martin*. These ships were constantly voyaging to Pegu, Junk-Ceylon, Achin, Queda and Persia with cargoes of "Callicoes, Redd Cotton Yarn" &c., and returning laden with "Gance, Mortevan Jarrs, Beese Wax, Ellephants Teeth, Dammer" &c. The profit must have been great, and it is surprising that the Company allowed such wholesale private trading to go on so long unchecked. The *Nonsuch* and the *Adventure* were both taken by the Dutch when richly laden In July 1670 two of "Mr. Jearsey's ships" were "bound to Janselone and Queda" and it is probable that it was in one of these that "T. B."[Thomas Bowrey] made his first visit to Junk-Ceylon.

In spite of the charges against Jearsey contained in the "Informations," the Directors do not appear to have lost confidence in him until 1669. Sir Edward Winter complained that the Chief at Masulipatam had won over the Supervisor, **Nathaniel Buckridge,** to ignore his illegal proceedings and to wink at his private trade. He declared that Jearsey "Saythe he will practice it, for he knows its but paying the forfeiture of his Bond att last, and sayes in the Interim he will get wherewithall to make Satisfaction." Winter further accused Jearsey of insulting the Moors, being "soe abusive with the Shabander, in calling him base names in the Moores Linegua and sending his Hallancore to throw dirt into their Mosquittaes, which you know is a great abuse." Jearsey's wife, too, was equally unpopular and, apparently, equally hot-tempered. She was a Dutchwoman and had married Jearsey about 1658. She was said to take three per cent. from the Merchants on all goods bought and sold for the Company's account and also bribes for permitting the shipping of goods, "soe that she is the English Fiscall, and getts well by it . . . and she acquaints the Dutch (being one her selfe) of all businesses of ours." The intense bitterness which characterises Winter's attacks on Jearsey may be accounted for by the fact that Jearsey had espoused the cause of the imprisoned **Foxcroft,** and had opposed Winter in his usurpation of the office of Agent. A further reason seems to be that Jearsey would not associate Winter with him in his private trade.

In Oct. 1665, Jearsey wrote to the Court giving "a plenary accompt" of Sir Edward Winter's actions. In 1667 the Directors thanked Jearsey for what he "had acted and intended to act for the reducing of our affaires into its former government" at Fort St. George. They impowered him, in case of Foxcroft's death, to unite with **Walter Clavell** in re-settling the government of the Fort, and appointed him acting Chief during the troubles. Jearsey was not present at the release of Foxcroft and the delivery of the Fort. He was detained by illness at Masulipatam. His absence was regretted because his "long and great experience and wisdome would have been highley advantageous to us in the Companys present affaires." In Nov. 1668 Foxcroft formally thanked Jearsey for his support and interposition with the Court on his behalf. It was during Jearsey's chiefship at Masulipatam that he obtained a *farmān* from the King of Golconda exempting the English from imposts at Masulipatam.

By 1669 Jearsey's star had set, and he fell into disfavour with the Directors at home. In Dec. of that year they wrote to Fort St. George, "And for as much as wee are informed that Mr William Jearsey hath contemned our Orders, and permitted grosse prophaness, and scandallous vices to be practized in our Factorie at Mesulapatam, to the dishonor of God and discredit of the

[6] *Factory Records*, Misc. No. 3.

Protestant religion, and hath carried on a private trade not in India only, but promoted the same, out and home, Overrating our goods, and making use of our Stock for his owne private advantage and finding that he hath made verie short returnes of what is come to his hands, and hath neglected to send us his accompts, or any advices of his proceedings, Wee have and doe hereby discharge him from his Chiefship . . . and from being of the Councell or having any direction or management of our affaires." If Jearsey gave the Company "satisfaction" he was to be permitted to remain a year or two in India, but if not, his goods were to be seized and sold, and he was to be sent home by the next shipping.

Meanwhile, there was much bickering going on at Masulipatam. In August 1669, Jearsey was at variance with **Mr Hooke the Chaplain.** The quarrel seems to have arisen from Mrs Jearsey's dislike of the clergyman. The following is the account of the affair as given by **Richard Smithson** to the Council at Fort St. George in a letter dated Masulipatam, 23rd August 1669: — "Notwithstanding the faire Correspondence procured betweene Mr. Jearsey and Mr Hooke Mrs. Jearsey could Never bee Reconciled to him and though she Till now hid her Rancour within her breast, It Appeares It was not Extinguished, Neither Indeede was it wholy hid, for Shee Told mee Long Since that It was the most foolish Act that Ever Mr. Jearsey did to Admitt Mr Hooke againe for (Said shee) thay have allready done Mr Jearsey all the hurt thay can by wrighteing to the Company, and that was very ill done of them that Perswaded him to it, However as to mee and my wife (After A Little Strangeness att first was over) her Deportment was such as may Rather be Called Freindship than Civility.

Upon the 20 Instant some Talebearer told Mrs Jearsey that Mr Hooke should say, that If shee would goe to the Devell her selfe, yett shee should not endeavour to Carry others along with her which was the occasion of that Discontent att Table mentioned in my laste to the Governour. Mr Hooke upon the 21 after Supper, Desiring to Know his Accuser and Declaring that hee Suspected **Walcotts wife** which hee had reason to doe, in Regard shee presumed to foment and to Concerne her selfe in the Aggravating Mrs Jearsey's passion . . . Walcotts wife immediately fell to Revile and Reproach him . . . in which shee was immediately seaconded by her Husband . . . they continued one perpetual Clamour for two Hour together . . . Mr. Jearsey . . . sate as unconcerned and would take no notice of it . . . .

I have alsoe further to acquaint you that uppon the Admission of Mr Hooke, It was agreed that before Sermon, those parts of Scripture and the Prayers prescribed by Authority should bee Read, (and the Truth is uppon other tearmes I would have had no hand in it) and to prevent disorder in, or Contempt of the publick Service of God, which had become occasioned by the Mimicall and stagelike Carriage of **Mr Walcott,** who for Some time before our Arrivall had officiated, I undertook it my selfe, and performed it till yesterday, and then in the forenoon alsoe at which time when I had proceeded soe farr as to the beginning of the Littany, Mr Jearsey Speaking Aloud Said Sing A Psalme which I Readily obayed, att the singinge the Psalm Mr Hooke (as usually) came in, and when it was don, I gave him the Chaire (as formerly) setting downe uppon one side the Roome. Mr Jearsey Said (Aloude) will you not Read the prayers out to which (Mr Hooke being about to Beginn his prayer) I made no Reply; Mr. Jearsey Riseing up Said, what should wee stop to hear this prating for, and went his way; but noe Person followed him but his Nephew, and Mr Hooke proceeded. After Sermon I went to Mr. Jearseys, hee said what is the reason you did not read the prayers out? If I thought you would not have done It I would have done it my selfe, I answered Sir you Interrupted mee, and to have proceeded after the singing the Psalme, being contrary to Custome could have been Interpreted no other, then an Espousing the Quarrell . . . which I will never doe while I Breath. Mr Jearsey said as I am Cheife of this place I can not, nor will not suffer this fellow to preach any longer, the Company have noe Authority but what they derive from the King, and hee will not obay his Lawes, and By God, I will turne him away; I shall suffer more dammage by keeping this fellow here this two months att your perswasion then by all the pretences

the Company have against mee; but (said hee) I will wright to the Fort that Mr Smithson did over perswade mee to Keepe him thus long, and I will protest against them for sending him, and for keeping that other Fanatick Curr att the Fort. These passages weie spoken in the presence of **Capt. Paretree, Mr. Geo. White,** James Walcott, and Severall others.

In the Afternoone the bell being rung and the People Assembled at the usuall time and place (of prayer) Mr Jearsey sent for us to come to prayers to the house where hee liveth where hee appointed Walcott to read Prayers and A Sermon, and hee abused the Scriptures soe farr as to sing Psalm 35 v. 1 to 7. I have Barely Related the Matter of fact without Reflecting or Censure, Referring that to the Consideration of your Worship and Councell, Having this to Add, that Mr Hookes Demeanor and Carriage here hath beene soe farr from giving anny Just offence, that as to his person, hee had gained very much uppon the Affections of most of the English there."[7]

Foxcroft was evidently afraid to interfere with his fiery subordinate. In reply to Mr Smithson's letter, he wrote on the 8th September 1669, that "he [Agent Foxcroft] findes on all hands such unsavory Unchristian, and provoking Epithetes given, that he knowes not whom to blame most." He therefore contented himself with sending a little homily on forgiveness and brotherly love. In conclusion he added, "Though Mr Jearsey swore in passion that he would not suffer Mr Hooke to preach which hee may recall when the heat is over yet wee find not that he hath forbidden him, however Mr Hooke is in the place where he was called, and there lett him abide for wee doe not consent he should remove hither, or to any other place, unlesse further order shall come from the Company."

As soon as the letter containing Jearsey's dismissal reached Fort St. George, the new chief, **Mr Mohun** set out for Masulipatam where he arrived on the 4th July, 1670. He wrote to the Court, "Wee were noe Sooner come [to the factory at Masulipatam] but hee [Mr Jearsey] did voluntarily resigne his power and authority unto us, without shewing him any orders for soe doing, hee as wee suppose well knoweing it before, hee then offering us the Keys of the Goodownes, which wee refused to accept being late. The next day wee demanded of him all Bookes, Papers and Remaines that concerned our Honble. Masters affaires, the which hee promised to doe and soe went into the Godownes where wee found them not onely cleared of all manner of goods whatsoever, but cleane swept and fitt to receive Goods in, from thence wee tooke a view of all the Outhouses, which were all destitute of any Moveables, and wee likewise went into the writeing office in the which was an Invoice Booke with some loose papers, but of no valew, if they had, wee suppose they had gone with the rest, for as yet wee have seen noe accounts or Bookes of accounts of any manner whatsoever though wee have pressed very much for them, whoe hath onely given us in answer that hee will Speedily doe it, which as yet is come to nothing, being sensible of his delayes, and haveing onely received Verball answers wee sent him our Letter and received his which signifyes but little . . . hee makes great Protestations that hee will punctually comply with us, and that rather then hee would owe you anything, would stripp himself to his Shirt, of which wee suppose there is no occasion, and truely wee are apt to thinck noe less of his Complyance then what hee promiseth, for he knowes otherwise ruine will attend him, for wee can have him in Custody when wee please, and for any of his shipping that shall arrive here, make noe question of seizing them, hee tells us that hee intends home with the Agent, and that hee will dispose of his shipping as fast as they shall arrive, the which hee may well doe, for the voyages they are now out upon, without Losse of Passage, will not require the longest above five or six monthes . . . Mr. Jearsey hath done you a good Service in building your howse which is both handsome and well contrived for its bigness, as alsoe all the Outhouses and Godowns, that as yett I have Seene nothing in the Towne like itt, but destitute of all manner of Furniture not affording a bench only bare walls." On the 16th July Mohun wrote to Fort St. George, "Hee (Mr Jearsey) hath promised us wee shall receive his Accounts in a month, in our last unto you wee did Mr Jearsey some injury which was not soe intended for

[7] *O. C.* Collection, Vol. 30.

whereas wee did declare hee had left the Company nothing, wee now finde the contrary, for hee hath left a horse which was the Gift of Juber Beague[8] some tyme since in lieu of the Present hee made him." On the 5th August, there is the following remark, "Mr Jearseys month is not yet expired though well nigh, and **Mr Chamberlaine** is still with him to help perfect those Books soe long in arrears to the which wee wish a happy Conclusion, wee have hitherto given him all Civill respect, and hee in requitall hath plaid us a sneaking dirty trick, in that hee dispatched his Pattamar for the Fort the 10th July without giveing us the least notice, which will give us cause for the future to suspect him." On the 6th August, the departure of the *Consent* under the charge of "**George White, Merchant**" is noted.

Jearsey did not keep his promise and produce his accounts. According to Smithson, who was ordered to examine the Masulipatam books in Dec, 1669, Jearsey "plainly confessed that there were none, and that there had bin none kept since the departure of **Mr Buckeridge**" but there were "memorialls and Dyaries in Loose papers which were sufficient whereby to make upp the bookes." On the 26th Sept. Mohun wrote to Fort St. George, "Mr Jearsey to this day hath given us noe farther satisfaction then what wee have formely advised you which was onely in words, insoemuch that wee are now apt to thinck his performance will bee at latter lames, hee is now extreemly ill of the Goute, and doe expect shall continue soe for some tyme, it being accustomary to him when that distemper seizes him." In Nov. Jearsey was warned that his estate would be seized to meet the Company's claims. In reply he wrote a violent letter to the Masulipatam Council. Although Mohun declared that this letter "rather deserves our contempt or Scorne than a civill responce" he commented on it at length and justified his action because "you have soe long delayed to give satisfaction to that trust imposed in you . . . if you suffer in your reputation or else, blame yourselfe and not us that you have not better complyed haveing had tyme enough, as six yeares and more before our arrivall and five months since which added togeather will undoubtedly cause any rationall man to conclude that it was sufficient to perfect any accounts . . . "

On the 15th Dec. 1670, Mohun wrote to the Fort that, as Jearsey still continued obdurate, and as the Council at Masulipatam had reason to think that he intended to convert his estate into diamonds and thus evade the claims upon him, they had seized a hundred bags of sugar belonging to him, and also his ship *Martin* with her cargo. Mohun stated that Jearsey had been informed of the seizure and had been requested to send someone to see his goods weighed, but had insolently refused. By the 28th Dec. some of Jearsey's accounts had been received — "Mr Jearsey's Books which wee now send you, desire if possible the copies of them may bee taken to goe home with these shipps . . . wee still proceed to secure what of Mr. Jearsey's wee can lite on . . . " In pursuance of this policy, on the 29th Dec. orders were given to stop Jearsey's Ship *Diamond* at Narsapur. On the 20th Jan. 1671, Mohun informed the Agent at Fort St. George that Jearsey's ship *Ruby* was at Pulicat where it could be seized. Mohun adds, "He [Jearsey] has been jugling with Some Eminent Moores here to make over to them his Shipping and goods abroad . . Whereby you will see his good meaneing whether it be not high time to put in Execution the Honble. Company's orders relating to him and his Estate, for whilst he Continues here he doth nothing but study Mischeife both to theires and the nations Interest, and Seduce the Companys Servants, some whereof by theire Continuall resort thither one would thinke mistooke the Factory, nor is it possible to make any Discovery of what fraud or Debts, prices, Expences wee are as you know come to search into whilst he resides here, daunting and fooling the timerous People with the fond Chimeras of his fertile braine . . . resolved in Councell to require the said Mr Wm. Jearsey to prepare to depart hence for the Fort in six dayes together with his kinsman Mr John Jearsey, whome he was pleased to withold from embarkeing on the *Zant* for the Fort and soe for England in contempt of the orders and authority of the honble. Company." From this extract it is easy to see

[8] Zafar Bēg.

that Mohun was jealous of Jearsey's influence in Masulipatam and was irritated that he could not humble his pride. Hence he resorted to every petty persecution in his power.

Jearsey declined to leave Masulipatam until he had orders from the Fort for his departure. In Feb. 1671 he received the following protest from Mohun and his subordinates, "Whereas you have taken little or no notice of our Protest sent you bearing date the 22nd of January and Ditto of the 24th following . . . but have since caused many and great Agrevations by Contemning the Honble. Companys authority and despising us their Servants, having for three Dayes together beaten our Peons publickly in the Streets, and the last Time being the 9th Presant aboute six in the morneing three of your Peons beat one of ours, with many Blowes home to the Factory Doore, with theire Swords drawne and a Gunn presented, all of them in a vanting maner, to the great dishonour of the Honble. Company and future prejudice of theire Traffick and Commerce, and for your Irreguler Applications to the Governour and Cheife officers of this Place to have the accounts Depending betwixt us and you relateing to our maisters business examined before them Publickly in the Banksall and for the bribeing of said Governour &ca for the receiving aid from him for your protections . . . wee do therefore for these Considerations . . . Protest against you Mr William Jearsey for all these your irreguler unjust Proceedings past . . . least you should presume to rob theire Factory as you did our washermen of 300 Ps Longe Cloth on the 4th Instant . . . by your forceable taking them from him with a great many Armed Peons whilst wee were some miles from this Place. . . "

Though the factors at Masulipatam seem to have rejoiced in the downfall of their former chief, in Fort St. George sympathy was entirely on Jearsey's side. Writing to the Court in 1670 the Council expressed their regret that Mr Jearsey "who in the time of the Usurpation had soe highly deserved of you" had incurred its displeasure. They admitted that he had merited his dismissal by refusing to produce his accounts, but hoped that he would "redeem his Reputation." The attitude of Governor Foxcroft towards Jearsey was evidently influenced by fear of getting into ill odour with the Court. Foxcroft would fain have shielded Jearsey, and wrote to Mohun reproving him for the seizure of the ex-Chief's sloops and goods. But, at the same time, the Governor would not undertake the responsibility of milder measures, but reminded the Council at Masulipatam that the affair was "wholy comitted" to them on the spot "by Spetiall dyrection." He however managed to shelve the question of sending Jearsey to England till too late in the season, and advised the debtor to remain at Masulipatam in order to keep an eye on his incoming ships. After the hostile demonstration of the peons of both parties at Masulipatam, Foxcroft ordered Mohun to let Jearsey come to the Fort by land or sea with his own guard for security, and "his necessarys." Writing to the Court about Jearsey in 1671, the Council at Fort St. George remark "that it had been better for the Company's Interests" had he been allowed to "have taken such Freights for his shipps as had bin in rediness." They add, "We cannot suppose you intend his ruine and utter disgrace in this Country, but only a just way to secure your owne debts and wee have observed that you have bin tender of the reputation of others of your Servants that have Served you in such chiefe imployments and against whom you had demands, by ordering all faire and Civill respects to be shewed unto them." Foxcroft also said that he disapproved of the seizure of Jearsey's "Gance" and would give no order as to the selling of it.

There seems no doubt that Jearsey's conduct was most reprehensible, that he had suppressed all accounts, and had lined his own pockets at the Company's expense. But though he had made enemies by his high-handed actions and his passionate temper, his friends were many and staunch, and these stood by him in his downfall. Possibly they also had some interest in his private ventures. In spite of all Mohun could do, Jearsey left Masulipatam with as much state as if he had still been a person of consideration in the Company's service — "Mr Jearsey . . . began his Journey towards you on Satterday last the 25th [March] and according to your orders, marched off without any disquiet from us, with his Collours flying, Drum, Trumpetts, Pipes and hornes sounding, with

a rejement of his gaurd, which order of your[s]under Correction wee judge might well have been spared, since dishonourable to our Maisters, by confirmeing to this people all his irreguler proceedings as warrantable from his goeing herein in such a manner." The Council at the Fort replied that they had only intended Jearsey to be accompanied by the number of peons employed by him before the hostile proceedings at Masulipatam, but, as a matter of fact, they seem to have been only too glad to uphold Jearsey's prestige at Mohun's expense, a course of action bitterly resented by Mohun. This is the probable explanation of his relentless seizure of Jearsey's goods, a large portion of which he appropriated to his own use. Jearsey arrived in Fort St. George on the 9th April. On the 23rd, Mohun wrote to the Fort, "Wee are satisfied that hitherto you have not approved of those seizures wee have made of Mr Wm. Jearseys Goods and therefore did forbeare of late to give you an account of them, but since in your last wee finde it your desire wee readily Comply therewith hopeing it will be no hindrance unto your mirth, which wee desire to incourage, since a merry heart doth good like a Medicine, but a broken Spiritt dryeth the Bones." The sloops *Martin* and *Advice* were sold at Masulipatam for a very low price, 600 pagodas for the former and 140 for the latter.

In a General Letter to the Court dated August, 1671, Mohun and the Council gave their version of all they had suffered at Jearsey's hands. They stated that he left Masulipatam for Madrass on the 25th March and that they trusted they were rid of him; they had seized what goods of his they could lay hands on, and in consequence Jearsey's bearing had been "altogether hostile." He had kept armed peons, converted his house into a garrison, and had seldom less than "8 or 10 loaded pistols and blunderbusses on his table." Mohun and his colleagues declared that only respect for the Company's orders had kept them from retaliation, but the tone of their letter[9] betrays the fact that Jearsey had held his own and had thoroughly intimidated his opponents. In consequence, they took refuge in wordy recriminations. In a letter to the Fort of the 31st Aug. Mohun writes, "Mr Wm. Jearsey we desire If he taketh not his passage for England that you would Continue him with you since we know that his comeing hether will be no lesse then formerly prejuditiall to our Masters affayres which we intreate you will consider and not permit his returne." But, in spite of his bluster, Mohun evidently had reason to regret his severity towards Jearsey, and, in 1671, he tried to shift the responsibility from his own shoulders by referring the whole affair to the Court.

Meanwhile, the old man, with his wife and nephew, John Jearsey, had arrived in Fort St. George. He occupied the house known as "**Agent Greenhill's,**" one of the considerable buildings of the town. The Court continued to urge upon their factors at "The Coast" that Jearsey should be compelled to satisfy all claims against him. The Directors' determination was strengthened by **Mr Thomas Winter,** who had interceded on behalf of his brother, Sir Edward, and had said all the ill he could of the late Chief of Masulipatam. The Court ordered the Council at Fort St. George to see that Jearsey made restitution for the cloth he had seized from Sir Edward, who had further complained that Jearsey had "truckt" his "Elephants for Tymber" and had built with it "a great ship for his own accompt" and that he "would both cheate mee and them [the Co.] to." In Nov. 1670 the Directors wrote, "Wee are informed by **Mr Owen** that came from thence [Masulipatam], that there was noe Accompts at all kept by Mr Jearsey which is the lesse wonder, that wee were soe much abused by him." They continued to urge on the Agent and Council at Fort St. George to induce Jearsey to "make sattisfaction," and also wrote particularly to the same effect to Masulipatam. However, in 1671, after the receipt of the intercessory letter from Fort St. George, they seemed inclined to be more lenient. They replied, "Wee observe what you have written concerning Mr Jearsy from whome wee should bee glad to heare that he hath complyed with Mr Mohune and given us instant satisfaction of which we must expect the event, it being not our Desires to ruine any man, but to recover our Dues from them." Two years later matters were in the same condition, and the

[9] O. C. Vol. 32, No. 3569

Directors, in the hope of expediting matters, ordered that Jearsey's business should be settled as soon as possible without further reference to them.

All this time, the disgraced chief was living at Fort St. George in comfort, being treated with the respect due to a merchant of considerable standing. In 1672 he proceeded to add to his house. "Mr Wm. Jearsey going about to build adjoyning to the house he dwells in, called Agent Greenhill's house, and to carry it up much higher then the old one now is, without leave either asked or given for although he shewed some of us the Plat [? plan] of his design he never gave the least notice of the rise intended, and observing it hath been the constant policy of this place not to suffer any house within the Town walls to be raised higher then a ground floor, except the proper dwelling houses of the **Agents Chambers**, Greenhill and Winter built during their own Agencys untill Agent Foxcroft his time, who being ordied home was not so much concerned for the future, and the **Lieutenant Sutton** and **Gunner Hugh Dixon** and **Serjeant Richardson** being Consulted with and declaring it to be unsafe for the Fort, and that, the old part it selfe was too high, It is Resolved that, to shew Mr Wm. Jearsey that we act not with any malice to him, whatsoever his mind and Carriage be to us, that hee shall bee suffered to build up the new Part as high as the old; and noe higher . . . but with this Caution that on any occasion of danger of Enemyes it must and may be taken down, for the better defence of the Fort, and in case he shall offer to raise it higher notwithstanding this order and his promise sent by his servant Pattana, to forbid and cause him to forbear."

The new Governor, **Sir William Langhorne,** was less friendly to Jearsey than Foxcroft had been. In a letter to the Court of the 1st Jan. 1673, he speaks of Jearsey's "troubles with the French," and says he is "a person so full of bitterness, and his house the Center where all the ill humours meet and Caballe, old and new." The French had seized Jearsey's ship *Ruby* at St. Thomé, but Langhorne remarked there was "neither License, Passport, nor dispatches aboard her to prove her English, the Marriners most part Moors and Gentues." Langhorne declared that he had done his best to help Jearsey in the matter, but got only "clamours" instead of thanks, and that he had vainly "begged him and his wife both to refrain their tongues." He also accused Jearsey of undue intimacy with the Dutch (his brother-in law was chief of the Dutch factory at Sadraspatam), and taunted him with having taken six years to finish his Masulipatam books. About this time Jearsey also lost the *York Ormuze,* which ran ashore at Balasor.

In 1674, five years after his dismissal, Jearsey had still taken no steps to produce his accounts, and the Directors at home became querulous and blamed their servants at Fort St. George for the delay. All the notice that Jearsey took of these complaints was to counterclaim for his goods seized by Mohun. One of Jearsey's securities, **Mr Hugh Squire,** appears to have used his influence in England on Jearsey's behalf, with the result that, on certain conditions, the offending merchant received permission to remain one year longer in India. Sixteen years later he was still at Fort St. George! One of the conditions of Jearsey's remaining in India was that he should send home "2000 pagodas in Callicoes &c or to embark for England" In answer he sent in "a list of pretences" purporting to have a far greater sum in the Conpany's hands. At the same time the Masulipatam books from July 1670—1674 were said to be "wanting." The next year, 1675, the Directors again protested about the delay in settling Jearsey's accounts, and remarked that he had outstayed the "time he first desired."

It was in 1675 also that a protest was entered at Fort St. George about the possession by Jearsey of a private gate to the river: — "The Jetty built by Mr William Jearsey into the River, without nay against the Governours order, being a blind to the two points upon the said River, hindering the Gunns from clearing alongst the town side to the river, is concluded to be unsafe and not to be Suffered. The Doore which he still keeps to the River contrary to the Agents order, and many friendly advertisements from him to shut it up and offers of all possible accommodation for it either the next postern or the water gate both so near his house, and whereof very evill use appears

to have been made in the late troubles, likewise resolved to be of dangerous consequence, and not to be Suffered, it neither being safe nor rationall, that any private person should be in possession of a gate, which renders all our watching and warding insignificant Besides the opportunity of private trade which our Honourable Employers are soe stricktly bent against."

At Masulipatam the factors were still attempting to clear up Jearsey's accounts, but in Sept. 1675 they gave it up as hopeless "one paire of his last three paire of Books" being missing. Meanwhile, the subject of all this correspondence was continuing his trading ventures, and was apparently unmoved by the various representations against him.

By December 1676 the Directors had had enough of delays and excuses. They wrote that they had found the Masulipatam books (possibly the "memorialls, dyaries and loose papers" mentioned by Smithson) that "by them Mr Jerzey appears to be a very great Debtor," and that he had "outstayed the time he first desired." They added, "Wee wonder at the Slight answer you give us as to Mr Jarzey referring us to Metchlepatam from whome you know wee have had no satisfactory Accompt of any proceedings." They concluded by giving positive orders for a speedy and thorough examination of the business, "that if any thing be due to him, wee may doe him right."

It was in 1676 that Jearsey's nephew "**John Jearsey** who serves him and has paid his fine to the Honble. Company" was robbed of his intended wife by **Samuel White**, a notorious character of the time. White had come out with "**Mistress Povey**" in the *Loyal Subject*, commanded by **Capt. Goodlad**. He carried off the lady and married her while the ship lay in Masulipatam Road. In December 1676 the jilted lover returned to Fort St. George on a "new ship" of about 100 tons, built for his uncle at Madapollam. In the same year **Thomas Bowrey** was employed on one of Jearsey's ships at Junk-Ceylon and speaks of him as "an Eminent English Merchant att Fort St. Georges!" Bowrey also relates how Jearsey's two servants escaped the general massacre in Junk-Ceylon in the following year.

In March 1677 Jearsey was at variance with the factors at Fort St. George with regard to the *Recovery* of which he was part owner. The ship was likely to be seized by the "Mores Creditors of the late **Mr Robert Fleetwood**, and finding Mr William Jearsey changing and flying back from his consent to joyn in the saving of Mr Fleetwood's half of said ship for the Honble. Company" it was resolved to take possession of the *Recovery* in the Company's name.

The Directors at last began to realize that it was a hopeless task to attempt to bring Jearsey to account, and their protests grew weaker as time went on. In January 1677 they once more desired that Jearsey's affairs might be settled as "wee doe not like to have things so long depending between us and others." They no longer insisted on the return of the offending servant, and in Dec. of the same year merely desired that his Account might be stated at Fort St. George and sent to England for the Court's decision. "In the mean time if he demean himself peaceably and no way obstruct our affaires he may remaine in the Country till our further Orders."

In Dec. 1678, there is the laconic note at Fort St George, "Touching Mr Jearsey's accounts no Papers to be found." This year is noteworthy for the occurrence of **the first trial by jury in the Court of Judicature at Fort St George**. On the 25th March, **John Tivill** sued William Jearsey for a debt of 10,000 pagodas and was awarded 1174 pagodas damages. On the 2nd of April Jearsey counterclaimed for a debt from Tivill, and obtained 607 pagodas damages. On the 8th May he sued **Mrs. Proby**, widow of **Charles Proby**, for a debt of 10,000 pagodas and obtained 300 pagodas damages. The widow, in her turn, counterclaimed for a debt of 300 pagodas and was awarded 100 pagodas damages, so that Jearsey's litigation in 1678 cost him about 360 pagodas.

In 1676, and again in 1678, 1680, and 1681, the entry, "William Jearsey marryed to a Dutch woman," occurs in a "List of freemen living at Fort St. George, Madraspatnam." He was still a man of substance and the owner of many ships, among them the *Supply* and the *Recovery* for the latter of which he got a pass in Oct. 1678. In a list of contributors to the fund "For the

building of a church in the Towne of Madraspatam September 26, 1677," Jearsey's name appears fifth in order. His donation was 60 Pagodas and "a Saints Bell."[10]

On the 31st Dec. 1679, the Directors again feebly protested at the delay in adjusting Jearsey's accounts. They refused to take as a reason the want of papers and books and considered this plea a "slight excuse." They desired that the "differences" might be brought "unto a just, fair, and amicable end" and therefore sent copies of the charges against Jearsey with his answers, and copies of all books in their hands. They authorized the Agent and Council at Fort St. George to "settle the differences and finally conclude them." In answer to this protest we find the following abstract of a letter to the Court in Dec 1680. "Of Mr Jearsies accounts they excuse themselves for not having the papers, (having written for them) Complayning they have noe place without to keep books, papers, &c. in all that Agency. Mr Jearsey willing to put an end to the business if they had power to pay what is due to him." Jearsey, therefore, far from being a disgraced, broken-down merchant, was still able to dictate his own terms In Jan. 1681 we read, "Mr Jearsey's great Warehouse in his house was hired to pay 1 fanam per Bale for every Bale put into it" Jearsey's position at Fort St. George at this time, eleven years after his dismissal, can be pretty accurately gauged from the following extracts. — On the 28th April 1681, "The Agent and Councell understanding that Mr. William Jearsey with Hodge Abdull Coddar [Hâjî Abdul-Kâdir] a Moor Marchant were endeavouring to provide goods at St. Thoma and ship them off from thence to Manila upon a ship now in this Road belonging to the said Moor, thought good to send for the said Mr Jearsey and to forewarne him from doeing any such thing, seeing he was not denyed any priviledge of trade here, he ought to run the same fate the rest of the Nation did, and not to act soe prejuditiall to the Nations Interest as to carry the trade to another Port to the ruine of this upon such an occasion." The sequel of this matter is seen in the laconic entry of March 1, 1682. — "A ship belonging to Mr Jearsey arrived in this read from Monila."

In another matter regarding this ship we find the Company's servants actively assisting Mr Jearsey, where one could hardly have expected them to do so, considering the terms in which their masters at home were in the habit of alluding to him. The whole story throws an interesting sidelight on the life of those days: — "Thorsday, 18 August, 1681. Whereas Mr Wm. Jearsey having lost his ships rudder and it being found afterwards to be stollen and the persons that Sold it detected, he brought up a list of the persons names that took it away, and the Agent and Councell taking it into Consideration, Sent for the persons that Imploy'd them Vizt **Mr Wm Richardson Mr Samuel Waidson** the first a Lieutenant, the other an Ensign and it being found a Crime of a very Evil Consequence to the Government in soe Combining together as not to discover the thing: though it proved to be done by the Souldiers of ye Garrison, soe that we are of the opinion that if they Combine together for money given them to keep secret who it was that set them a work they may likewise be tempted for money to betray us and besides the threatening note sent to Mr Jearsey wee did not well like of and therefore, 'twas concluded ye officers Vizt Mr W. Richardson, and Mr Samuel Waidson doe deliver up their Commissions and be dismist the Honble. Comps. Service, as likewise those persons that were A[llie]s in carrying away the Rudder be turnd out of Servic[e for o]beying their officers in soe unjust a Command, Contrary to ye Orders of ye Garrison and in n[ot] applying themselves to ye Governour when they were Commanded by their Officers in such an unlawfull thing. The Note that was sent Mr Jearsey is as follo[ws] Vizt

Mr Jearsey

Being under confinement the frui[t] of your Envy, Wee desire to let you know a bottle or two of Brandy to your prisoners will be an acceptable offering and it may be proffitable to you, doe not forget us but Send it quickly: for wee will not forget you but remain

Sr Yours to"

[10] Master Papers.

In Nov. 1681, the Directors once more attempted to assert their authority, and wrote to the Council at Fort St. George ordering them "all excuses sett apart, to send home by this years Shipping . . . Mr William Jerzey, except he do forthwith cleer his Account with us." When this letter reached India, Jearsey was absent from Fort St. George, apparently without leave, and though at a Consultation in December, it was decided to send for him "to make his defence against some charges preferred against him," he does not seem to have troubled to return in any hurry.

In March 1682 the Directors wrote, "We are told Mr Jerzey is gone to settle at ——— being between the Fort and Porto Nova, that he may there be aiding to the Interlopers, if you find it so send for him presently to the Fort by your Peons or otherwise and keep him there." Apparently the suspicions of the Directors were unfounded. At any rate, Jearsey was living at Fort St. George in 1683, and the old man was at last broken both in health and fortune, as the following abstract of a letter from Fort St. George to the Court in Jan. 1683 will show — "Concerning Mr Jersey's account and the difficulty of it, they think Interest must be remitted on both sides, and intend a fuller account by the following Ships, if much be found due, but little is to be had, he is a most deplorable object, they think him neither able to come home, nor pay his debt, but they shall use their endeavours"

In reply the Directors wrote, in July 1683, "Wee allow your Reasons for not sending home Mr Jersey, but whether he be able or not wee cannot Suffer him to stay there, if his account be not cleared, Therefore whether he be able to pay or not make presently a finall and clear account with him, gett what you can in part, and take his obligation for the rest, upon which give him a full discharge from Us, and take the like from him, if afterwards he proves insolvent Wee shall be content to loose the Remainder but whatever you do, make an End of it that Wee may not bee troubled to fill our Letters and keep our Books open upon such old confus'd occasions" Again, in Sept. 1683, the Directors wrote, "Mr Jersy is certainly very much in our debt but the Proofs are so mislayed that tis hard to make out a full Charge against him but in regard he is so sickly as not fitt to voyage for England you may make a final end with him without paying anything out of our Cash."

In Feb. 1685 the Council refer to "Mr Jerzie's account which they can bring to no conclusion, they think a better end might be made with him there than in England." In despair the Court replied, in Jan. 1686, "Make an end with Mr Jearsey and send copies of proceedings." But though feeble and broken, the old fighting instinct was still strong in Jearsey. Early in 1685 he applied to the Council for a trial and requested that it should take place at Fort St. George, evidently fearing that his opponents at Masulipatam would now be too strong for him. His request was acceded to, and on the 30th Sept. 1686 Mr Jearsey "was discoursed about his Accompts" and on the 4th Oct. he "delivered an answer to every Article in the Cos. charges against him." He owned that "he was concerned in Severall Ships, that traded from Port to Port in India, in the time of **Sir George Oxenden,** in whose time and Since to this day, itt has not been a crime for the Companys Servants to trade in Shipping of their own." He utterly denied any misuse of the Company's money or any unnecessary charges.

After much debate, the Council agreed to offer Jearsey 3000 Pagodas to clear his Account since he declared he had no books of his private trade, "and there appearing no proof thereof nor indeed of any part of his charge (neither can itt be expected that hereafter any further proof should be made against him itt being so long agoe, and most if not all the persons dead, that were privy to the transactions of those times)." Jearsey demurred to the offer of the 3000 pagodas and claimed the whole account with Interest, but eventually was induced to accept the Council's offer and signed a formal release on the 4th Oct. 1686, obtaining in return a corresponding release, cancelling all claims for money due from him to the Company. Thus, after defying the Court for sixteen years, Jearsey came out victor in the contest.

Before the news of the settlement reached England, the Directors wrote, in Jan. 1687, "We know not what end you have made with Mr Jerzie, or why you and he should of late be so pressing

for their leaving it to you, to make an end of that busyness which he delayed so many years before, and alwayes made some excuse or other by himself or Friends here, when we sent for him to come home, and he was then able to come. But upon the whole matter, we are very confident, if right were done, he would be found greatly in our debt, one instance whereof you will find in the enclosed copy of a Letter to Mr Johnsons father [Dec. 1662], wherein you will see what a Hector Mr Jerzy was in those dayes, and how liberally he carved for himself by his own confession out of every mans estates: And therefore we can the less think he spared the Companies.'' This was the Directors' parting shot. When once the release was signed they were only too glad to be quit of their ex-chief and his affairs.

Jearsey continued to reside as a "freeman" at Fort St. George, in his own house in Charles Street. In Sept. 1688 his wife Catherine died and was buried in St. Mary's Churchyard on the 27th of the month. Two years later, in Dec. 1690, Jearsey followed her to the grave. He had been in India for forty odd years. He died childless, and what property he left, most likely reverted to his nephew John. The last reference to the man who was for so many years a thorn in the side of the Company occurs in a letter from the Court to Fort St. George in Nov. 1699, "We approve of your buying Mr Jearseyes House for a beating Godown and Granary."

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ECLIPSE TALES AMONG THE TELUGUS

1. Eclipses are caused by the moon's interfering between a money-lender and his client When the client, exasperated by demands for money, is about to strike the money-lender, the moon intervenes and is partly obscured by the striker's body.

2. Eclipses are caused by the moon's similarly intervening between a sweeper and his son, when the sweeper is about to strike his son with his broom.

M. N VENKATASWAMI.

THUNDER — A TELUGU SUPERSTITION.

WHEN a child is roused from sleep by a loud thunder-clap, the mother picks it up, and, pressing it to her breast, murmurs "*Arjuna Sahâdêva? Arjuna Sahâdêva.*" This is an invocation involving the idea that thunder is caused by the *Mahâbhârata* heroes Arjuna and Sahâdêva.

M. N. VENKATASWAMI.

BOOK-NOTICE.

COMMENTARIES BY SRI LAKSHMANA SURI

WHILE the best among Sanskrit *kâvyas* are provided with excellent *ṭîkâs*, the hitherto available commentaries on *nâṭakas* have the disadvantage of being either too short or too diffuse This defect is now being remedied by a distinguished scholar who is a native of Southern India Mr N V. Lakshmana Śâstri — or, as he calls himself in his books, Śrî Lakshmana Sûri — Sanskrit Paṇḍit of St Peter's College at Tanjore, is a worthy successor of Mallinâtha. His commentaries are full and learned, but at the same time clear and practical, and assist not only beginners, but advanced students in understanding difficult verses. They have been printed in the last few years in clear Nâgarî type and embrace two of the three dramas of Bhavabhûti *Uttararâmacharitam* (Kumbakonam, 1900, 209 pages, price, 12 annas) and *Mahâvîracharitam* (Madras, 1904; 280 pages), the *Vênîsamhâram* (without title-page, 195 pages), the *Anargharâghavam* (Tanjore, 1900, 335 pages, price, 2 rupees), and the first half of the *Bâlarâmâyaṇam* (Tanjore, 1899, 198 pages, price, 1¼ rupee) All these editions can be strongly recommended both as University text-books and for the private use of scholars. Another useful work of the Paṇḍit is his *Bhâratasamgraha* (Madras, 1904, 159 pages, price, 12 annas), a prose epitome of the great Indian epic, which has been approved by the Director of Public Instruction, Madras, as a suitable text-book for the high-school classes. The Paṇḍit has also brought out the *Samkshiptarâmâyaṇam* (Tanjore, 1901; 41 pages), a short poetical sketch of the first *kâvya* by his father Muttu Subba Kavi.

E. HULTZSCH.

Halle, 21st April 1905.

NOTES ON THE POET RAJASEKHARA.

BY E HULTZSCH, PH D ; HALLE.

THE poet **Râjaśêkhara** professes to have been the preceptor of a king named Mahêndrapâla or Nirbhaya, and his drama *Bâlabhârata* was intended to be enacted at Mahôdaya or Kanauj before king Mahîpâla, the son of Nirbhaya. On the strength of these statements, Dr Fleet[1] and Prof. Kielhorn[2] have shown that Râjaśêkhara must have lived **at the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century A. D.**, to which time the inscriptions of Mahêndrapâla and his successor Mahîpâla of Kanauj belong. This important identification does not require any further corroboration. But, in connection with it, it is worth while to discuss a few other statements made in Râjaśêkhara's *Viddhaśâlabhañjikâ.*

In his abstract of this drama, Wilson[3] says :— "The manager then" (*viz.* after the benediction) "states that the play is the work of Râjaśêkhara; and the occasion of the performance, the pleasure of the Yuvarâja, probably the installation of the heir in the joint administration of the government" In the original, the prologue opens with the following words of the stage-manager :— "I do not know what is again to-day the order of the assembly of **Śrîyuvarâjadêva.**" A verse which is sung behind the scene reminds him of Râjaśêkhara's *Viddhaśâlabhañjikâ*, and he remarks : — "Therefore, I believe that the order of the assembly of **Śrîyuvarâjadêva** refers to the performance of this (drama)."

In Konow and Lanman's magnificent edition of the *Karpûramañjarî* (p. 186), Dr. Konow appropriately remarks that, if Wilson's opinion is accepted, the word Śrîyuvarâjadêva may refer to the Mahîpâladêva of the *Bâlabhârata* ; but he considers it as possible that Yuvarâjadêva may be one of the two **Chêdi** kings who bore that name, because there is some evidence to show that Râjaśêkhara was connected with the Chêdi princes. I do not hesitate to go one or two steps farther than Dr. Konow. As the word Yuvarâja is preceded by the honorific *śrî* and followed by *dêva*, 'His Majesty,' it cannot possibly mean here 'an heir-apparent' ; and any number of analogous cases could be quoted from inscriptions, to show that it has to be taken as the proper name of a king. Among the two Kalachuri kings of that name, the second is out of the question because he was a contemporary of the Paramâra king Vâkpati II. Muñja,[4] whose copper-plate grants are dated in A. D. 974 and 979.[5] **But the first Yuvarâjadêva,** surnamed **Kêyûravarsha,** may have well been a contemporary of Mahêndrapâla, since his grandfather Kôkkalla I. had been reigning in the time of Mahêndrapâla's predecessor Bhôjadêva of Kanauj.[6] Hence the Śrîyuvarâjadêva of the *Viddhaśâlabhañjikâ* was the Kalachuri king Yuvarâjadêva I, and the first representation of that drama appears to have taken place at his capital Tripurî — the modern Tewar near Jabalpur.[7]

These conclusions are supported indirectly by the fact that the hero of the drama is called **Karpûravarsha** (p. 112, and IV. 18)[8] — a name which strongly reminds of Kêyûravarsha and must have been coined by the poet in imitation of it. Moreover, Pandit Durgaprasad[9] has

1 Above, Vol XVI. p. 175 ff.

2 *Ep Ind.* Vol. I. p. 170 f , *Nachrichten von der K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Gottingen*, 1904, p. 204 ff.

3 *Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus*, third edition, Vol. II. p. 355.

4 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 227.

5 Prof. Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscr.* Nos. 46 and 49. For a date in A. D. 993, see above, Vol XIX. p. 361, No. 168.

6 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 300 f.

7 See General Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. IX. p. 54 ff.

8 I am quoting from the edition of B. R. Arte, Poona, 1886.

9 Preface to the Kâvyamâlâ edition of the *Karpûramañjarî* and *Bâlabhârata*, p. 8.

already stated that a letter from his general Srîvatsa is addressed to him at **Tripurî**[10] on the **Narmadâ,** and that he is shortly afterwards termed 'the ornament of the **Kalachuris**' and 'the **Kalachuri**[10] emperor.' Another designation of his — Trilingâdhipati (p. 39) or Trilingâdhipa (with the various reading Kalingâdhipa, p. 125) — corresponds to the title **Trikalingâdhipati,** which is applied to the Kalachuri kings in their inscriptions.[11] Elsewhere he is referred to by his surname Vidyâdharamalla (pp. 12, 64, 73, 98, 108). Another *biruda* : Ujjayinîbhujanga (p. 12), 'the paramour of Ujjayinî,' suggests that he cherished an ungratified desire for the conquest of Mâlava, one of whose later kings is known to have defeated the Chêdi king Yuvarâjadêva II.[12] Karpûravarsha's alleged contemporaries: Chandravarman of Lâta (I. 9, and pp. 43, 44, 113, 124, 125) and Chaṇḍamahâsêna (p. 43) or Vîrapâla (p. 129) of Kuntala, are unknown to historical records.

The reign of **Kêyûravarsha,** the prototype of Karpûravarsha, seems to have been uneventful. The author of the Bilhari inscription[13] does not trouble about any details of his military career, but wants us to believe *en bloc* that Kêyûravarsha's armies subdued the whole peninsula. In verse 24 he praises his patron as a connoisseur of female beauty, who sported with the damsels of Gauda, Karnâta, Lâṭa, Kaśmîra and Kalinga. There may be some historical truth in *this* statement. For the *Viddhaśâlabhañjikâ* (p. 113 f.) attributes 'a goodly assortment of wives,' as Wilson (p. 358) expresses it, to Karpûravarsha, the counterpart of Kêyûravarsha. These were the princesses of Magadha, Mâlava, Pañchâla, Avanti, Jâlandhara and Kêrala, and the princesses of Lâta and Kuntala are added to this collection at the end of the drama. From another source we learn that Kundakadêvî, a daughter of Yuvarâja I., was the wife of the Râshtrakûta king Vaddiga.[14]

Before composing the *Viddhaśâlabhañjikâ* on behalf of Kêyûravarsha of Tripurî, Râjaśêkhara had been connected with the court of **Kanauj.** Verse 6 of that drama agrees with the prologues of the three remaining plays of the same poet in stating that 'the ornament of Raghu's family, **Mahêndrapâla,** the abode of all arts,' had been the pupil of Râjaśêkhara. This verse helps to solve a difficulty which Pandit Durgaprasad[15] and Dr. Konow[16] have pointed out. On the one hand Râjaśêkhara appears to have been a Kshatriya, as his wife Avantisundarî claimed descent from the **Châhuâna** family. On the other hand, his being called the *guru* or *upâdhyâya* of Mahêndrapâla seems to imply that he was a Brâhmaṇa.

"How can in the present age the daughter of a Kshatriya family become the wife of a Brâhmaṇa?" This question of Pandit Durgaprasad illustrates how impossible such a marriage appears to the Hindu mind. Now the epithet *sakala-kalâ-nilaya,* which the verse just quoted applies to Mahêndrapâla, suggests that Râjaśêkhara's teaching was not of a spiritual kind, but that he instructed his royal pupil in temporal sciences, *viz.* in poetry and in the dramatic art, which were no forbidden ground for a Kshaṭriya. A passage of the *Daśakumâracharita*[17] may be quoted to show that a knowledge of these subjects was considered necessary for a prince. An old minister, who wants to persuade king Anantavarman of Vidarbha to take up the study of the science of polity, begins his exhortation with the words: "My son! High birth and every other personal advantage are found in you in their entirety, and the natural cleverness which you have displayed in dancing, singing and the other arts and in the various branches of poetry, distinguishes you before others."

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10 The printed text of the *Viddhaśâlabhañjikâ* reads 'Nripurî' (IV. 18) and 'Karachuli' (p. 129, and IV. 21).

11 Prof Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscr.* Nos. 186, 407, 416, 419.

12 *Ep. Ind.* Vol I p 227.

13 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 265, verses 25 and 27.

14 Dr Fleet's *Dynasties,* p 418.

15 Preface to the *Karpûramañjarî,* p. 2 f

16 Harvard edition of the *Karpûramañjarî,* p. 180.

17 Peterson's edition of books IV. to VIII. p. 51.

It may have been from the desire of acquiring such accomplishments that Mahêndrapâla engaged Râjaśêkhara as his teacher. The correctness of this view is established by verse 9 of the *Karpûramañjarî*, according to which Râjaśêkhara was 'successively' appointed to the offices of junior poet, chief poet, and preceptor (*upâdhyâya*). The gradation is significant and almost excludes the possibility of taking *upâdhyâya* in the sense of 'a spiritual guide.' Thus there is no reason for doubting that Râjaśêkhara was a member of the military caste. His matrimonial alliance with the Châhuâṇa family may have contributed to his success at the court of Mahêndrapâla of Kanauj. His father had already been in the service of the state; for Râjaśêkhara calls himself 'the son of a great minister (*mahâmantrin*).'[18]

Though Râjaśêkhara had a drama performed at the court of the Chêdi king, he did not thereby sever his connection with the rulers of Kanauj. For, as stated before, his last, unfinished work, the *Bâlabhârata*, was to be represented before **Mahîpâladêva**, the son and successor of his former pupil Mahêndrapâla. In the prologue of the *Bâlabhârata*, he applies to his new patron the complimentary epithet 'Mahârâjâdhirâja **of the country of the Âryas** (Âryâvarta).' It will, thus, not be out of place to add here a note on this geographical term.

According to the *Baudhâyana-Dharmaśâstra*,[19] **Âryâvarta** "lies to the east of the region where (the river Sarasvatî) disappears, to the west of the Black Forest, to the north of the Pâriyâtra (mountain), to the south of the Himâlaya." In the published texts of Baudhâyana (I. 1, 2, 9), Vasishṭha (I. 8) and the *Mahâbhâshya* (II. 4, 10) the words 'to the west of the Black Forest' are represented by *pratyak Kâlakavanât* or *Kâlakâd=vanât*. The majority of the MSS which I used for my edition of Baudhâyana, read *Kâlakâvanât*. But I have since obtained two Grantha MSS. which have *Kanakhalât* and *Kanakhkhalât*. While a tract named 'the Black Forest' is only known in Germany, but not in India, **Kanakhala** is the recognised name of a mountain and place of pilgrimage near **Haridvâr**, where the Gangâ descends into the plain of Hindustan. To the references given by Wilson in his valuable edition of the *Mêghadûta*,[20] the St. Petersburg Dictionary adds several verses of the *Mahâbhârata*, and *Kathâsaritsâgara*, III., 4 f., where we are told: — "There is at **Gaṅgâdvâra** (*i e* Haridvâr) a holy *tîrtha* called **Kanakhala**, where Kâñchanapâta, the elephant of the gods, made the Jâhnavî (Gangâ) descend from the top of **Uśînaragiri**, having cleft that (mountain)."

The distance between Haridvâr and the Sarasvatî as eastern and western boundaries is rather short; but we may be expected to treat as the continuation of the eastern boundary the south-easterly course of the holy river Gaṅgâ past Kanauj and as far as Allahabad, near which the hills forming the southern boundary would commence. In this way the *sûtra* of Baudhâyana would agree with Manu's definition (II. 21) of the 'Middle Country' (Madhyadêśa), where the corresponding words are *pratyag=êva Prayâgâch=cha*, 'and to the west of **Prayâga** (Allahabad).' Thus *pratyak Kanakhalât* may be considered the original reading, and *Kâlakâvanât*, &c., to be clerical mistakes for it.

In Buddhist works[21] the eastern boundary of the Middle Country is placed much further east at a town called Kajaṅgala, and the northern boundary at 'the mountain called Usîraddhaja' or 'Usîragiri.' Kajaṅgala is of course quite distinct from Kanakhala, but **Usîragiri** looks like a corruption of Uśînaragiri, which the *Kathâsaritsâgara* mentions in connection with Kanakhala. Uśînara occurs already in the *Aitarêya-Brâhmaṇa* (VIII. 14) and in the *Sûtras* of Pâṇini (II. 4, 20, and IV. 2, 118) as the name of a country; it was probably converted into Usîra because it reminded the Buddhist monks of the familiar *uśîra*, 'khaskas.'

18 Harvard edition of the *Karpûramañjarî*, p. 182.

19 Compare Buhler's translation, p. 147.

20 Calcutta, 1813, p. 59.

21 See Prof. Rhys Davids' paper in *Journ. R. As. Soc.* 1904, p. 83 ff. Compare *Si-yu-ki*, translated by Beal, Vol II. p. 193.

ASOKA'S ALLEGED MISSION TO PEGU (SUVANNABHUMI).

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S. (RETD.).

IN a recent publication I ventured to express **doubts concerning the reality of the Buddhist Mission alleged to have been despatched by Asôka to Pegu (Suvaṇṇabhûmi),** which had been accepted by me without question some years ago[1] I desire to explain the reasons for scepticism on the subject in this article more fully than was possible in the work alluded to. I assume that Colonel Gerini, who has made a special study of Indo-Chinese and Malay geography, is right in **identifying Suvaṇṇabhûmi with the shores of the Gulf of Martaban**;[2] that is to say, with territory which may be described as that surrounding the towns of Pegu and Moulmein, or as comprehending the deltas and lower courses of the Irrawaddy, Sittang, and Salween. This identification is supported by the Kalyâṇi inscriptions, as well as by Burmese tradition, and is accepted by Sir R. Temple and Mr. Taw Sein-Ko.

The belief, current universally in Burma, and held by many European authorities on Buddhism, that the religion of Gautama in its southern, or nearly primitive, form was introduced into Suvaṇṇabhûmi during the third century B. C. by **Asôka's missionaries,** rests primarily on the authority of the *Dîpavaṁsa*, a Ceylonese chronicle, probably compiled during the fourth century A. D.,[3] and is consequently of respectable antiquity. It will be convenient to repeat the **list of foreign missions as given by the chroniclers:—**

	Country.	*Missionaries.*
1.	Kaśmîr and Gandhâra (Yusufzî) ...	... Majjhantika.
2.	Mahîśamaṇḍala (Maisûr)	... Mahâdêva.
3.	Vanavâsi (North Kannara)	.. Rakkhita.
4.	Aparantaka (coast north of Bombay)	... Yôna-Dhammarakkhita.
5.	Mahâraṭṭha (West Central India) ...	... Mahâdhammarakkhita.
6.	Yôna region (N.-W. Frontier) ...	... Mahârakkhita.
7.	Himavanta (the Himalayan region)	... Majjhima, Kassapa, &c.
8.	Suvaṇṇabhûmi (Pegu and Moulmein)	... Sôna and Uttara.
9.	Laṅkâ (Ceylon)	... Mahinda (Mahêndra), &c.

The credibility of this list, which at first sight looks suspicious, **does not rest solely upon the authority of the island chronicles.** The fact of Mahinda's mission to Ceylon is firmly established by the concurrent testimony of northern and southern tradition, which is adequately supported by that of the Ceylonese monuments. Whether the princely missioner was a son or a brother of Aśôka, is a detail which does not affect the main fact. The reality of the conversion of Kaśmîr by Majjhantika is attested by Tibetan tradition as recorded in the *Dulva*;[4] and, as is well-known, the inscriptions on the Sâñchi caskets expressly affirm that Majjhima was the apostle of the Himalayan region, and mention a contemporary named Kassapa, who may be assumed fairly to be the colleague of Majjhima named by the Ceylonese writers.[5]

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[1] *Asoka* (1901), p 55: *Early History of India* (1904), p 166.

[2] *J R. A. S*, 1904, p 247 Suvaṇṇabhûmi included the towns of Pegu and Thatôn, the latter of which lies about forty miles nearly due north from Moulmein, and corresponded approximately with the ancient Talaing kingdom of Râmaññadêśa (*ante*, Vol XXI. (1892), pp. 380, 383). Prof. Rhys Davids seems to give an undue extension to the name when he says that "perhaps the Malay Peninsula is meant, which the classical geographers (*teste* Lassen, II 249) call the Golden. More probably the whole coast from Rangoon to Singapore, which is still so called in Ceylon" (*Buddhism*, S. P. C. K, latest ed., p 227 note).

[3] The whole of the *Mahâvamsa*, which repeats the tale, seems to be considerably later in date.

[4] Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 167.

[5] Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 287, 289, 317.

This independent corroboration of three out of the nine missions mentioned in the list raises a strong presumption of the correctness of the whole, which must prevail unless refuted by cogent evidence.

Comparison with the express testimony of Aśôka's Rock Edicts V. and XIII. on the subject of missions discloses points of both agreement and disagreement between the inscriptions and the chronicles. The edicts do not name any of the missionaries, and in that respect they neither confirm nor contradict the testimony of the Ceylonese writers. The only personal names distinctly confirmed by independent evidence are those of Mahinda (Mahêndra), and Majjhima (Madhyama). The occurrence of the name of Kassapa (Kâśyapa) at Sâñchi is not absolutely conclusive, as the identity of the person so named in the casket records is not proved.

The countries to which missionaries were sent, according to the edicts, were as follows: —

1. The inhabitants of the empire generally ;
2. The border nations — Yônas, Kambôjas, Gandhâras, Râshṭṛikas, Pitênikas, Andhras, Pulindas, Nabhâtas (?), Nâbhapantis (?), and others unnamed ;
3. The forest tribes ;
4. The southern independent kingdoms — Chôḷa, Pâṇḍya Satiyaputra, and Kêralaputra ; [6]
5. Ceylon ;
6. The foreign states of the Greek (Yôna) king Antiochos, and of Ptolemy, Antigonos, Magas, and Alexander.

So far as the entries Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 5 in this list are concerned, they accord with the testimony of **the chroniclers** ; but the latter omit all reference to entry No. 4, the southern kingdoms in the Tamil and Malabar country, as well as to No. 6, the foreign Hellenistic kingdoms, while they **include Suvaṇṇabhûmi (Sovanabhûmi),** which is not mentioned in the edicts.

Of course, if monuments of Aśôka's age still exist in Burma, that fact would outweigh the silence of the edicts, and would establish the testimony of the Ceylonese chronicles. There is some weak evidence that such monuments are in existence, but it needs critical examination and either verification or disproof. Mr. Taw Sein-Ko states that the Shwemôktaw pagoda at Sagaing in the district of that name was built by Aśôka, according to tradition, and has been renovated many times with new coverings. A similar tradition attaches to the Shwezadi pagoda in the Ruby Mines District, and the author observes that the shape and architecture of this building bespeak its ancient origin.[7] He also recommends the archæological survey of Yazagyo and Inweyin in the Chindwin Valley for the reason that that region is "redolent with the traditions of the Maurya dynasty under whose ægis Buddhism became a world-wide missionary religion."[8]

The information given in the above extracts is obviously too meagre to justify any positive inference, but, so far as I can judge, the traditions alluded to are of very slight historical value, and are probably mere echoes of the stories imported from Ceylon or India in ages long subsequent to Aśôka. All the localities named, the Sagaing and Ruby Mines Districts, and the Chindwin Valley, are in Upper Burma, and remote from the sea. They are distant some two hundred miles, more or less, from Akyab in Arakan, and about double that distance from Rangoon in Pegu. It appears incredible that Aśôka's agents should have penetrated to Upper Burma, and that territory so difficult of access should have been included in the country of Suvaṇṇabhûmi referred to by the Ceylonese chroniclers.

6 The Satiyaputra and Kêralaputra kingdoms are mentioned only in Rock Edict II, which deals chiefly with 'curative arrangements'; but we may reasonably suppose that missionaries also were sent to those countries, as well as drugs and doctors.

7 *Report on Archæological Work in Burma for the Year 1903-04*, pp. 9, 30.

8 *Ibid.* for the year 1902-03, p. 2.

Attention should be directed specially to the Shwezadi pagoda in the Ruby Mines District, which, according to Mr. Taw Sein-Ko, is indicated by its shape and architecture as being really ancient. Perhaps exact local investigation might fix the approximate date of the building. It may be very old, and yet more recent than Aśôka by many centuries His name is so familiar to all Buddhists, and so frequently associated with all sorts of places, that the mere popular belief connecting him with a pagoda in a remote district of Upper Burma has very little significance. Sir R. Temple points out (*ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 346), that "form alone can never be relied on for estimating the age of a pagoda in Burma, because of the tendency to go back to the old types," and cites examples of modern buildings in the most approved ancient form. **So far as present information goes, I do not find in the Burmese traditions and monuments any substantial support for the statement of the Ceylonese chroniclers that Buddhism was introduced into Pegu and Moulmein by the missionaries dispatched during the reign of Aśôka.**

Professor Kern, working on purely literary lines, felt grave suspicions concerning the authenticity of the Ceylonese story of the conversion of Pegu.

"The Simhalese," he writes, "mention several other apostles, as Rakkhita, Rakkhita the Great, "Dhammarakkhita the Greek, and Dhammarakkhita the Great,[8] the similarity of whose names is apt "to move suspicion, although we have no right to deny the existence of those persons altogether. "Still more suspicious is the duumvirate Sona-Uttara, that went to Suvarnabhūmi, the Gold-land, and "there, after clearing the country from Piśācas, delivered many from bondage[9] Whether this "duumvirate be identical with the Thera Sonottara or simply Uttara, living in the time of Duṭṭha-"Gāmani, is doubtful.[10] . . . The duumvirate Sona and Uttara is unknown to the N. Buddhists, "unless we choose to identify Uttara with Dharmottara who founded two sects, the Tāmraśāṭīyas and "Saṅkrāntikas; a really unique performance[1] Whether the Arhat Uttara, who is represented as living "in the East,[2] should be considered to be one and the same person is doubtful.

"Such and similar accounts, to be gathered from various sources, have a value of their own, "inasmuch as they reflect the state of mind of their framers and upholders, as historical documents "they must be handled with the greatest precaution."

" 8 He who ordained the Yuvarāja Tisya, the younger brother of Aśoka, Mahāv. p. 36, Bodhiv. 106.

" 9 Dīpav. l. c. Curiously enough Soṇa in Prākṛt means "gold," and *Uttara* is "North", often the Gold country is said to lie in the North.

"10 Dīpav. xix 6, Mahāv. 172 ff.

" 1 Wassilief B. 41, 42, 113, 118, 150, 233.

" 2 Tār. 3, 8; 291, 299" —(Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, 1896, p 117.)

Most European historians of Buddhism having been accustomed to treat **the Mahâvaṁsa and Dîpavaṁsa** as the primary authorities for the story of the development of the Buddhist church during the reign of Aśôka, it is difficult to induce scholars to shift their point of view, and to recognize frankly the immeasurable superiority of the contemporary inscriptions as historical material. The earliest of the Ceylonese chronicles was compiled about six centuries after the time of Aśôka, and it is impossible to imagine that tradition should not have corrupted the exact truth during so long a period. The traditions embodied in the books of the monasteries of Ceylon undoubtedly include a considerable amount of solid historical fact, but that substratum is overlaid with much rubbish, and it is not always easy, or even possible, to disentangle the true from the false. The testimony of the Aśôka inscriptions is free from this kind of difficulty, and the documents, as a whole, produce an impression of honesty and veracity, comparing very favourably with the bombastic utterances of later monarchs. Facts vouched for by the inscriptions of Aśôka may, therefore, be accepted without question, because the testimony is good on the face of it, and no better can be looked for. **When the evidence of the inscriptions differs from that of later literary traditions, the epigraphic authority should be preferred without hesitation.**

Applying these principles to the case of Aśôka's foreign missions, we may readily accept, as everybody does, the assertion of the edicts that missionaries were dispatched to the southern states of India, and to five Hellenistic kingdoms in Europe, Asia, and Africa, although the chronicles of Ceylon are silent on the subject of those missions. We admit at once that the list of missions in the *Dîpavaṁsa* is defective, and it is easy to suggest plausible reasons for the omissions. The failure to mention the dispatch of emissaries to Syria, Cyrene, Epirus, Egypt, and Macedonia is readily explained by the late date of the chronicles, which were compiled at a time when those kingdoms had long ceased to exist. The unwillingness to mention the evangelization of the southern states of the Indian mainland may be accounted for by the secular hostility between the natives of Ceylon and the Tamils to the north of the Straits, which naturally would indispose the oppressed Sinhalese to recognize the ancestors of their oppressors as having been brothers in the faith. The island monks were eager to establish their direct connexion with Magadha through the agency of Mahinda and his mythical sister, and had no desire to recall the ancient days of friendly intercourse with the hated Tamils.

The inclusion of Suvaṇṇabhûmi in the chroniclers' list of evangelized countries, and its omission from the list in the edicts, presents a more complex problem. The former enumeration, so far as it goes, undoubtedly is in the main authentic, and the presumption therefore is in favour of the truth of the allegation that Sôna and Uttara really were sent to the country east of the Bay of Bengal. But the presumption may be rebutted.

The silence of the edicts concerning the alleged fact goes a long way towards disproving its reality, for Aśôka seems to have intended to give a complete account of his missionary operations, and, if he had really sent emissaries to Suvaṇṇabhûmi previous to the publication of the Rock Edicts, it is inconceivable that he should have omitted to mention in them an event of such importance. If the mission had been sent during the period intervening between the publication of the Fourteen Rock Edicts and the later inscriptions, which extend up to almost the close of the reign, it is highly improbable that an opportunity should not have been found for celebrating the easterly extension of the *dharma*.

The observations of Professor Kern quoted above supply other reasons for rejecting, or at least doubting, the Sôṇa and Uttara tale.

The study of Burmese archæology, although still in its infancy, furnishes still more cogent arguments against the historical truth of that story. The evidence on the subject is necessarily very incomplete at present, owing to the imperfection of our knowledge of the history and antiquities of the Burman countries, but, even as it stands recorded, it suffices to shift the burden of proof to the shoulders of the persons desirous of upholding the truth of the Ceylonese statement.

The existing Buddhist church of Burma is undoubtedly of Ceylonese origin, and the belief appears to be universal in Burma that the religion of Gautama was first brought to the country by Sôṇa and Uttara, the emissaries of Aśôka's teacher Tissa. But the present organization of Burmese Buddhism demonstrably dates only from the fifteenth century, when a reformation was effected by Dhammachêti, or Râmâdhipati, king of Pegu. This prince recorded his proceedings in the bulky inscriptions at Kalyâṇî, which testify that by reason of the succession through Sôna and Uttara having been interrupted, it became necessary to provide a new line of 'apostolic succession' by means of the importation from Ceylon of monks, who claimed to be the legitimate spiritual descendants of Mahinda. The reformation was successfully carried through, and it would be very difficult to prove, I believe, that the existing mass of tradition, or pseudo-tradition, in Burma can be carried back beyond the time of Dhammachêti, who set up the Kalyâṇî records in 1476 A. D.

Mr. Taw Sein-Ko and Sir Richard Temple, in the course of their tours, have certainly **failed to trace any early epigraphic indication of the alleged Aśôkan mission.** No records in the script used in Aśôka's time have been discovered either in Râmaññadêśa, or at Pagán, "whither it is supposed that Burmese conquerors removed their spoils of war";[9] and if Aśôka really had any dealings with the country such records might be expected to exist.

Closer examination of the Burmese Buddhist literature and antiquities confirmed the impressions made on the observers during a preliminary survey of the ground, and showed that **the technical terms of Burmese Buddhism to a large extent are derived from Sanskrit, not from Pâli,** and that **the oldest known sculptures represent a pantheon, which at first sight seems to belong to Brahmanical Hinduism, but is really that of Hinduised Buddhism.**

The detailed evidence, so far as it has been published, will be found in the papers cited, and need not be recapitulated here. It will suffice to quote **the definite propositions formulated by Mr. Taw Sein-Ko,** and to say that they seem to me to be well supported by the facts. He holds **(I) that "the form of Buddhism first introduced into Burma Proper was that of the Mahâyâna or Northern School; (II) that the Buddhist scriptures when first introduced were written in Sanskrit, which is the language of the Northern School; (III) that the Southern School, or Hînayâna, the language of which is Pâli, subsequently absorbed and assimilated, by its stronger vitality, the Northern School, which, through the cessation of intercourse with Northern India, had fallen into corruption and decay."**[10] If these propositions are valid, the story of the Asokan mission to Suvaṇṇabhûmi must be rejected.

The questions concerning the date and mode of the introduction of Buddhism into Burma are only one part of the larger enquiry into the influence of India on the Malay Peninsula, Cambodia, Java, and the other islands of the Archipelago. Much has been done by French and Dutch scholars to elucidate the facts of the transference of Indian ideas and civilization to the transmarine regions named, but, so far as I know, no general review of the evidence has been published, and the subject remains obscure, except perhaps to some few specialists. The oldest Sanskrit inscriptions discovered on the east coast of Java and in West Borneo are of the fifth century A. D.,[11] and the most ancient known Indian king of Cambodia was Śrutavarman, who lived in the same age Professor Kern, who has devoted himself specially to the subject, holds that the Indian influence in Cambodia was at its height in the sixth century;[12] and the late Dr. Rost, when discussing the inscriptions from Keddah and Province Wellesley in the Malay Peninsula, expressed the opinion that **"these inscriptions confirm in a remarkable manner the conclusions to which the recent decipherments, by Barth, Bergaigne, Senart, and Kern, of the Cambodian inscriptions, inevitably tend — viz., that Buddhism came to the peninsula and Camboja, not from Ceylon, but from regions on the coasts of India where the so-called northern type of the religion was current."**[13]

I suspect that, when further advance in the study of Burmese antiquities shall have been made, proof will be obtained that **the effective propagation of Buddhism in its Mahâyâna form in Burma occurred chiefly during the same period — the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era** — and that that event was merely an incident in the diffusion of Indian culture in the countries to the east beyond the sea. At present, definite proofs of the truth of this suggestion do not seem to be available, but apparently it would be **difficult to show that**

[9] *Ante,* Vol XXI. (1892), p. 386.

[10] *Ante,* Vol XXII. (1893), p. 165; and Sir R. Temple's remarks, *ibid.* p 358.

[11] *Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China* (Trûbner's Or. Ser), Vol. I. p 55, note by Dr. Rost. A lis of references on the general questions of Indian influence on the Archipelago is given in that note, which was published in 1886.

[12] Kern, *Gedenkteekenen der Oude Indische Beschauung in Kambodja.* Reprint from *Onze Eeuw,* 1904, p. 47.

[13] *Miscellaneous Papers,* Vol I. p. 234, note.

Buddhism of any kind was widely known in Burma before the fifth century, and the evidence, so far as it has been published, indicates that the earliest Burmese Buddhism was derived from a late Tantrik development in Northern and Eastern India. **The Ceylonese legend of the introduction of the Hînayâna, or primitive, form of Buddhism into Pegu during the reign of Aśôka does not seem to be supported by any solid facts.**

The modern Burmese are firmly convinced that their ancestors were taught Hînayâna Buddhism, not only by the missionaries of Aśôka in the third century B. C., but again by the famous **Buddhaghôsa** in the fifth century A. D. Most writers on Buddhism treat Buddhaghôsa as a real historical personage, and accept the traditional stories of his life as genuine history, without regard to **the destructive criticism published long ago by Mr. Foulkes.** That criticism has not attracted the attention which it deserves in my judgment, and I have not come across any publication in which either the refutation on Mr. Foulkes' cogent arguments is attempted, or the value of his work is adequately recognized.

Having shown that the dates assigned to Buddhaghôsa range at least from 307 B. C. to 607 A. D., and that the numerous authorities which profess to relate the history of his life and deeds are hopelessly contradictory, **Mr. Foulkes summed up the discussion** in language, which veils the nakedness of very decided opinions in a decent garb of ironical hypothesis. "It may be," he writes, "that the personality of the legendary Buddhaghôsa is destined to recede from view, "gradually dissolving before new facts and under the increasing light of the new criticism. It may "be that the name of Buddhaghôsa, when it had once become famous, was attached as a matter of "literary policy to the works which have hitherto been regarded as of his own composition, as in the "instances referred to above, of the *Burmese Grammar* and the Burmese *Code of Manu.* It may be "that one of the old sects of the Southern Buddhists utilized a similar policy as an effective "instrument of controversy in building up the orthodoxy of its own school in the face of its "adversaries. Or it may even be that, as a counterpart of the Avalôkitêśvara of the Northern "Buddhists, emanating from the Buddha and manifesting him to the world, this 'Voice of Buddha' "may have been incorporated by some far-seeing old ascetic of the Mahâvihâra of Anurâdhapura in "the spirit of the prophecy ascribed to Gautama Buddha, — 'when I have passed away and am no "longer with you, do not think that the Buddha has left you. You have my words, my explanations "of the deep things of truth, the laws which I have laid down for the society ; let them be your guide, "the Buddha has not left you.' "[14]

Personally, I do not believe in the existence of Buddhaghôsa, 'the Voice of Buddha,' as an historical personage, any more than I believe in the existence of Sanghamitrâ, 'the Friend of the Order,' the supposed daughter of Aśôka.

Mr. Taw Sein-ko, travelling by quite a different road, arrived at the same conclusion as that reached by Mr. Foulkes. **When studying the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions,** recorded by king Dhammachêti of Pegu in 1476 A. D., **he was struck by "the absolute silence of these "lithic records regarding the celebrated Buddhist divine Buddhaghôsa,** the author of "the *Visuddhimagga* and *Aṭṭhaśâlinî*, **and the Apostle who is reputed to have brought "a complete set of the Buddhist scriptures from Ceylon to Thatôn in the 5th century "A. D.** If the story about Buddhaghôsa's advent to Thatôn be historically true, the event would "have been considered an important epoch, and would certainly have been mentioned in these "inscriptions, which give a *résumé* of the vicissitudes of Buddhism in Burma and Ceylon, and

[14] Foulkes, 'Buddhaghôsa,' *ante*, Vol XIX. p 122 The whole of this brilliant and closely reasoned article deserves the close attention of Pâli scholars, but, so far as I have seen their writings, that attention has not been bestowed upon it. Professor Rhys Davids, in his American Lectures on Buddhism, published in 1896, writes with great confidence about Buddhaghôsa, and gives no indication of having read or considered Mr. Foulkes' criticism. The scepticism felt by that scholar concerning the commonly received legends of Buddhaghôsa was first briefly expressed in his valuable essay entitled 'The Vicissitudes of the Buddhist Literature of Ceylon,' *ante*, Vol. XVII. (1888), pp. 123, 124.

"which were erected by a king, who was called from the cloister to the throne, and to whom every "kind of information was accessible. Considering that the identification with the Suvaṇṇabhûmi "of the ancients has been urged in favour of three countries, Râmaññadêśa, the Malay Peninsula, "and Cambodia, in all of which gold is found, one cannot help being sceptical as to the historical "accuracy of the account relating to the mission of Buddhaghôsa to Tatôn. Such scepticism "becomes somewhat confirmed, when it is borne in mind that there is no palæographical affinity "between the Talaing and Siṅhalese alphabets, and that Cambodian writers affirm that the great "divine came to *their* country—*vide* Bowring's *Kingdom and People of Siam* (Vol. I. p. 36). See "also the conclusions of Mr. Foulkes in his careful researches into the legends of Buddhaghôsa, "*ante*, Vol. XIX. pp. 121, 122."[15]

The Buddhaghôsa legend, as Mr. Foulkes points out, **is "quite unknown to the Northern Buddhists and their Chinese, Japanese, and Mongolian congeners"; while in its Ceylonese form, it is of comparatively modern date.** It "does not occur in the *Mahâvamsa* attributed to Mahânâma in the fifth century A. D., but in the continuation of that work by Dharmakîrti in the thirteenth century." The authority for the legend is, therefore, practically none, and the story would never have obtained credence but for the accidental circumstances which have caused European scholars to attach an exaggerated value to the much doctored traditions in the monkish chronicles of Ceylon.

The evidence seems to me not only to warrant, but to require, the absolute rejection of the tale of Buddhaghôsa's mission to Burmese territory. The alleged mission, said to have been sent by Aśôka to Suvaṇṇabhûmi, or Pegu, seems to be equally mythical, and the truth apparently is that the earliest Burmese Buddhism was a late Mahâyânist development, brought from India. The exact period in which Indian Buddhism was introduced into Burma has not been determined, but there is some reason for suggesting that the chief development took place during the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era.

The following observation by Mr. Taw Sein-ko indicates **one of the routes by which the importation was effected:** "The finding among the ruins of Tagaung of terra-cotta tablets, bearing Sanskrit legends, affords some corroboration to the statement of the native historians that, long before Anòrat'azò's conquest of Patôn in the tenth century A. D., **successive waves of emigration from Gangetic India had passed through Maṇipur to the Upper Valley of the Irrawaddy, and that these emigrants brought with them letters, religion, and other elements of civilization."**[16]

SOME TELUGU FOLKSONGS.

BY M. N. VENKATASWAMI, M.R.A.S., M.F.L.S.

I.

A Mill Song.

Text.	**Translation.**
Sanda Mâma! Sanda Mâma! Naila Sanda Mâma!	Uncle Moon! Uncle Moon! Monthly Visitor, Uncle Moon!
Sanda Mâma pillalu Nîlagiri kanyalu!	Uncle Moon's children are Nîlagiri's daughters!
Dârabandûla sâtu dâkkunai chiluka.	Little bird, won't you hide behind the door-sill?

[15] *Ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 14.

[16] 'A Preliminary Study of the Poûdaung Inscription of S'inbuyin, 1774 A. D.' (*ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 7).

Text.

Nîyanti chiluka, yendu yelli nâvu ?

Maddi maddi tuppakunda nîlu kotta poyai !
Komma komma tuppakunda puvulaira poyai !

Yairina provulunni pallamulo poyai !
Chedi pulla padi pulla ratam gahinchu !

Atu poyai â baṇḍî Bezvâda dâka !

"Bezvâda Kanaka Duraga, puvulu Konavamma!"
"Nî puvulu vailalu cheppu, pujârî."
"Pachha gannaira puvulu padi vaiyulu Tulli.
Yerra gannaira puvulu vehi vaiyulu Tulli."
"Abba, abba, î puvulu maimu konalaimu."
Atu poyai â baṇḍî Mangalagiri dâka !

"Mangalagiri Narasimalu, puvulu gonaru, Swâmi!
"Nî puvulu vailalu cheppu, pujârî."

"Pachha gannaira puvulu padivalyalu, Swâmi.
Yerra gannaira puvulu vehi vaiyalu, Swâmi."
"Abba, abba, î puvulu maimu gonalaimu."
Atu poyai â baṇḍî Nellûru dâka !

"Nellûru Ranganâyakulu, puvulu gonaru, Swâmi !"
"Nî puvulu vailalu cheppu, pujârî."

"Pachha gannaira puvulu padi vaiyulu, Swâmi.
Yerra gannaira puvulu vehi vaiyulu, Swâmi."
"Abba, abba, î puvulu maimu konalaimu."
Itu dirigi â baṇḍî Haidarabâdu vachhai !
"Haidarabâdu Mankâlamma, puvulu Konavamma!"
"Nî puvulu vailalu cheppu, pujârî."

"Pachha gannaira puvulu padi vaiyulu, Tulli.
Yerra gannaira puvulu vehi vaiyulu, Tulli."
"Abba, abba, î puvulu maimu konalaimu."
"Puvulu konalaika potai, maima nîku istâmu;
Mâ vuru rakshinchumu, Tulli."

Translation.

So high-born a little bird, why did you come out ?
Leaving none, pour water into the alleys !
Leaving none, gather flowers from the branches !
Tumble into the hole the guava flowers !
With here a bit and there a bit build the wood into a car !
The cart goes to the further side as far as Bêzwâda.
"O Kanakâ Durgâ of Bêzwâda, buy the flowers, Mother !"
What is the price of your flowers, my priest ?"
"Yellow *kanairs* cost ten thousand, Mother !
Red *kanairs* cost one million, Mother !"
"Alas ! Alas ! we cannot buy these flowers."
The cart goes to the further side as far as Mangalagiri.
"Narasimalu of Mangalagiri, buy the flowers, my Lord !"
"What is the price of your flowers, my priest ?"
"Yellow *kanairs* cost ten thousand, my Lord !
Red *kanairs* cost one million, my Lord !"
"Alas ! Alas ! we cannot buy these flowers."
The cart goes to the further side as far as Nellûr.
"Rangânâyakulu of Nellûr, buy the flowers, my Lord !"
"What is the price of your flowers, my priest ?"
"Yellow *kanairs* cost ten thousand, my Lord !

Red *kanairs* cost one million, my Lord !"
"Alas ! Alas ! we cannot buy these flowers !"
The cart returns this way to Haidarâbâd.
"Mankâlamma of Haidarâbâd, buy the flowers, Mother !"
"What is the price of your flowers, my priest !"
"Yellow *kanairs* cost ten thousand, Mother !
Red *kanairs* cost one million, Mother !"
"Alas ! Alas ! we cannot buy these flowers !"
"As you cannot buy the flowers, we give them to you ;
Only do you protect our country, Mother !"

Notes.

Like most of the songs sung by women when grinding corn at the handmills in the early morning, this song takes a religious turn. It relates to the ceremony at the New Moon of making a libation and then building a little car of flowers and dedicating it The cart is then supposed to go the round of the great shrines known to the singer and finally to stop at that of her tutelary deity, to whom the flowers are given.

II.

A Nursery Shâstram.

Text.	Translation.
Gugugu!	Gugugu?
Yavai âru?	Who's there?
Râmachiluka.	Râma's bird.
Yendhu vachhâvu?	Why have you come?
Gudulupetta.	To lay eggs
Yaimi gudu?	What egg?
Tolugudu.	The shell-less egg.
Gudulu yeudhuku?	What's the egg for?
Pillalu chaiyâ.	To hatch chickens.
Pillalu yeudhuku?	What are the chicks for?
Pissiki petta.	To have their necks wrung.

Notes.

This song purports to be a conversation with a parrot.

Shâstram is here a didactic tale.

III.

A Lullaby.

Text.	Translation.
Oh, oh, âyî!	Oh, oh, âyî!
Oh, oh, âyî!	Oh, oh, âyî!
Jollalu gottunga jonnalu pondu.	Rocking the corn ripens the millet.
Abbai gottunga rajanal pondu.	Baby striking ripens the *râjanal.*
Oh, oh, âyî!	Oh, oh, âyî!
Oh, oh, âyî!	Oh, oh, âyî!
Chilakallu chaila raigi jidi komma ekkai.	Sparrows in glee sit on the branches of the cashew-nut.
Abbai chaila raigi mâma buja mekkai.	Baby in glee sits on uncle's shoulder.
Oh, oh, âyî!	Oh, oh, âyî!
Oh, oh, âyî!	Oh, oh, âyî!
Andâra mâmalu Sanda Mâmalu.	Everybody's uncle is Uncle Moon.
Abbai mâmalu Râma Lakshmaṇulu.	Baby's uncles are Râma and Lakshmaṇa.

Notes.

The words *Oh, oh, âyî* are no doubt an invocation, the exact purport of which is now lost.

The word *râjanal* refers to some grain, but which is meant is not now known.

Chillakalu, sparrows, extends really to any small birds.

The point in the last two lines is that the child is placed under the protection of Râma, as the incarnation of Vishṇu.

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M.A.

(Continued from p. 72.)

(To be continued.)

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA from 600 B. C. to the Muhammadan Conquest, including the invasion of Alexander the Great. By VINCENT A. SMITH. 390 pp. The Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1904.

THE great advances made in our knowledge of the early history of India during the last thirty-five years have been obtained almost entirely from the careful study of inscriptions, with some additions, however, from coins and literary documents, and the time had arrived to take stock of that knowledge. Duff's "Chronology of India" (1899) and Kielhorn's chronologically arranged Lists of the Inscriptions of Northern and Southern India (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vols. V and VII) had classified the materials for a systematic treatment of the results. And Mr. V. Smith has essayed the task of working them into a general account of early Indian history. This he has succeeded in doing with undeniable skill and in a fluent and pleasing style. Dr. McCrindle in his "Invasion of India by Alexander" supplied the general reader with a very full account of the materials bearing on that event; and in this volume Mr. V. Smith has devoted a very large section (66 pages out of 357) to a summary of that campaign, though it had no real influence (p. 105, 209 f.) on later Indian history. And though, in opposition to Pischel, Sylvain Lévi, and others, the author holds, with some scholars, that the Indian drama is derived from the Greek, he is quite in accord with others in the assertion that "the impression made by Greek authors upon Indian literature and science is not traceable" until a late period. On the whole, apart from details, as a rapid but valuable summary of a lengthy period of Indian history that has not been handled since Lassen's time (*Ind. Alterthumsk.* Vol. II, 1874, and Vol. III, 1858), the work will be found useful to the scholar as well as to the general reader.

On details, many will be found to differ from Mr. Smith, who sometimes deals in a rather summary way with older scholars. Thus, on p. 279-80, with reference to a statement in Hiuen Tsang respecting the kingdom of Mo-la-p'o, which has perplexed all the editors, he assumes that it has been 'subjected to serious misinterpretation by several eminent scholars.' The Chinese syllables have been naturally transcribed as Mālava. But, if meant for Mālwa, the position of the country is wrongly indicated in the text. And Mr. Smith, disregarding Hiuen Tsang's distance of 2000 *li*, as well as the transliteration, places it not more than 500 *li* north-west of Broach, where no trace has been found of a district ever called by a name that could possibly be represented by the Chinese Mo-la-p'o. Then, the editors are accused of pressing the pilgrim's mention of Śilāditya of Mo-la-p'o into the service of the general history of India "in an unjustifiable manner." Dr. Hoernle, being "misled," like Dr. Stein, "has permitted himself to indulge in much fanciful speculation;" Max Muller "was also led astray" by the blunder, due, in the first instance, to Vivien de Saint Martin and followed by Mr. Beal. It is hardly convincing to assert that Dr. Stein's statement respecting Śilāditya-Pratāpaśīla "is quite erroneous." The text of

the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (iii 125, 330) may perhaps justify Dr Stein's opinion Nor has Mr. Smith attempted to clear up the various difficulties of Hiuen Tsang's narrative in such a satisfactory way as to justify him in thinking that his own remarks "suffice to demolish a large structure of purely imaginary history, built upon the assumption that Mo-la-p'o was identical with Mālwā." We must have better arguments before we can accuse half a dozen capable scholars of such serious blundering

To Aśōka and his famous inscriptions Mr Smith devotes two chapters — about 40 pages — into which he condenses much of the material of his previous volume, "Aśōka, the Buddhist emperor of India" (1901), which is a useful little work so far as it goes, forming a convenient guide to finding passages in the critical treatment of these notable inscriptions by various scholars. With it, however, the student may also read with great advantage the little volume "Konig Açoka" by the late Edmund Hardy.

We cannot accept Mr Smith's theory (p 347 f) that the Pallavas or Pahlavas were a foreign or Parthian tribe who supplied royal families to Vengī, Palakkada and Kāñchī, of which he would identify the second — wrongly we think — with Pālghāt. Dr. Fleet has disposed of his mistake, based partly on a mistranslation (*JRAS*, 1905, pp. 293 f.).

In chronology, Mr V Smith sometimes employs a system of his own, which O. Franke of Berlin calls "Subjektive Kombination," in fixing dates to events where our actual knowledge is inadequate. With respect to the Yueh-chi and their migrations, on which he has expended much labour, — by adopting Klaproth's uncertified date of 165 B C for their expulsion by the Hiung-nu, — he deduces 140 B C for their defeat and loss of the Śaka country. But a study of O. Franke's "Zur Kenntnis der Turkvolker und Skythen Zentralasiens" must lead to a more trustworthy, if less detailed, chronology So also for the earlier period, before Asōka, there seems no sufficient reason for altering the approximate dates hitherto employed for others differing by a few years and for which better authority is not yet available, for, the assumption (p. 40) that Buddha died in 487 B C. is entirely dependent on the date assumed for Aśōka's accession, and that has not yet been certainly fixed.

Mr Smith has done well, we think, in setting aside the transliteration-craze of representing the cerebral sibilant by *ṣ*, and the palatal surd by *c*, which puts before the reader such graphic abortions as — Kṛṣṇa, for Krishna, Cādcat for Chādchat; Cicondi for Chichondi; Cac for Chach; &c However this may please a few Orientalists, it would be pedantic folly to attempt to introduce such a mode of spelling into English books and maps intended for use by the British and by English-reading Natives of India If Orientalists can use digraphs in so many other cases to represent Nāgari and Persian letters and yet refuse to continue using for two others the symbols that are most suitable and have been so long employed by former scholars, — then the spellings of cartographers and literary writers must part company with those of the Sanskritist The author of this work deserves credit for his good sense in adhering to the rational method of spelling for Anglo-Indian purposes.

J. BURGESS.

THE RAMGARH HILL CAVES IN SARGUJA.

BY JAS BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E.

THE **Rāmgarh hill** is in the Rāmpur parganā of **Sargūjā state**, in the south-east of Bengal, in latitude 22°58′ N. and longitude 82°57′ E. or about eight miles west of Lakhanpur, and rises to a height of 3206 feet above sea-level, or fully 1300 feet above that village. It is notable for a natural tunnel through the rock about a hundred and fifty yards long, known as the Hathphor, along which a stream of water flows from a fissure in the rock. Near this are two caves, one of them, known as Sītā Bangira, consisting apparently of a natural cavern, with an artificial cave-chamber behind it. It faces the north-west, and inside a wide entrance this chamber stretches 44½ feet from north-east to south-west, but is only about 15 feet deep at most, the back being slightly curved. It is 6 feet high at the entrance, but little over 4 feet at the back, the greater part of the interior being occupied by a bench 2 feet high at the wall and 3½ feet wide, which runs along the back and ends of the cell, with another 2 feet wide and only 2 inches lower attached to the face of it and returning along the front walls. This leaves a floor area at most only 5 feet wide, though about 32 feet long. In the outer approach under the natural rock arch "leading up to the entrance from the outside," says Mr. Beglar, "are a series of several circular steps, and two series, one on each side, of smaller and less steep stairs." On the right jamb of the entrance is an inscription in two lines of 21 or 22 characters each, of a type of about the second century B. C.

Close by is a second cave known as Jogi Māiā, somewhat smaller and seemingly natural, but also containing an inscription, — the upper two lines short and in smaller characters (repeated in the third), whilst the other three are of bolder type, — and here the roof has been painted

These caves were first described by **Colonel Ouseley** in 1848 (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XVII pt. i. pp. 66-67), and more at length by **Colonel Dalton** in 1865 (*ibid.* Vol. XXXIV. pt ii pp 23—27), who mentions some interesting structural remains in the vicinity. Again in 1873, Mr. **V. Ball** furnished to this *Journal* a detailed account of them with rough plan and sections of the larger cave and eye-copies of the inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. pp. 243—246). On these three papers was based the account given in Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal* (Vol. XVII. pp. 236—239), and a fourth description was supplied by Mr. Beglar in Gen. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India* (*Rep.* Vol. XIII. pp. 31—55 and pl. x.). Copies of the inscriptions were also given in the *Corpus Inscrip. Indicarum* (Vol. I. p. 33 and pl. xv.), from Mr. Beglar's impressions.

Dr. Bloch of the Archæological Survey had recently visited these caves, and in a letter of 30th April, 1904, published in the *Zeitschrift der Deut Morgenland. Gesellschaft*, Bd. LVIII. S. 455, he reads the first line of the inscription in the larger cave as: — *Adipayaṁti hadayaṁ* | *sabhāvagarukavayo*, and explains it as — *Ādipayanti hṛidayaṁ svabhāvajurukavayaḥ*: "The poets, by nature, worthy of honour, fire the heart." From the inscription beginning thus, he infers that "we may surely expect a panegyric on the poetic art, and when such a hymn is met with on the wall of an artificial rock excavation, it can there be applicable only because the place served for presenting poetical compositions before a larger public. And the arrangement of the cave," he adds, "is admirably adapted to this purpose. In a semi-circle, rising above one another in terrace form, a row of seats are hewn out, which are again divided by radiating lines, quite in the style of a Greek theatre. From these seats a comfortable view was presented over a natural platform laid out below, which afforded room enough to erect a small stage. Naturally the amphitheatre is only in miniature: it might afford space for thirty spectators; but yet its arrangement on a classical model cannot be mistaken. Above the seats is a rectangular chamber with broad benches along the walls, where people evidently retired when the cold of winter nights made it unpleasant to remain in the open air. At the

entrance there are still deep holes in the floor into which the posts were fitted that supported the curtain by which the cold was shut out, and inside there was room enough for a festive *nâch* party."

Now this seems a somewhat extensive deduction to draw from the first line of an inscription and the ascent to this cave. Mr. Beglar's plan (*Arch. Sur. Ind Rep.* Vol. XIII. pl. x.) and Mr Ball's sketch of the approach shew the vaulted entry about 14 feet deep opening to ten or twelve yards wide at the front, with stairs up at the sides and semi-circular steps or benches between; but the rock appears naturally to shelve away rather rapidly for placing a stage below; and inside the "raum genug für eine solenne 'nautch party'" is scarcely five feet between the wall and a bench 2 feet high and would be cramped for any dance movement. We surely require more satisfactory evidence before we conclude that this approach was constructed as a Greek theatre for dramatic representations even on a small scale. Had this been so, we should naturally expect that such would be found not only in this solitary instance in remote Sargūjā, but that other and better examples would certainly occur among the hundreds of rock excavations still fairly complete in Western India. Yet no trace of such has been found elsewhere

But, much of the force of the deduction must depend on the accuracy of the reading of the inscription, which in May 1904 was read differently by A.-M. Boyer[1] as—

adipayamti hadayaṁ | *sa[dhā] va garala[m] vayo*
eti tayam . . . . dule vasaṁtiyā
hi sāvānūbhūte kudas tatam evaṁ alaṁga[tā].

This would give a different sense, but the true reading will depend on the impressions or photographs of the epigraphs M. Boyer's transcription of the Jogimārā inscription runs —

Sutanukā nama | *devadaśikyi* |
taṁ kamayitha ba lu na śeye |
Devadine nama | *lupadakhe* |

and makes Devadi[n]na an "artist of statues," and "excellent among young people," and a lover of "Sutanukā the devadaśī."

That some of the early caves may have been used for amusements is quite probable. In one of the **Aurangābād** Bauddha caves we have a *nāch* represented in the very shrine (*Arch. Surv. Westn. India*, Vol III. pl. liv. fig 5); and it may readily have occurred to modern visitors that such caves as Nos. 3 and 15 at **Nāsik**, the **Uparkoṭ** cave at **Junāgaḍh**, and others at **Kudā**, **Mahād**,[2] &c., with seats round three sides of them, might have been so arranged with a view to theatrical representations[3] But these were not in the open air, like Greek theatres.

And here I may incidentally remark that it seems as if we sometimes forget, that all the numerous Vihāras (literally 'pleasure houses') may not have been occupied by monks. There must have been convents for the nuns,— possibly some of them rich in wall frescoes, such as we see the remains of at Ajaṇṭā, — in which *nāchnīs* and *leṇaśobhikās* are not excluded. Something

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[1] *Jour Asiatique*, Xième Sér tom III pp 478 ff.

[2] Conf *Cave Temples*, plates iv, v. 1, xix, xxvi, &c, *Arch Surv Westn Ind.* Vol IV. plates vii. to x. May there not be some significance in the figures attending the dāgaba in the Gautamiputra Cave (No III) at Nāsik, being *females*, as also on the Jaina sculpture of a dāgaba from Mathurā discovered by the late Pandit Bhagwānlāl Indraji?

[3] Since the above was written Dr. Luders has directed my attention to a review of Mr V A Smith's 'Early History of India,' by Professor Pischel in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* (4 Marz, 1905, 540 f), where, after expressing serious doubt as to the alleged Greek influence on the Indian Drama, he brings to notice a passage in the *Bhāratīyanātyaśāstra* (ii 20 f and ii. 69, Bombay ed, or ii 17 f. and ii. 84, ed Grasset) which both Bloch and Luders have overlooked —

kāryaḥ śailaguhā āro dvibhūmir nātyamaṇḍapaḥ,

with which also the *Daśakumāracharita* (p. 108, 14, Bomb. ed. 1883, or p. 10, 23 in Peterson's ed.) agrees.

might perhaps be learnt on this matter from the management and inmates of the monasteries and convents in Nepāl and Tibet: Buddha moral conduct is not necessarily of a high order.

Dr. Bloch's communication, however, has excited much interest, and Professor H. Lüders has published a short but interesting paper in the *Zeitschrift der Deut. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, Bd. LVIII. S 867 f, of which, with his permission, the following translation is given: —

INDIAN CAVES AS PLEASURE-RESORTS.

BY PROFESSOR HEINRICH LUDERS

In the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen* (Bd. LVIII. S. 455) Dr. Bloch makes some remarks respecting a cave in Rāmgarh hill in Sargūjā, which, from its arrangements and inscription, appears to have been evidently intended for dramatic performances. In the general interest which this discovery has excited, it may not perhaps be out of place to call attention to some passages in poetry and in epigraphical literature, where the use of caves for such or similar purposes is spoken of.

In the description of the Himālaya in the *Kumārasaṁbhava* (I. 10) Kālidāsa also notices the "cave-houses," where the wood-dwellers at night, by the light of the self-lighting herbs, make love with their friends:

vanecharāṇāṁ vanitāsakhānāṁ **dārīgṛih**_otsaṅganishaktabhāsaḥ_ ।
bhavanti yatraushadhayo rajanyām atailapūrāḥ suralapradīpāḥ ॥

And a few verses further on (I. 14) he says, that the clouds, which hang over the entrance to these "cave-houses," take the place of curtains behind which the Kimpurusha-women hide themselves ashamed, when their lovers have dishevelled their toilets:

yatrāṁśukākshepavilajjitānāṁ yadṛichchhayā kiṁpurushāṅganānām ।
dārīgṛiha_dvāravilambibimbās tiraskariṇyo jaladā bhavanti_ ॥

However fantastic these descriptions may be in themselves, still they certainly rest on real foundations Kālidāsa would not have provided the "King of the Mountains" with caves which served for love-making if he had not known of such in the mountains of his home. And, in fact, there is one place in his works where he speaks of such pleasure-caves in a mountain near Vidiśā In the *Meghadūta* (I. 25) he depicts the Nīchairgiri as "the mount which, by its stone-houses, exhaling the amorous fragrance of venal women, betrays the dissipated youth of the cities":

yaḥ paṇyastrīratiparimalodgāribhir nāgarāṇām
uddāmāni prathayati **śilāveśmabhir** *yauvanāni* ॥

That by **śilāveśman** is to be understood exactly the same as **dārīgṛiha** is proved by Mallinātha who renders the word by *kandara*. Of the inner arrangements of these caves we can unfortunately infer nothing from the passage, although we may conclude, from *Kum.* I. 14, that the entrance was usually closed with a curtain, exactly as was the case, according to Bloch's accounts, in the Sitābangira cave. According to Kālidāsa, courtesans lived in these caves; but that theatrical performances took place there, and indeed by these very courtesans, we have written proof. Among the older Jaina inscriptions at Mathurā is found a list of the presents of a *gaṇikā* named Nādā, who describes herself as the daughter of the *gaṇikā* Daṁdā, the *lenaśobhikā*[4] The word *śobhikā* meets us in the sense of "actor" in the well-known passage of the *Mahābhāshya*, where it speaks of the representation of the killing of Kaṁsa and the imprisonment of Bali (Pān. III. i. 26, Vārtt. 15),[5] *lenaśobhikā* means literally "cave-actress," and it can scarcely be doubted that it was the special designation of courtesans who performed mimic representations in caves such as are described by Bloch.

[4] See *Ind Ant.* Vol XXXIII pp 152 f.

[5] The MSS. vary between *śobhikā, śaubhikā, śaunaṭā and śobhanikā*. Kielhorn accepts the last form in his text.

I am persuaded that many more caves in India were not the dwelling-places of quiet monks, but the residence of *gaṇikās* and *leṇaśobhikās* and their lovers. The so-called Queen's Cave and that of Ganeśa in Udayagiri are further undoubted examples, to the reliefs of which Jacobi has directed my attention: they represent the doings of these ladies and gentlemen in a highly realistic way. The cave-theatre discovered by Bloch has, however, a special interest; it is arranged after the Greek pattern.

The much-discussed question of the influence on the Indian theatre by the Greek has been put in a new light by the researches of Reich and the possibility or rather the probability of a connection between the Indian drama and the antique Mime is hardly to be questioned. The existence of a Greek theatre on Indian ground would naturally be an important link in the chain of evidence, and we look forward with expectation to the detailed description which Bloch promises to give us in the Archæological Annual.

ASOKA NOTES.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S. (RETD.)

(Continued from Vol. XXXII. p. 366.)

IV. — Consular Officers in India and Greece.

The civil and military institutions of the Maurya empire as described by Aśôka in his edicts and by the Greek writers were essentially Indian, modified in some particulars by imitation of Persian practices. With one exception those institutions exhibit **no trace of Hellenic influence. The single exception is the appointment by Chandragupta Maurya of the officers called by Megasthenes astynomoi** (ἀστυνόμοι), **who were entrusted with the duty of looking after foreigners, and correspond exactly in some respects with the Greek proxenoi** (προξένοι). Although, of course, there is no direct proof that this exceptional institution was actually borrowed from the practice of the Greek states, the resemblance between the functions of the Maurya *astynomoi* and those of the Hellenic *proxenoi* is so close that it is difficult to avoid drawing the inference that in this one case the arrangements of Chandragupta were modelled on, or, at least, suggested by those of his European friends. Readers of the *Indian Antiquary* will, perhaps, be interested in the details of the parallel.

The words of Megasthenes, as reported by *Strabo* (Bk. XV., Ch. 50-2; *Schwanbeck*, fragm XXXIV.), are: —

"*Τῶν δ'ἀρχόντων οἱ μέν εἰσιν ἀγορανόμοι, οἱ δ'ἀστυνόμοι, οἱ δ'ἐπὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν . . . οἱ δ'ἀστυνόμοι εἰς ἓξ πεντάδας διῄρηνται · καὶ οἱ μὲν τὰ δημιουργικὰ σκοποῦσιν · οἱ δὲ ξενοδοχοῦσιν καὶ γὰρ καταγωγὰς νέμουσι, καὶ τοῖς βίοις παρακολουθοῦσι παρέδρους δόντες, καί προπέμπουσιν ἢ αὐτοὺς ἢ τὰ χρήματα τῶν ἀποθανόντων · νοσούντων τε ἐπιμελοῦνται καὶ ἀποθανόντας θάπτουσι.*" This passage is translated by Mr. McCrindle as follows: — "**Of the great officers of state,** some have charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiers . . . . Those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The members of the first look after everything relating to the industrial arts. **Those of the second attend to the entertainment of foreigners.** To these they assign **lodgings,** and they keep **watch over their modes of life** by means of those persons whom they give to them for assistants. They escort them on the way when they leave the country, or, **in the event of their dying, forward their property to their relatives.** They take care of them when they are sick, and, if they die, bury them."

The bodies, or boards, of five each, into which the Municipal Commissioners were divided, were obviously an adaptation of the Indian *Panchâyat*; but **the duties of the second board were those of the Greek proxenoi,** as will appear clearly from the following statements: —

The institution of proxenia (προξενία) **was of high antiquity,** being mentioned in an archaic inscription at Corfu, commemorating a certain Menekrates, who held the office of

proxenos. The date of this inscription is uncertain, being placed by Kirchhoff as early as Olymp. 45 (= 600—597 B. C.), while Franz assigns the record to the beginning of the fourth century. The paucity of records of *proxenia* assignable to the Roman period suggests the inference that the institution gradually fell into disuse as the Greek cities ceased to be autonomous, and their relations with one another were regulated by the imperial power. Most of the extant decrees appointing *proxenoi*, which probably exceed three hundred in number, may be referred to the period between the accession of Alexander the Great and the time of Augustus, extending from 336 B. C. to 14 A. D.

The proxenos was usually a citizen of the state in which he exercised his functions, and not of the state whose citizens he was appointed to protect. His duties were "partly "diplomatic and partly consular; the citizens of the state by which he was appointed could "always claim his hospitality, his protection, and his general good offices in legal proceedings. "He ransomed prisoners in war, provided a suitable interment for those slain in battle, and, "in case of a demise, administered the state, and transmitted the effects to the heirs. "Thus far the duties of the *proxenos* corresponded with those of an ordinary modern consul. "But his diplomatic functions were of a higher character, approximating to those of a modern "ambassador. It was his duty to present to the authorities and public assembly of his native "city the envoys who were sent from time to time from the State which had made him their "*proxenos*, and to promote the objects of such missions by his personal influence with his "fellow-citizens. In Greek cities the inns were generally indifferent, and the claims on the "hospitality of the *proxenos* must have entailed heavy and constant expense, while from the "nature of his office he must have been constantly obliged to advance money on account of "distressed travellers, much of which was probably repaid at the Greek Kalends."[1]

In return for the performance of these onerous duties the *proxenos* received certain privileges and immunities of high material value, in addition to honorary distinctions. But I need not detail these, as nothing is known concerning the way in which the *astynomoi* of Chandragupta Maurya were remunerated for their trouble. Probably they were paid salaries by the Indian Government, which may be assumed to have borne all their official expenses. The officers of Chandragupta, while closely resembling their Greek prototype in so far as consular duties were concerned, would naturally be free from the diplomatic responsibilities of the *proxenoi*, who were the nominees of the states, the subjects of which were entrusted to their protection, while the *astynomoi* of the Indian monarch were administrative officials appointed by him.

V. — Persian Influence on Maurya India.

In the preceding article (No. IV.) I have alluded to the indications of Persian influence upon the Indian institutions of the Maurya period, and it may be of interest to bring together the proofs that such influence was a reality. Up to the time of Alexander's invasion the Indus was regarded as the frontier between India and the Persian empire, and even if a particle of positive evidence did not exist, we should still be compelled to believe that the rulers of India must have felt the attractive force of the great Achæmenian monarchy on their borders. But a certain amount of positive evidence exists, and, scrappy though it is, suffices to prove that the Maurya sovereigns and their subjects were open in many ways to the influence of Iranian polity and civilization.

The Persian affinities of Maurya architecture, as exemplified in the Asôka pillars and the bas-relief sculpture of the period, are too obvious and well-known to need illustration.

The use of the Kharoshṭhī script, — that of Persian officialdom, — in the provinces on the north-western frontier of India is an equally familiar fact.

[1] Newton, *Essays on Art and Archæology* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1883), pp. 104, 121.

Students of the **Aśôka inscriptions** have long been aware that **the word dipi** (= lipi, or lipî) in the Shâhbâzgaṛhî version is Persian, and that **the opening phrase**, which recurs in so many of the documents, 'Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty,' recalls the phraseology of the Achæmenian records.

But I do not think anybody has made the remark that **the idea of inscribing ethical dissertations on the rocks in the guise of royal proclamations seems to be of Persian origin.** The second mutilated and inedited inscription of Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam near Persepolis, which is inscribed in the Persian character, and has not yet been copied by any traveller, is believed, on account of the opening sentence, to have been "preceptive not historical" Sir Henry Rawlinson was of opinion that this document probably contained "the last solemn admonition of Darius to his countrymen with respect to their future conduct in polity, morals, and religion."[2] **Darius died in 488 B. C., and his admonitions may well have been known to Aśôka.**

Strabo, who wrote at about the beginning of the Christian era, referring generally to the accounts given by historians concerning the Indians, informs us (Bk. XV., Ch. 69) that "**when the king washes his hair they celebrate a great festival,** and send him great presents, each person seeking to outrival his neighbour in displaying his wealth." **This custom clearly seems to be borrowed from the Persian practice.** Herodotus, when relating the shocking tale of the cruel revenge taken by Amestris, the jealous queen of Xerxes, upon the wife of Masistes, alludes to the hair-washing festival in the following terms: — "Having therefore watched the time when her husband Xerxes should give **the royal feast (this feast is prepared once a year, on the day on which the king was born;** and the name of this feast is in the Persian language 'tycta,' and in the Grecian language 'perfect'; **and then only the king washes his head with soap, and makes presents to the Persians)**; Amestris then, having watched that day, asked Xerxes to give her the wife of Masistes" (Bk. IX., Ch. 110). Custom required that once the royal feast had been spread, a petitioner's request should not be refused, and so the unhappy wife of Masistes was delivered into the hands of Amestris, who mutilated her horribly. Notwithstanding the apparent discrepancy that in Persia the king is said to have given presents to his nobles, while in India the courtiers offered gifts to the king, the inference that the Indian practice was borrowed from the Persian is not invalidated. The difference is merely apparent, because no courtier would have received the honour of a present from the treasury, unless he had first tendered a gift of higher value. The Indian festival presumably was celebrated on the king's birthday as in Persia. Readers of Akbar's history will remember how the birthday festival was celebrated at his court by weighing the monarch against gold and other precious substances, which were then given to the poor. The hair-washing ceremony is not heard of, so far as I know, after the Maurya period, to which, presumably, Strabo's information referred.

Another custom connected with the hair also seems to be Persian. Megasthenes, (Fragm. XXVII), as quoted by Nicolaus Damascenus and Stobaeus, states that "**if one is guilty of a very heinous offence the king orders his hair to be cropped, this being a punishment to the last degree infamous.**" I do not know how ancient this penalty was in Persia, but it was in operation in the Sassanian period, according to a Chinese work composed in the sixth century A. D, which affirms that "**lighter crimes are punished by cutting off the nose, or perhaps only the hair. Sometimes one half of the scalp is** shaved and a tablet affixed to the neck, so inflicting disgrace on the offender."[3]

[2] Sir H. Rawlinson, *Memoir on the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 312, and Canon Rawlinson, *Translation of Herodotus*, Vol. IV p. 177

[3] *Wei-shu*, Ch. CII., as quoted by Kingsmill in *Athenæum* for July 19th, 1902.

The accounts of the ceremonial royal hair-washing and of the penal cropping of the hair incidentally prove **that the ancient Indians wore their hair long and regarded its loss as a dishonour.** The facts thus confirm the general statements of Strabo and Curtius on the subject. The former writer affirms, on the authority of "the historians," that "all the Indians wear long hair and beards, plait their hair, and bind it with a fillet" (Bk. XV., Ch. 71). Curtius, apparently using the same authorities, states that the Indians "frequently comb, but seldom cut, the hair of their head. The beard of the chin they never cut at all, but they shave off the hair from the rest of the face, so that it looks polished" (Bk. VIII. 9). **In modern times, nearly all Hindus shave the head,** leaving only a top-knot, but Sikhs and certain castes preserve the ancient practice of wearing the hair long. **Can any reader of the *Indian Antiquary* suggest a reason for the change of fashion, or indicate its date?**

The Persian title of Satrap (*kshatrapa*), which occurs twice in the great inscription at Behistun (Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, II. 399, note) **does not appear to have been used by any Indian prince during the Maurya age.** Its introduction into India was due to the eastward extension of the power of the Arsakidan kings, Mithradates I. (*cir.* 174—136 B. C.), and his successors, the details of which have not been recorded. The title was adopted by many of the foreign rulers who founded Indian principalities, and continued in use for about five centuries, from the time of the Satraps of Taxila and Mathurā (*cir.* 100 B. C.) to the overthrow of the Western Satraps by Chandragupta II., Vikramāditya, at the close of the fourth century A. D., long after the establishment of the Sassanian dynasty in 226 A. D.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES ON BALU-MKHAR IN WESTERN TIBET.

BY THE REV. A. H. FRANCKE.

Introduction

by Jane E. Duncan.

[BALU-MKHAR is the site of an ancient ruin three miles from Khalatse in Ladâkh or Western Tibet. The full orthography of the name is probably sBalu-mkhar, apparently signifying the 'Dwarf Fort,' from its construction on a low hill, contrary to the usual rule in Ladâkh. The site was examined during the summer of 1904 by members of the Moravian Mission at Khalatse and their friends on four different occasions. I. — By Mr. Francke, Miss Jane E. Duncan, and Munshi Yeshes Rigdzin. II. — Mr. and Mrs. Francke. III. — Mr. and Mrs. Francke, Miss Porrit, Mrs. Milne, and the Munshi, with six labourers for excavation. IV. — By the Munshi to copy rock-carvings and inscriptions.

Investigation showed that an **ancient fortified custom-house** existed on the site, which is **on the route between India and Yârkand,** and hence the interest of the examination. Miss Duncan took several photographs, which are here reproduced. (*Vide* Plates II., III., V, VI.)

Mr. Francke made a **sketch plan** on the spot (*vide* Plate I.) by pacing, as he had no other means of measurement. This plan shows that the buildings are on two terraces abutting on the right bank of the Indus to the North. The rocks forming these terraces are precipitous on all sides. The terraces are very rough and uneven, and on the lower one a number of small rooms have been built of rough boulders, plastered over with mud after the usual Ladâkhî manner.

The modern road from Kashmir to Leh passes about 200 yards from the old fort across a sandy plain, but the ruined structures on the rock, being of the same colour and appearance

as the rock itself, they are usually passed by unobserved. In this part of Ladâkh, cliffs constantly assume the appearance and forms of houses, forts, and ramparts, and this fact has often been taken advantage of by the inhabitants to turn them into real dwellings easily defended. (*Vide* figs 1 and 2, Plate II.)

The object of placing a fortified building at this spot was **to control the traffic over a rope bridge** that formerly existed over the Indus at this point. The site of the piers of the bridge on the opposite side of the river is still marked by a heap of loose stones Such forts are usual in Ladâkh and Western Tibet, generally where such bridges crossed the rivers. (*Vide* fig. 2, Plate III.)

The bridge was apparently **only approachable through the fort,** by a precipitous masonry stair, of which the remains are still quite clear. (*Vide* fig. 1, Plate III.) The approach to the fort on the land side is now very difficult, being up a fissure in the rocks, about three feet wide, with a boulder here and there by way of a step.

A general **date for the fort** can be conjectured thus At the foot of the rock were found some **potsherds** (*vide* Plate IV.) which seemed to be parts of large vessels, similar in shape to those still in use, except that **the patterns were traced in a red pigment.** Modern Ladâkhî pottery is never so ornamented, but in an **ancient grave,** presumably **of Dards** who died during the old Dard colonisation, opened at Leh in January, 1904, by Mr. Francke and Dr. Shawe, some whole *dzamas* or jars were found with the same colour used in the ornamentation. These *dzamas* were of the same size as the modern ones, *viz.*, 18 to 24 inches high, and of about the same diameter. In this grave entire skeletons were found, which showed it to belong to a period anterior to the conversion of Ladâkh to Lamaism by the Tibetans, because under that rite the dead are burned, not buried. To this period presumably the fragments found in the fort belonged also.

This fact supports the inference to be gathered from an **Inscription on the rocks,** beneath two large incised *stûpas,* with a group of smaller ones below and around it (*vide* fig. 2, Plate II.), placed so high up as only to be decipherable from below by means of a field-glass. From it we find that the place belonged to the king or monastery of Lamayuru, a large village, 15 miles to the South-west on the Leh road and 33 miles from Shergol, where the first Buddhist monastery is met with on the way from Kashmir. The facts stated in the inscription, given and explained below in the Notes on the Inscriptions, and the expressions used in it go to show that it **belongs to a date about 800—1000 A. D.**

Several interesting **finds** resulted from the investigations. In one room was found **a stone anvil** with a marked deposit of iron on it from long usage. Bits of charcoal and iron slag were also lying about. The villagers of Khalatse are in the habit of searching the fort for iron arrow-heads for melting down into implements, as iron is extremely scarce and valuable in Western Tibet, where the ponies are not in consequence shod.

Beads are also found on the site and are highly prized by the local inhabitants who will not readily part with them. Two, however, were procured from the people. One was a small barrel of light brown and white agate, highly polished, three-quarters of an inch long. The other was of black wood, roughly shaped and worn smooth with use. Both were hand-bored in the manner usual in beads from ancient sites in North India.

Several **stone mortars** (*vide* fig. 2, Plate V.) were found, such as are usual at the present day for grinding pepper and apricot kernels for oil, and also walnuts for oil and pounding dried apricots. Traditionally the Balu-mkhar mortars were used for grinding wheat and barley for flour, as at the time of its occupation water-mills for this purpose were not in use.

A perfect triangular axe-head, six inches long, with a well-made hole for the handle, the carved shaft of a *stûpa*, and smooth water-worn stones for use as pestles, and bones for sharpening arrows were among other finds (*vide* fig. 1, Plate V).

In the plain near the modern road are some ancient stûpas, said to mark the burial-places of officials of the garrison (*vide* Plate VI., figs. 1 and 2), and a small square stone foundation, said by local tradition to be the remains of the throne of a high Lama, who here gave the garrison his benediction while on tour through the district.

On the road to mThingmogang, which lies at a distance of three hours' march up a gorge opening close to the *stûpas*, is an ancient mani, believed to have been constructed by the garrison. Traditionally the fort has not been occupied for 300 or 400 years.

[Attached hereto are separate Notes on the Inscriptions and finds.]

THE INSCRIPTIONS AT BALU-MKHAR.

No. I.

Roman Transliteration: *Phaggi lola dkrib mal bzhangsso.*[1]
Classical Orthography: *Phaggi lola grib mal bzhangsso.*
Translation: In the pig-year [this] cenotaph was erected.

Note.

dkrib is an ancient perfect tense of the verb *agribpa*, to diminish, fade, become obscure. Here it is used in the sense of 'wither' or 'die.'

No. II.

Roman Transliteration: *Phagi lo briso ba.*[2]
Classical Orthography: *Phaggi lo*[*la*] *brisso* [*ba* ?].
Translation: Written in the pig-year.

No. III.

Roman Transliteration.

mthing brang yzhungslas khrungspai mdo ytsong
rtso khri shong 'abum rdugs khung sras stag
ythsar rlabs cen nyidkyis bzo
bgyis dpel legs ta ; yun
ta myi gyur yyung drung brtan
bai mkhar 'adila
la par stsogbao.[3]

Classical Orthography.

mthing brang yzhunglas khrungspai mdo thsong
ytso khri shong 'abum ydugs [*kyi*] *khungs sras stag*
thsar rlabscan nyidkyis bzo
bgyis dpe legste yun
te mi gyur yyungdrung [*la*] *brten*
pai mkhar 'adila
la[*g*] *par stsogpao.*

[1] See Plate VII. at top. [2] See Plate VII. in the middle. [3] See Plate VII. at foot.

Translation.

[This cenotaph] was erected by Stag-γthsar-rlabs-cen himself, who is the chief son of Khri-shong-[srong?] 'abum-rdugs, the Master of the Trade in the Lower Valley, born in the middle part of [the village of] mThing-brang. [This is] a good picture [of the cenotaph]. It was carved as a hand-print on this lasting and unchangeable fort which belongs to [the village of] γYung-drung.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

Mthing brang means 'house of the lapis lazuli.' It is probably the old name of the village mThingmo-gang (=full of lapis lazuli). The village may have taken its name from an ancient treasure-house of the local chief. Mdo, Lower Valley, so-called because the Indus valley is below the village of γYung-drung (generally called Lamayuru) to which the fort belonged.

γtsong; although in the present dictionaries only the word *thsong* can be found, such dialectical words, as, for instance, *shahtsongpa*, show plainly that a verb *btsongpa* (perfect tense) must once have existed; *γtsong* would be the present tense of the same verb, meaning 'trading;' *γtso* would correspond to the present dialectical pronunciation of the word *γtso[bo]*. That in very ancient times *γ* or *b* prefixes were pronounced like *s* or *r* is proved by the Endere *sgraffiti*, discovered by Dr Stein. mDo-γtsong-γtso was the title of the custom-house officer stationed at Balu-mkhar.

Khri-shong-'abum-γdugs (pronounced *rdugs*) is the proper name of the custom-house officer. The last part of the name means '100000 umbrellas,' (the umbrella being a Buddhist symbol). The first part is not quite plain; it may have been given after the ancient king Khri-srong-bde-btsan.

khung-sras, instead of *khungs sras*. The *s* of the first syllable was lost in the *s* of the second. It means about 'lineage-son,' *i. e.*, the son in whom the lineage is preserved.

stag-γthsar-rlabs-cen (=can?) is the name of the son of the last named. It probably means 'the complete tiger, the ocean (having billows).' The word *γthsar* is the most remarkable in the name, because here a *tenuis aspirata* is furnished with a prefix, which combination is never met with now-a-days. However, the Endere relics contain many examples of *tenues aspiratæ* with prefixes. Besides the word *γthsar*, we find in Inscription No. V. below, another case of a *tenuis aspirata* furnished with a *b* prefix, in the word *bthsan* which corresponds to the modern *btsan*. In the same way the word *γthsar* would correspond to *γtsar*, had such forms been preserved. Such a verb as *γtsar* I would take to be a parallel to *thsar*, just as we find *γtsong* and *btsong* parallel to *thsong* above.

dpel legs; the *l* of the second syllable was pronounced with the first syllable. It means 'good likeness' and refers to the carving of the cenotaph, which was a good picture of the real *stûpa*.

ta; that the *ta* in the word *legsta* is instead of *te*, is proved by the fact that it is followed by a *shad*. I presume that the *ta* in *yunta* also stands for *te*.

myi gyur, unchangeable, can also be translated with reference to the faithfulness of the inhabitants of the fort; it may also refer to Lamayuru (γYung-drung); *myi* instead of *mi* is another instance of very ancient orthography which has its parallels in the Endere inscriptions.

γYung-drung, *svastika*, is the full name of the village of Yuru, generally called Lamayuru. The *ng* as a final is often dropped, especially in the Rong Dialect, but also elsewhere. The disappearance of the *d* in *drung* is due to "Ladâkhî Laws of Sound, No. 2."

brtanba (*pa*) is the ancient form of the verb *brtenpa*, lean against, belong to; *par* is now-a-days used for 'print'; but at the time of the inscription printing was hardly known in Tibet. At that time it may have meant 'writing, script.'

stsogbao (*pao*). The word *stsogces* or *rtsogces*, to carve on the rock, is a dialectical Ladâkhî word which is still in frequent use at the present day. It is also used for 'vaccinating.'

Notes on the English Translation.

Although the inscription is without a date, it is of a certain historical value. We learn from it that at the time of the inscription the fort was under Lamayuru Probably the income at the custom-house went there, but whether a petty king or the monastery was the principal power at Lamayuru, we cannot decide for certain, although the latter is the more probable. The inscription seems to date from the time when, according to the *Ladvags-rgyal-rabs*, Lower Ladâkh was divided into a great number of petty kingdoms, that is, at the very beginning of Ladâkhî historiography. Otherwise the fort would have been under Leh.

The words *ythsar*, *bthsan*, and *myi*, which remind us of the Endere relics, without doubt 1200 years old, also speak in favour of a very high antiquity of the inscription.

Like the Endere relics, the Balu-mkhar Inscription is written in the **dBu-can Character**, and is probably younger than the inscriptions in ancient **dBu-med Character**, which are found roundabout the ruined fort near the Saspola Bridge.[4] But the Endere relics make it probable that the Tibetan art of writing is very much older than is stated in the historical records of Tibet.

We see from this inscription, that at the very dawn of Ladâkhî historiography a lively trade was in existence in Lower Ladâkh, which made it worth while to post a custom-house officer with the title mDo-ytsong-ytso at Balu-mkhar. The articles found on this spot seem to prove that the trade through Ladâkh was carried on between India and Yârkand as at the present day. The fort had to guard an ancient rope bridge across the Indus, the last fragments of the piers of which can still be seen. The tax was apparently levied in kind, *i. e.*, in tea, beads, and perhaps cowries, because, while not a single coin has as yet been found in the fort, some of these articles have. The goods were probably carried across the bridge by men, the baggage animals having to swim through the river, being dragged across with ropes. But it is not impossible that the merchants had to exchange horses at every stage and that a fresh supply of horses was kept waiting for them on the other bank of the river.

There is still another reminiscence of the ancient custom-house in the neighbourhood. It is the name of a pass close to the fort, on the north side. It is still called Shogam-la, **the Customs Pass.** Across this pass led the ancient trade route, before the present road along the Indus had been cleared by the blasting of many rocks. The ancient road first took the traders to mThingmo-gang, thence to Hemis-shugpacan, and thence to Likir. After Likir the present road by Basgo and Nyemo to Leh is reached.

From the inscription we also learn that the masters of the country used Tibetan Buddhist names which do not now occur, and knew Tibetan. This must, however, not induce us to believe that Lower Ladâkh as a whole was Tibetan and Lamaist in those days. From other sources we know almost for certain that the greater part of the population of the time spoke Dard Dialects.

No. IV.

Transliteration: *dkon mchog*.[5]

Translation: God, *lit.* the rarest and highest [being].

4 A few of the ancient inscriptions near Saspola Bridge were reproduced in a previous paper: "Some More Rock-Carvings from Lower Ladakh" (*ante*, Vol. XXXII. p. 361 ff.).

5 See Plate VII. at foot.

No. V.

Transliteration: *bthsan lhro* [6]
Classical Orthography: *btsan lhro.*
Translation: Strong anger (the name of a guardian deity).

THE FINDS.[7]

A. — Articles of food.

Pencil-cedar Wood and Charcoal. — On the third visit, when we had six labourers with us, we discovered **an old hearth.** Here we found a quantity of **charcoal and wood of the pencil-cedar (shugpa)** ready for burning This proved that at the date when the fort was occupied this wood was easily procurable in the neighbourhood From roots found here and there it is known that the tree at some remote period existed round Leh, though there is not a single tree to be found there now-a-days. The most Eastern find-spot for the pencil-cedar is **the "holy grove" at the village of Hemis-shugpacan,** in which some 50 trees are still living. This grove will, however, disappear in a short time, as all attempts to grow young trees there have failed. In Lower Ladâkh about Khalatse there are several groves of a few trees each, and the pencil-cedar thrives between Kargil and the Zoji Pass. Apparently, however, from this find of charcoal and wood prepared for burning at Balu-mkhar, the pencil-cedar must, say a thousand years ago, have been common in the neighbourhood of Khalatse, as it no doubt once was in every Ladâkhî valley, though it has now disappeared from the eastern portion of the country and only finds a home in the extreme west This provides a strong argument for supposing that the climate of Ladâkh is gradually losing the moisture it once had.

Bones. — Bits of broken **thigh-bones of some large mammal,** opened for the sake of the marrow and showing traces of fire. We were unable to determine whether they belonged to the ox, *dzo, yak* or large game.

Apricot stones. — **Apricots** were apparently cultivated at the date of the occupation of the fort. They are still abundant at Khalatse.

Plum stones — The finding of the stone of **the wild plum, kham skyur,** is interesting as illustrating a change in habits. It is the only plum existing in Ladâkh and is a very rare tree at the present day. A few specimens exist at Skyurbucan,[8] but the fruit is so sour that it is not eaten at the present day.

Cherry stones. — The find of stones of **the stalkless wild cherry of Ladâkh, se 'abru or sembru,** was also interesting, as they have almost entirely disappeared from the country. A few small trees exist at Tagmacig, whence I introduced them at Khalatse. Though small, the fruit is very sweet and aromatic.

Peach stones. — There are a few **peach trees, khra kushu,** at Khalatse, but the fruit does not properly ripen and is eaten green. It ripens well at Da.[9]

Mango stone. — Only **fragments of a mango-stone** were found, probably imported by some Indian trader.

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[6] See Plate VIII.

[7] I would like to note here that, though native treasure-seekers have for centuries visited the old forts in Ladâkh, much remains to be discovered. What we were able to accomplish hardly amounted to more than peeps below the surface

[8] Skyurbucan means 'possessing little sour ones,' clearly on account of the presence of the wild plum. The literary name of the place is Skyidpocan, 'possessing happiness.' However, the natural name still exists in the language of the people.

[9] The Dards have legends as to the introduction by them of fruit trees into Ladâkh when they founded colonies from Gilgit.

Brick tea. — Specimens of **brick tea** of the ordinary sort, which crumbled to dust in our fingers, were found, imported no doubt from China, through Tibet proper, in the course of trade. Leh can hardly have had much trade of its own at any time, but it has probably been from all time, as it is now, an important junction for trade routes from Yârkand and Tibet to India.

B. — Beads.

Beads were not uncommon at the old hearth, and in many other places about the fort. This surprised us, as the chief objects of native treasure-seekers are beads and old iron. We found **24 beads of sorts** (*vide* No. 4, Plate IX.).

Indigenous beads. — The most interesting and probably the oldest was of **slate**, 1½ inches by an inch nearly. Another apparently ancient bead was a cylinder of **flint**, half an inch long and of the same thickness in its broadest part (*vide* No. 20, Plate IX.). The materials of others were **quartz crystal** (3), **lapis lazuli** (2), a variety of **agate** (4), **garnet** (1), **black horn** (1). One of the agate beads was **artificially ornamented** with lines engraved and filled with a chalky substance.

Imported beads. — Beads of **glass**, white (2), blue (2), red (1), yellow (3), varying from 3 to 7 *millimetres* in diameter. The yellow ones closely approached to amber. Two very small beads, measuring only one *millimetre* of white and blue glass, were found. One bead was apparently of **Venetian glass**, white round the hole and red outside.

Quartz crystals. — An **ibex-horn box**, with both ends closed with clay, was found in the upper terrace, containing **rough quartz crystals**. It looked like the raw materials of some stone-cutter and polisher of the olden time (*vide* Nos. 19, 21, Plate IX.).

C. — Stone Implements.

Mortar. — A splendid specimen of the Ladâkhî **stone mortar, og γtun**, was discovered in the living rock at the spot marked with a small ring in Plate I.

Oil-presses. — Several **oil-presses, tsig,** were found broken, and two well preserved. Fig. 2, Plate V., represents implements used for grinding corn, as we were told, which are larger than the ordinary oil-presses. Such a corn grinder was discovered in the walls inside the masonry, from which it may be inferred that there was a **Settlement at Balu-mkhar before the fort.**

Pots. — Many fragments of the ordinary **stone pot, rdo-ltog,** of Ladâkh, were found (*vide* fig. 1, Plate V.).

Axe. — A beautiful specimen of the triangular **stone axe** was found (*vide* fig. 1, Plate V).

Arrow-heads. — A few rough **arrow-heads** were found of a dark green stone, procurable from a hill opposite Khalatse, an hour's walk distant (*vide* Nos. 13, 14, Plate IX.).

Knives. — **Knives of slate** from the same hill were found (*vide* Nos. 17, 18, Plate IX.). I have visited the hill and the slate there breaks naturally into the shape of a knife.

D. — Pottery.

No perfect specimens were found but many fragments in and about the fort. They were all apparently parts of vessels closely resembling the modern *rdzama*. We only paid attention to the shards ornamented with **blood-red designs.** The interest in these lies in the fact that no ornamented vessels are in use at the present day. The most unusual of the designs are those apparently representing reeds. On three of the fragments were found small impressed circles in rows (*vide* Plate IV.).

E. — Iron.

Arrow-heads. — The **iron arrow-heads** shown in Nos. 5, 6 and 11 of fig. 1, Plate IX., were brought me by the villagers of Khalatse, the find-spots being indicated as follows:— No. 5 in Balu-mkhar, No. 6 in the plain below, No. 11 in the plain above Khalatse.

Nails. — Several **iron nails** were found together and probably came from wooden doors at Balu-mkhar (*vide* No. 9, Plate IX.).

Anvils. — Several **stone anvils** with traces of iron on them were discovered.

Knife. — One fragment seems to have been an **iron knife**.

Ring. — One **iron ring** was found, worn, we were told, by archers on the thumb (*vide* No. 12, Plate IX.).

Ornament. — No. 2, fig. 1, Plate IX., is an **iron ornament** for armour or female wear.

F. — Miscellanea.

Cowries. — Two **cowries** were found near the hearth (*vide* Nos. 1, 3, Plate IX.). At the present day they are used by the poor to ornament head-dresses in place of turquoises.

Ivory handle. — The **ivory handle** found must have been imported, like the cowries, from India. It might have been the handle of a prayer-wheel or a spindle-whorl (*vide* No. 10, Plate IX.).

Dice. — Several **dice** were brought to us, mostly of ivory, but one of *rdo-ltog* stone (*vide* Nos. 7, 8, Plate IX.). The find-spots were stated to be ancient sites near Khalatse, *e. g*, Bragnag-mkhar. On the plain side they all bore a St. Andrew's Cross.

G. — Explanation of Plate IX.

Fig. 1. — Nos. 1, 3 are cowries. No. 2 is an iron ornament. No. 4 is a chain of the smaller beads found at Balu-mkhar. Nos. 5, 6, 11 are iron arrow-heads. Nos 7, 8 are dice, No. 7 is of ivory, No. 8 of stone. No. 9 shows three iron nails. No. 10 is an ivory-handle. No. 12 is an archer's iron thumb-ring.

Fig. 2. — Nos. 13, 14 are stone arrow-heads; No. 14 is broken in half. Nos. 15, 16 are knives of slate from Balu-mkhar. Nos. 17, 18 are knives of slate found by myself from the hill opposite Khalatse. No. 19 are specimens of rough quartz crystals found in No. 21. No. 20 are large beads of black slate and flint. No. 21 is a box of ibex-horn from Balu-mkhar.

FOLKLORE FROM THE DAKSHINA-DESA.

BY M. N. VENKATASWAMI, M.R.A.S., M.F.L.S.

No. 1. — Poggam Pâpaya.

Mudu tedlaku âru tedlu
Âvu naiyu anapâkam
Kodi petta kosarâyai
Pota pota Poggam Pâpaya.[1]

In a certain town dwelt one **Poggam Pâpaya**, who started on a journey. He stopped on the road and called to an old woman, pouring some husked rice on her hands, and said:—

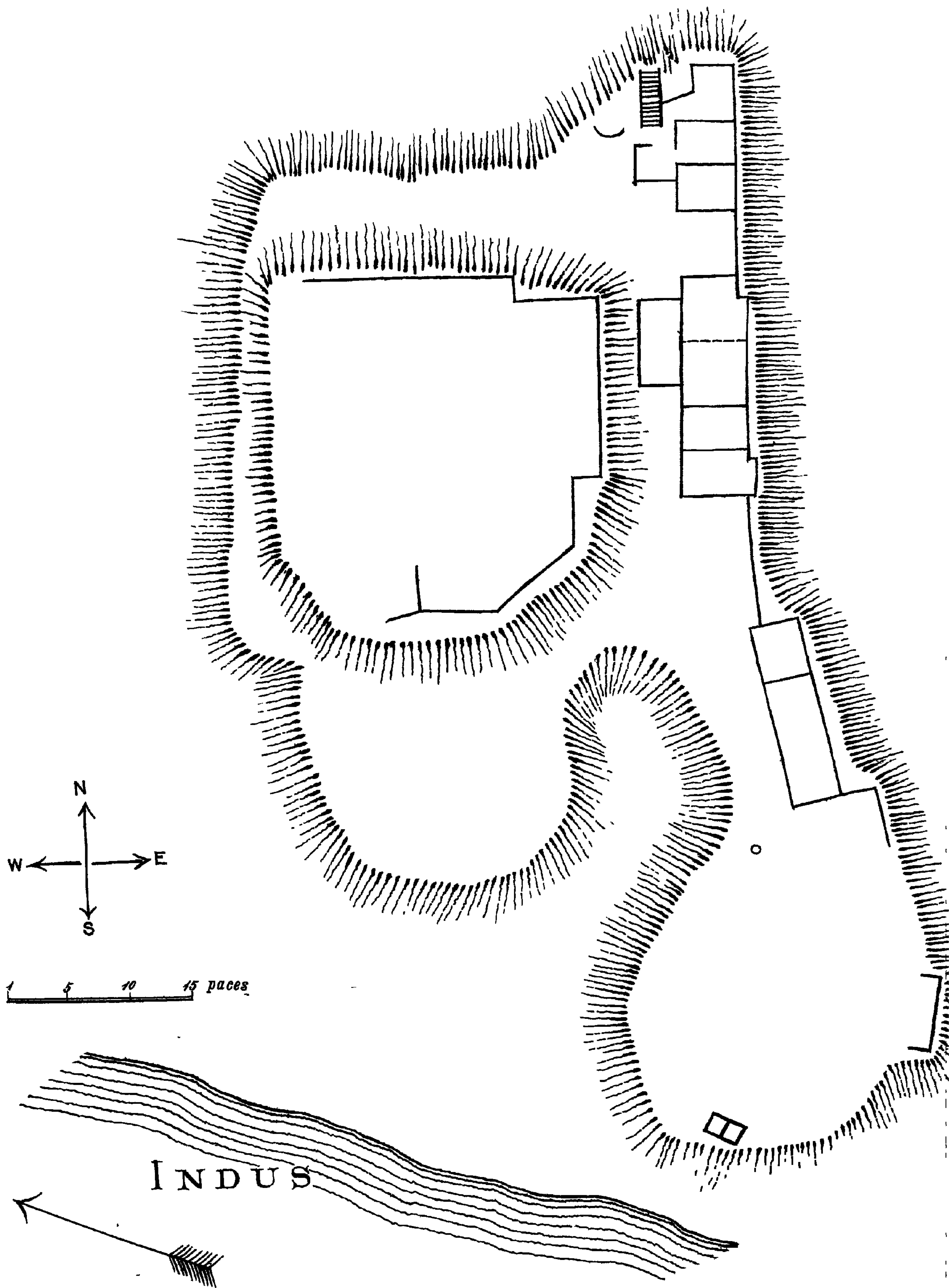
"Grandmother, grandmother, cook this for me. I am very hungry."

The old woman washed and cleaned the rice and put the pot on the fire. As soon as the rice was boiling she called out to Poggam Pâpaya: — "Young man, bring me the firewood lying

[1] Six ladlefuls for three ladlefuls; Fowl besides cooked in *ghî*, Set a-going Poggam Pâpaya.

Plate I. Balu-mkhar

Sketch Plan of Balu-mkhar



A. H. FRANCKE, DEL

W GRIGGS, PHOTO-LI

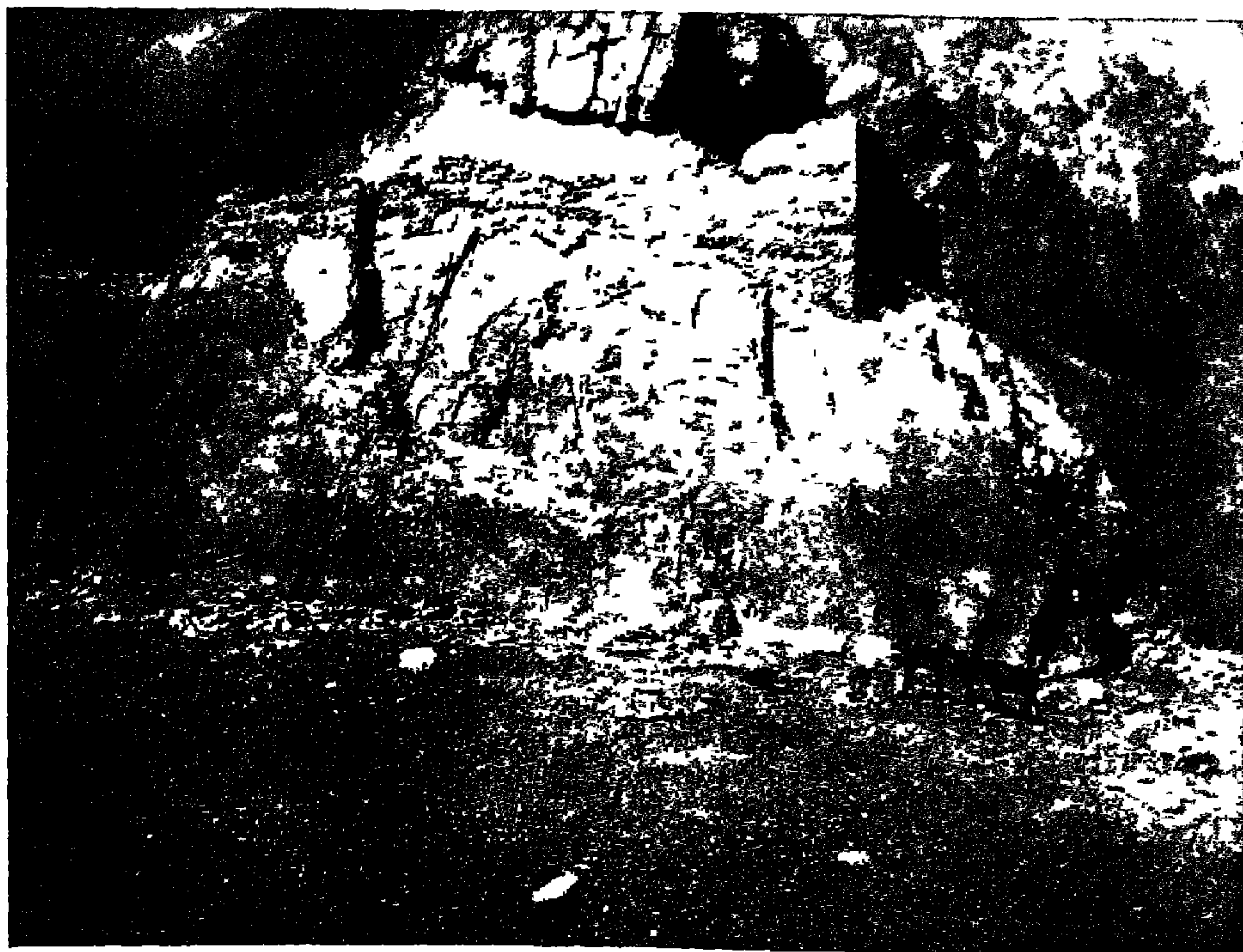


Fig 1 Balu-mkhar Fort from North-East

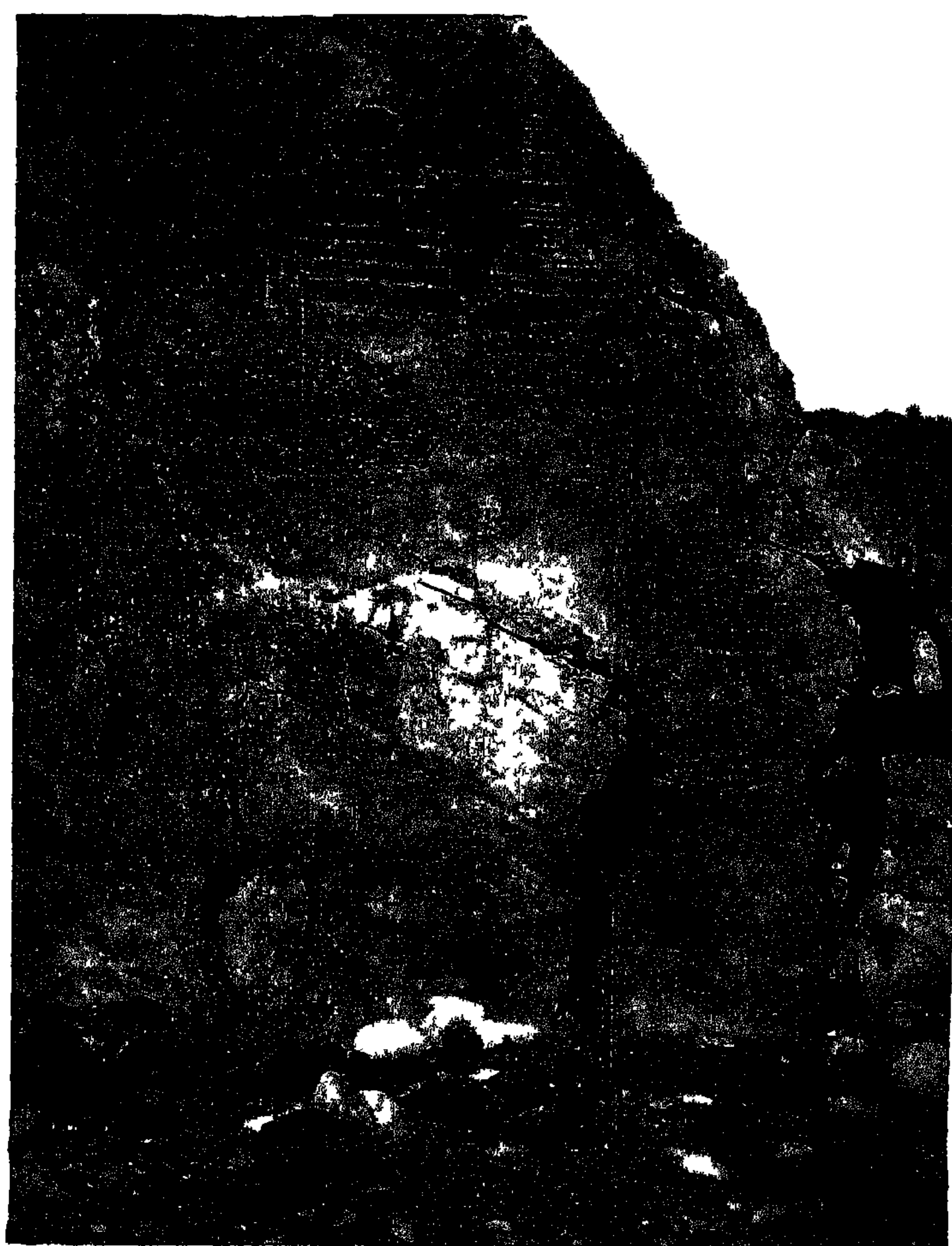


Fig. 2. North-East corner of Balu-mkhar Fort
with rock-carvings and inscriptions

JANE E. DUNCAN, PHOT W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

Plate III Balu-mkhar.



Fig 1 Ruined stair at Balu-mkhar

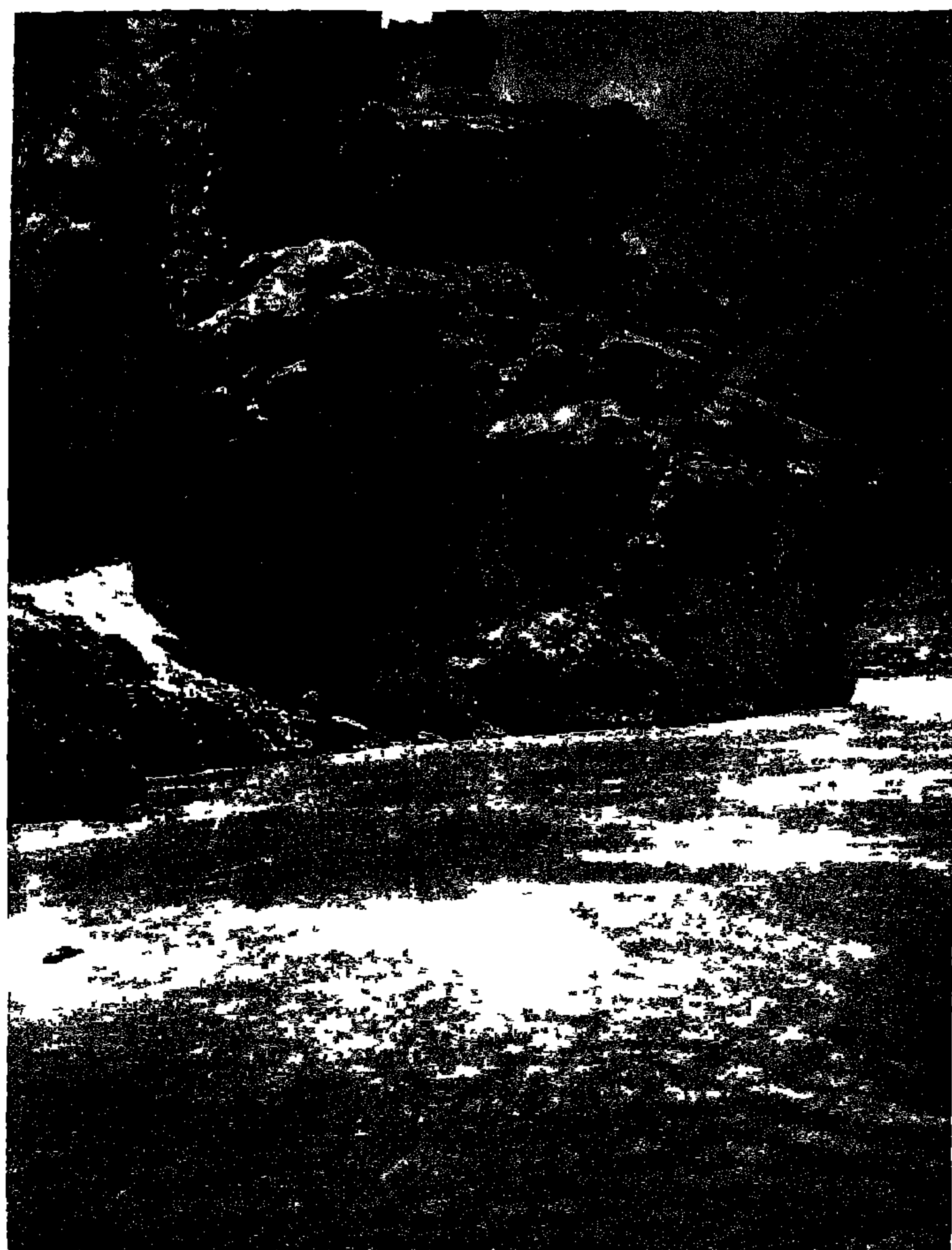


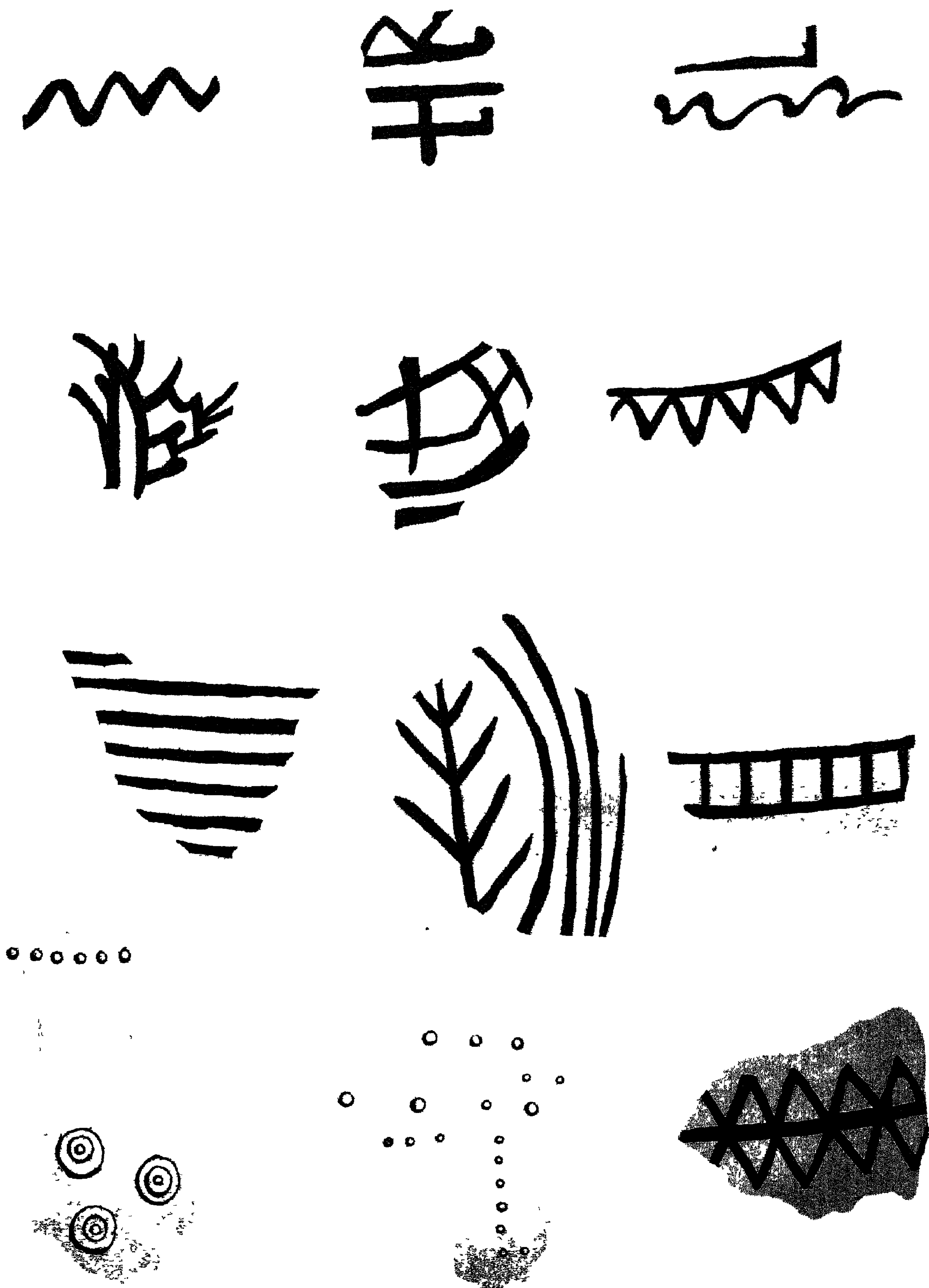
Fig. 2 Starting-point of the ancient rope-bridge across the Indus on the Southern descent from the Balu-mkhar Rock.

JANE E DUNCAN PHOT.

W GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

Plate IV Balu-mkhar.

Fragments of ornamental pottery, found at Balu-mkhar.



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W. GRIGGS. PHOTO-LITH.

Plate V Balu-mkhar

Finds at Balu-mkhar



Fig 1 Fragments of ancient pottery, grind-stones, etc, with a stone axe-head in the middle

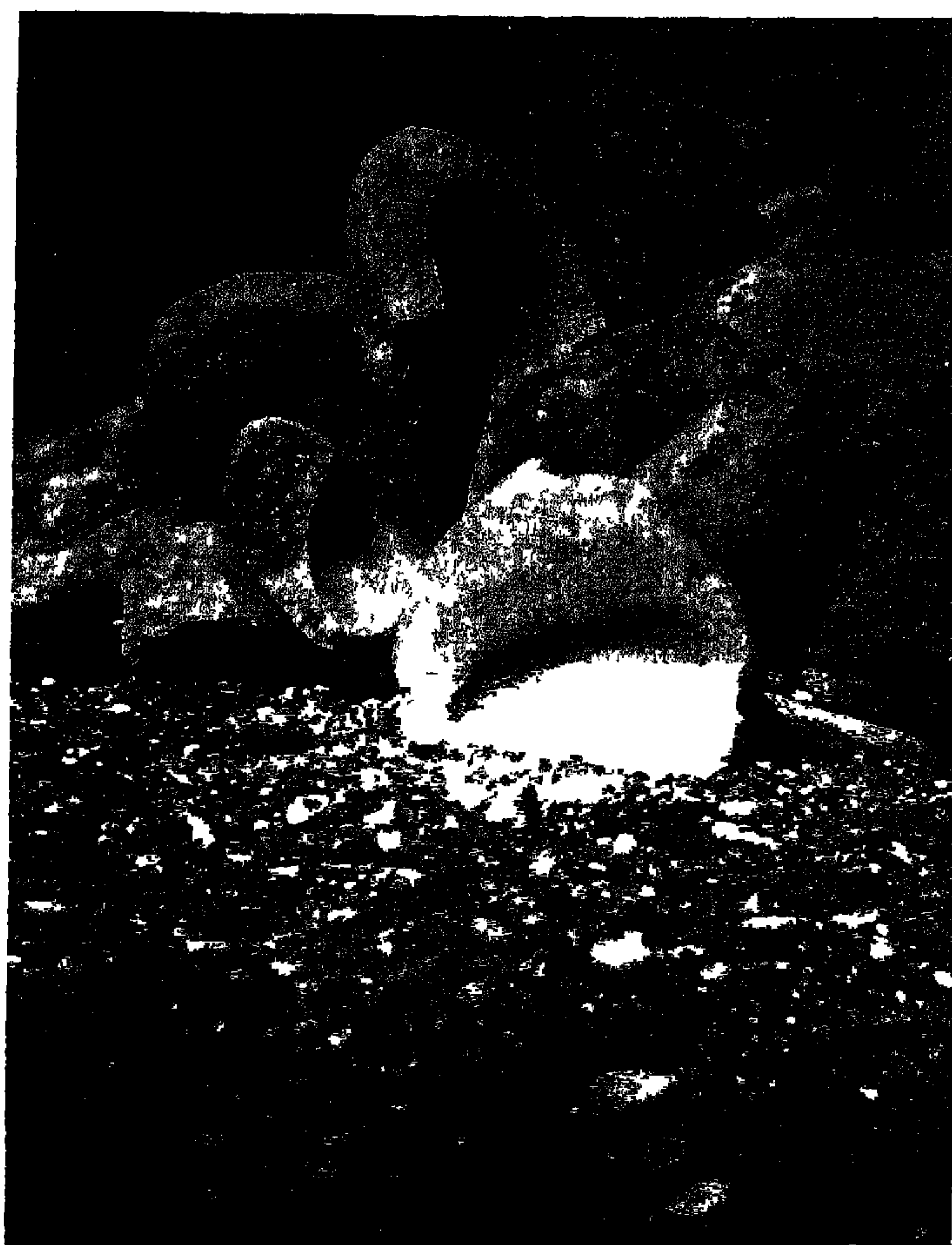


Fig 2. Ancient stone mortars.

JANE E. DUNCAN, PHOT.

W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.



Fig 1 Ruined five-headed stûpa near Balu-mkhar, believed to have been erected by the garrison in commemoration of a high customs official



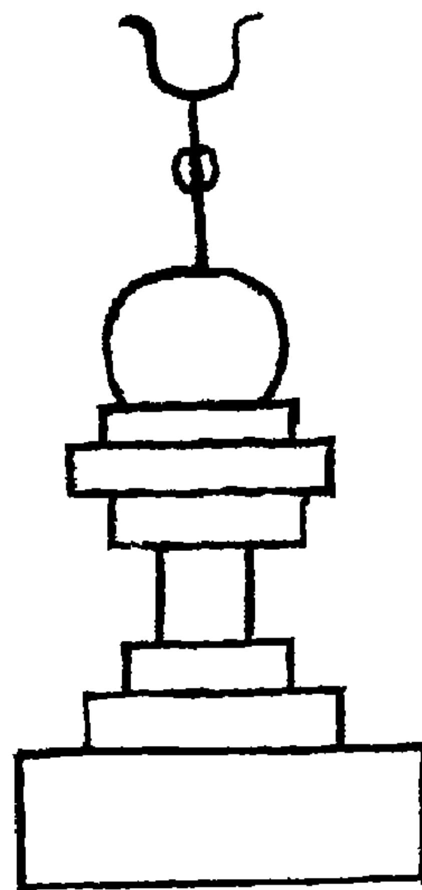
Fig. 2 Ruined stûpa near Balu-mkhar, believed to have been erected by the garrison in commemoration of a high customs official.

JANE E DUNCAN, PHOT. W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

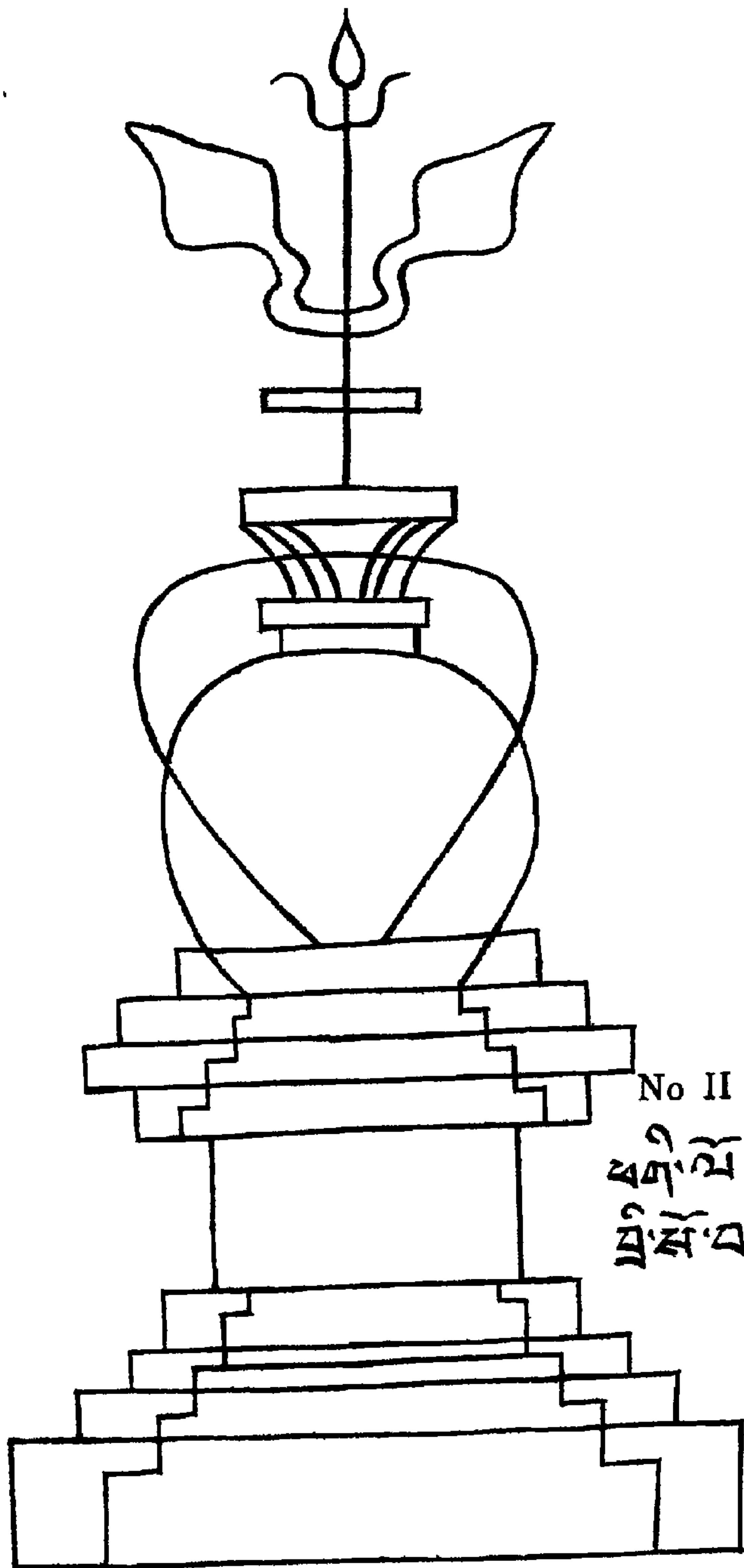
Plate VII Balu-mkhar

Rock Carvings at Balu-mkhar.

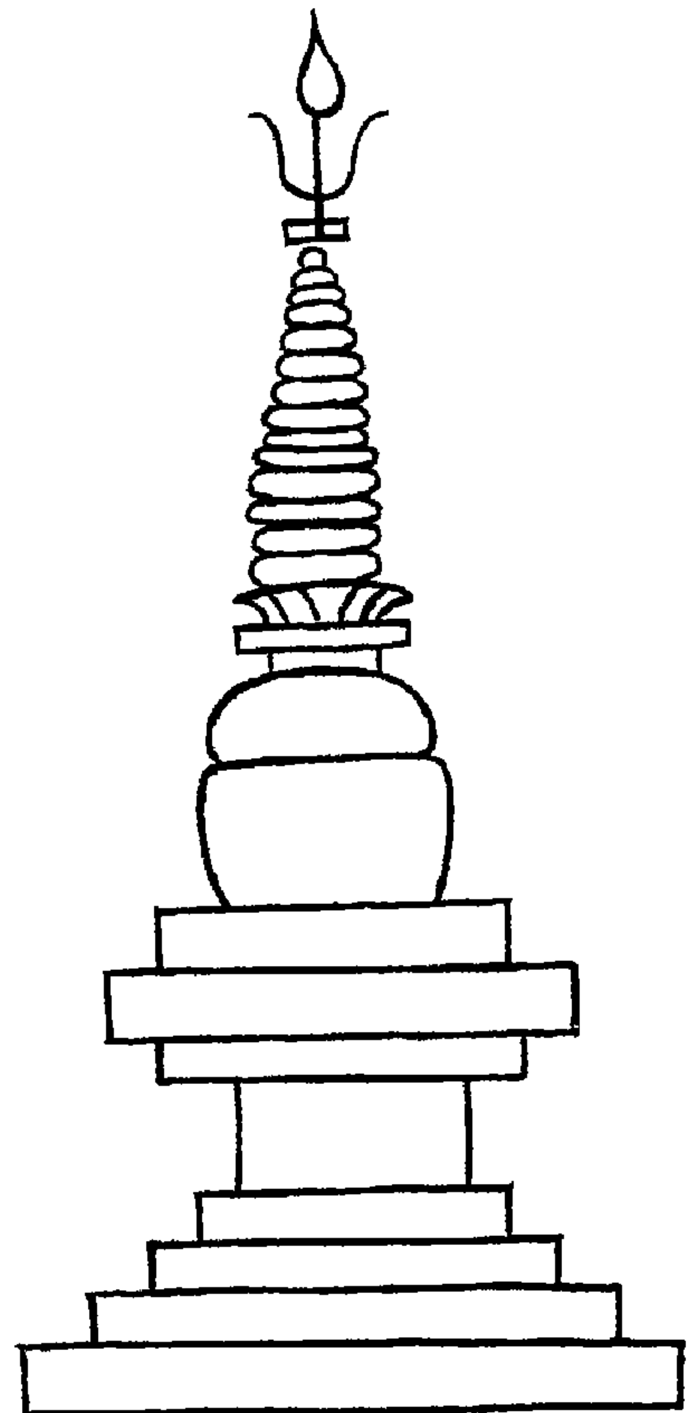
Indian Antiquary



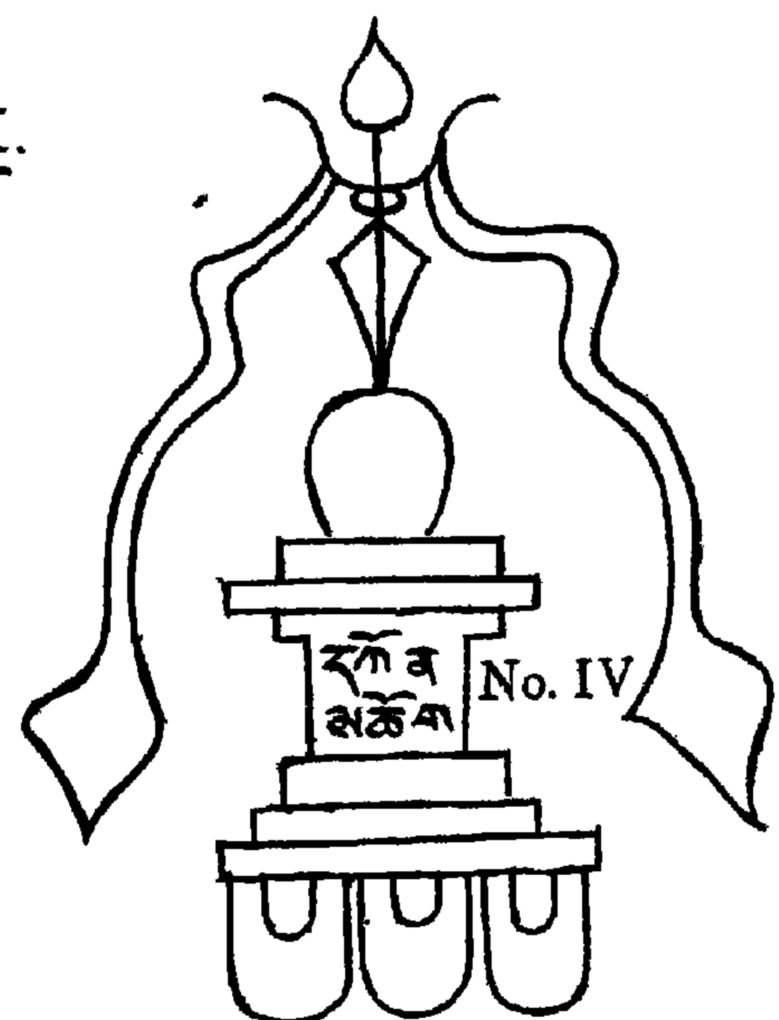
No I.



No II



No III.

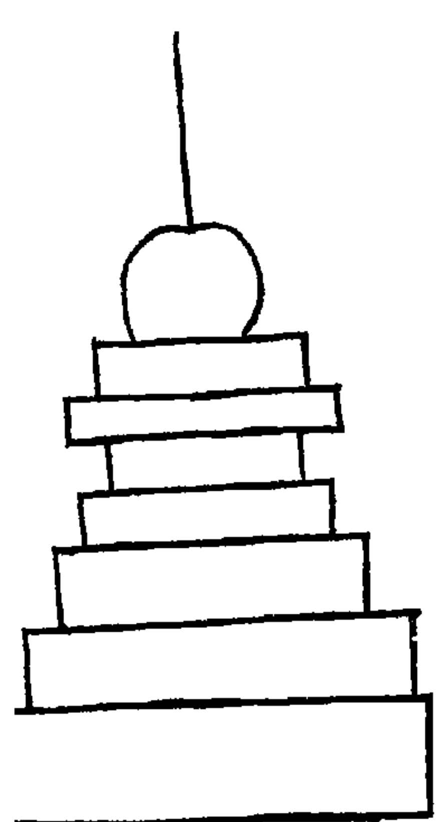


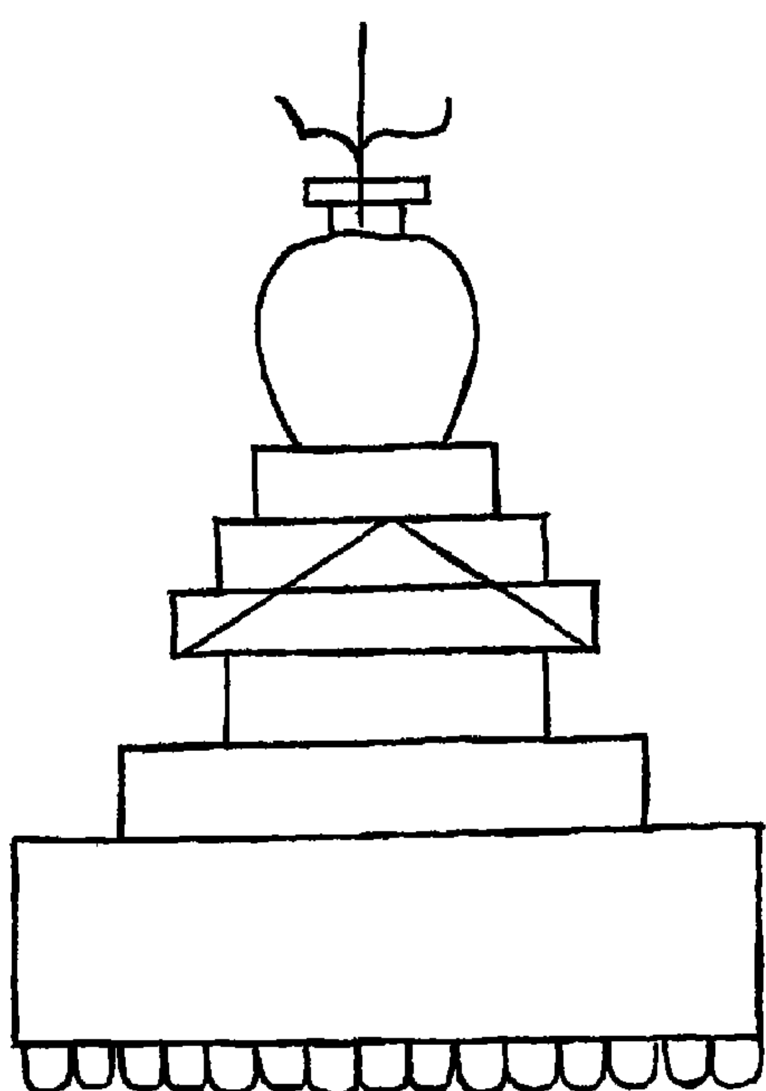
No. IV

YESHES RIGDZIN, DEL.

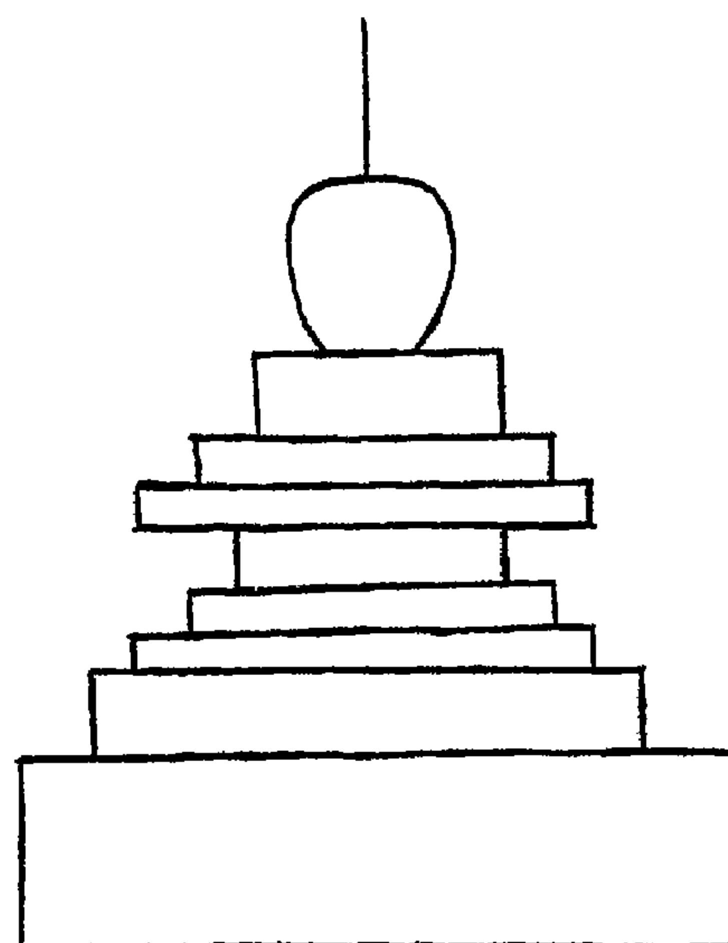
W. GRIGGS, CHROMO-LITH.

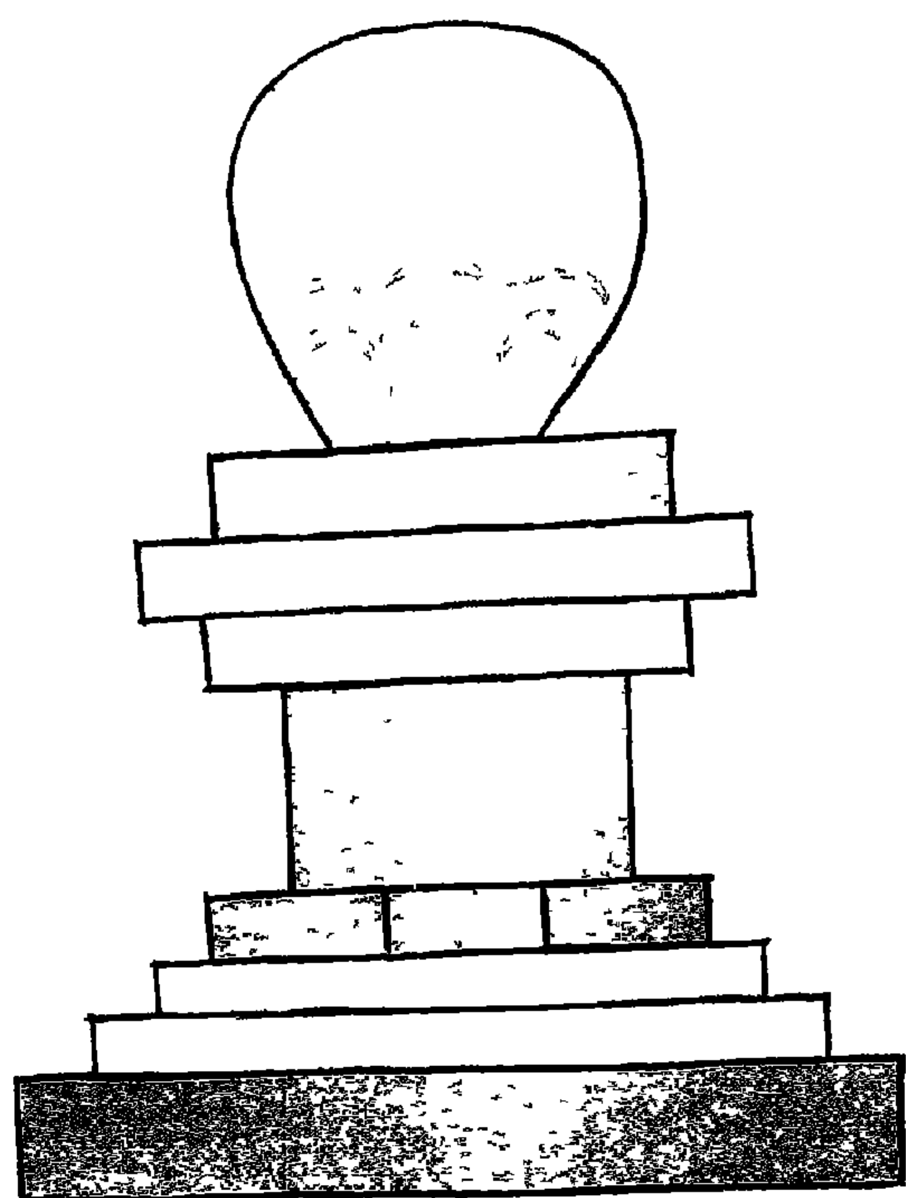
Rock Carvings at Balu-mkhar





From the Upper Terrace.

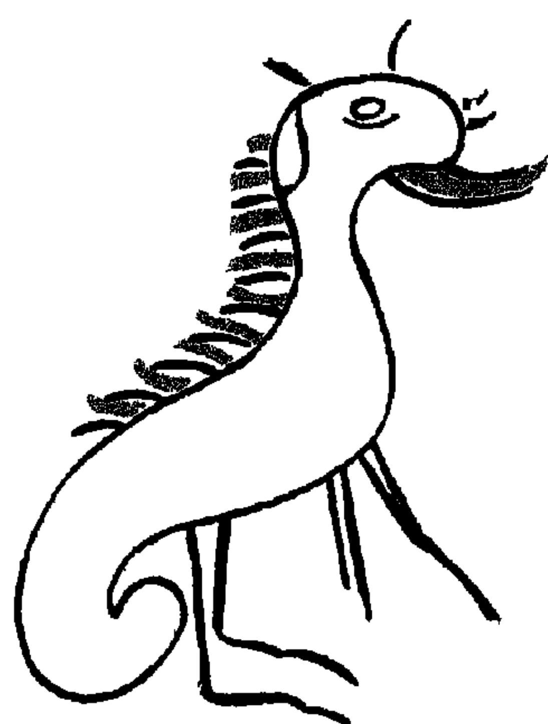


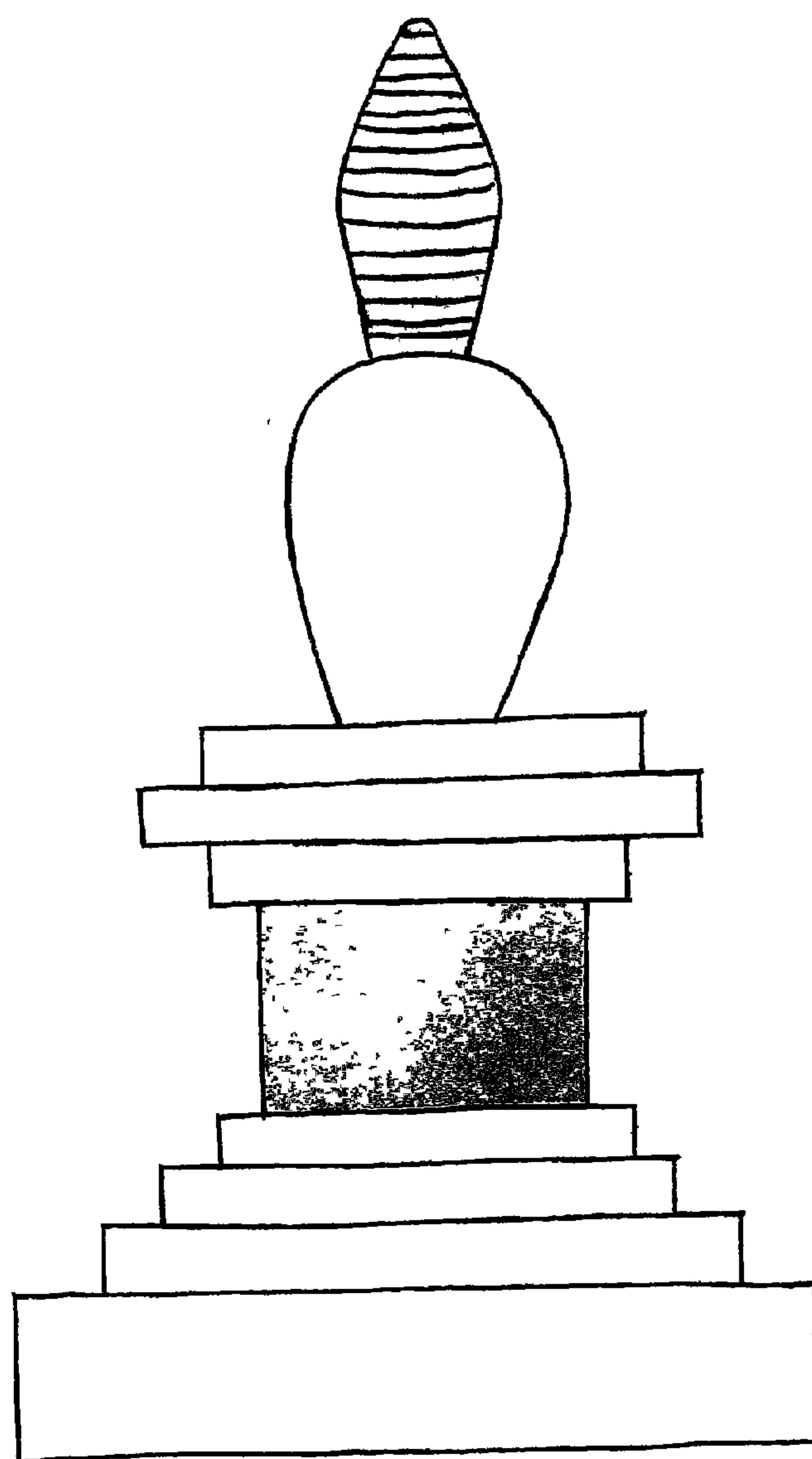


No. V.

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YESHES RIGDZIN, DEL.

From a Cave, a quarter of a mile from the Fort.

W. GRIGGS. PHOTO-LITH.

Some finds at Balu-mkhar

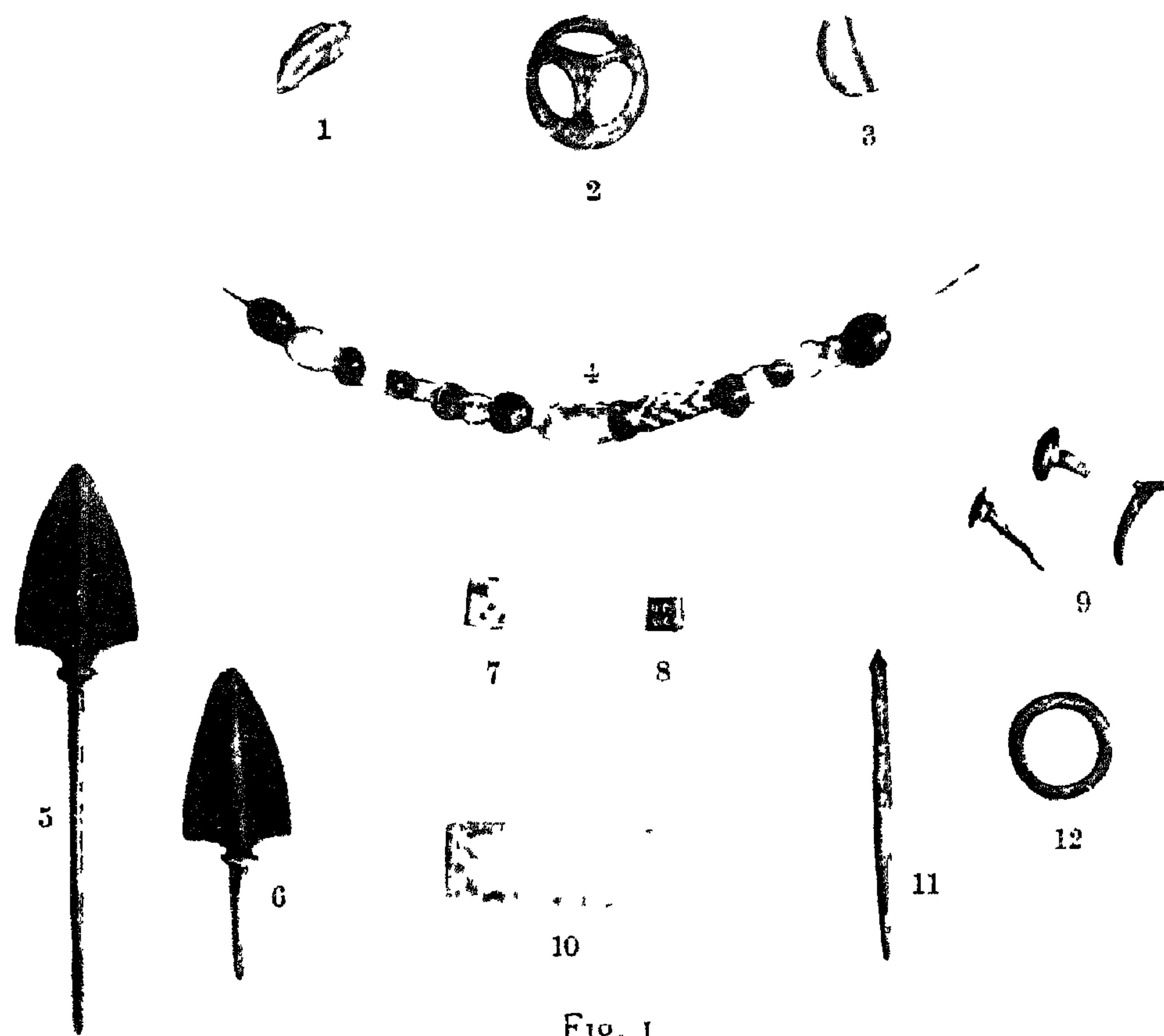


Fig. 1

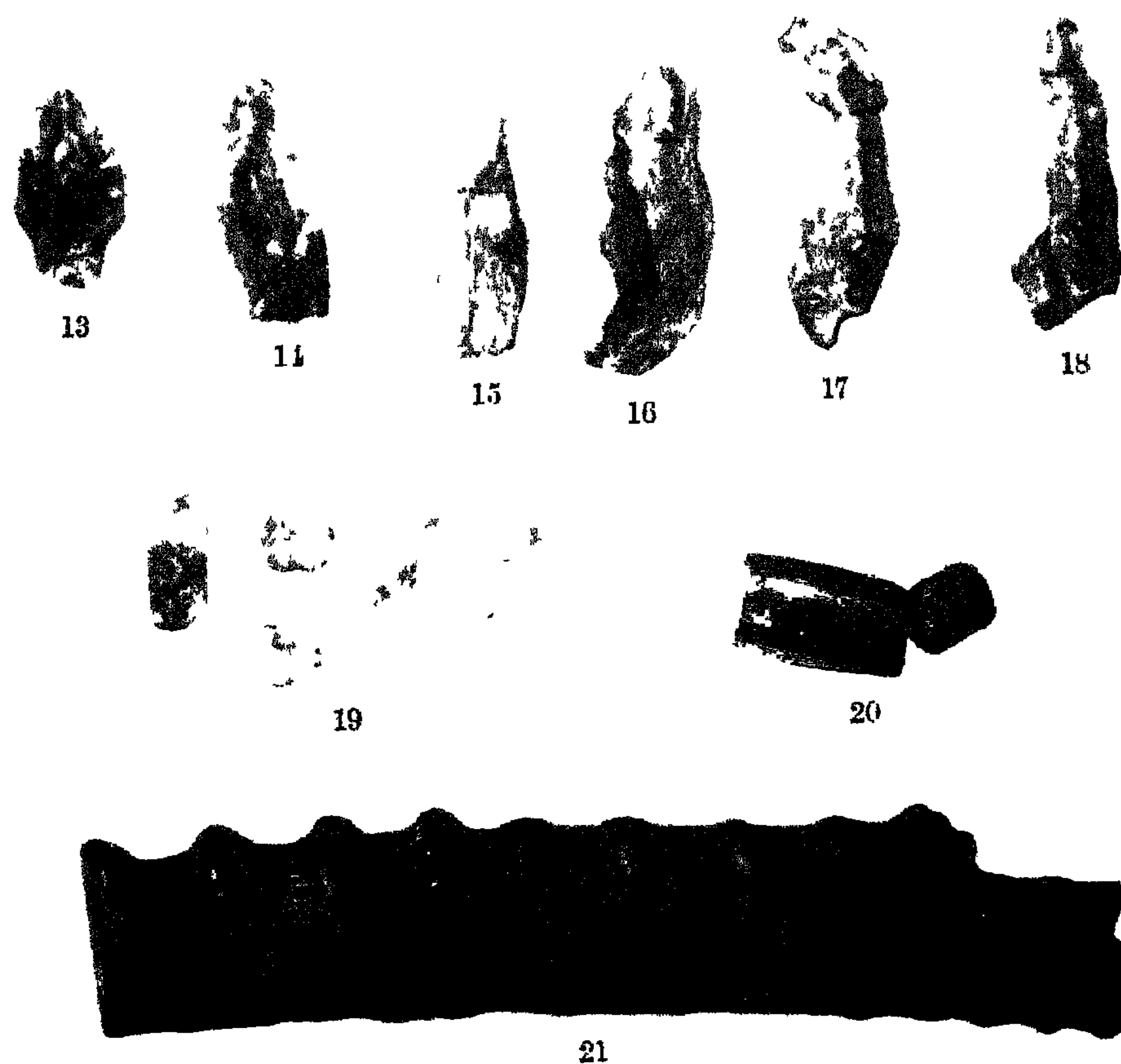


Fig 2

PHOTOS. BY HANS THEILE

W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

yonder," and at the same time cunningly transferred three ladlefuls from his pot to hers. He saw the manœuvre, however, by a side glance from his eyes; and said to himself: — "Oho! I am to be outwitted like this, am I?"

And then as if a thought had suddenly struck him, he called: —

"Grandmother, grandmother, there is no water to drink, do go and fetch some," and in the old woman's absence he transferred six ladlefuls from her pot to his. And then seeing a fowl he killed and dressed and added to it a lot of *ghî*, which he found.

In due course the old woman returned from the well and said: —

"What about curry, young man?"

"Oh," said Poggam Pâpaya, "I have been to the *patêl*[2] and he gave me a fowl ready dressed. Here it is. Cook it."

It was in the old woman's mind to appropriate the fowl, but Poggam Pâpaya was too sharp and served the meals himself. He also stayed the night and got up very early in the morning. He then proceeded to appropriate all the neck ornaments of the cows and buffaloes and then bade the old woman good-bye: —

"I am going!"

"You are going?"

"Yes."

"What is your name?"

"My name is 'Six ladlefuls for three.' Fowl besides cooked in *ghî*. Set a-going Poggam Pâpaya!"

She did not in the least understand him, but after he had gone she went to look at the cows and buffaloes and to her consternation found them all free and without their neck ornaments. After this she found that her fowl was gone and that the *ghî* in the house had been meddled with.

Then she understood!

No. 2. — The Vicious Gurû.

भमो इच्छा समो नास्ति
दैव इच्छा प्रवर्तते
राज कन्यां राज द्वारे
विप्रं भालु भक्षते

A certain **king had a daughter** as lovely as Pârvatî or Lakshmî, who was ten years old and becoming marriageable, and so the king spoke to his Gurû and said: —

"It is a heinous sin not to marry off a daughter before she reaches puberty. Tell me, O Gurû, by the stars the auspicious day for my daughter's marriage."

But **the Gurû had become enamoured of the girl's beauty,** so he answered with guile, — "It will be wrong to celebrate your daughter's marriage and will bring evil on both of you. Do you instead adorn her with the 36 ornaments and clothe her in the finest of her garments, cover her with flowers, and sprinkle her with perfumes, and **set her in a spacious box afloat on the waters of the boundless ocean."**

It was the time of Dwâpara Yuga and the Gurû had to be obeyed. So it was done as he bid, to the great sorrow of the king and all his subjects. The king asked the Gurû to comfort them all with

[2] Village headman.

his ministrations, but he refused and said he must return at once to his *âsana* or sacred seat, and left at once for his own home some three days distant.

As soon as he reached home, **the Gurû purchased a mansion** and stocked it with gold and silver, and pearls and corals and the worthiest and finest of the fabrics that the *striyâta* (womankind) delights in, and called his 360 disciples and said: —

"My children, **go and search the ocean** and let whoever finds on it **a large box floating,** bring it here, and in no case come to me again until I summon you. Do this and I will increase your merit one degree."

So they all scattered to do as they had been bidden.

Now **the king of another place** had gone hunting on the sea-shore and **had broken the leg of a bear.** After his hunt he sat idly watching the sea, while his steed grazed and the wounded bear limped about and gave vent to short savage grunts. He watched the billows rise and fall, and in a short time espied a box floating on their crests, as if it carried a weight in it. He was quite a young man, and, being an expert swimmer, he soon **brought the box to shore.** Great was his joy to find that it contained so beautiful a girl adorned as a bride.

He put the lame bear into the box and set it afloat once again and returned home post-haste with his prize. There was held a *swayamvara* for the maiden, who chose the deliverer for husband and great was the wedding that followed.

Meanwhile one of the 360 disciples saw the box on the sea and duly fetched it to the Gurû, and at once disappeared as he had been bidden. Greatly delighted was the Gurû, and preparing sweets and fruits and flowers and scent, he securely closed all the doors of his chamber and opened the box in an ecstasy. But out jumped **the bear,** savage and hungry and at war with all human beings from the treatment he had received. Straightway he **seized the Gurû by the throat** and sucked out his life-blood. Feeling his life going, the Gurû dipped his finger in his own blood and **wrote on a pillar** in the room the following Sanskrît *śloka* : —

ममो इच्छा समो नास्ति
दैव इच्छा प्रवर्तते
राज कन्या राजद्वारे
विप्रं भालु भक्षते

"Man's desires are not fulfilled.
The god's desires prevail.
The king's daughter is in the king's palace.
The bear has eaten the priest."

It was soon noised abroad that the much-sought-for box had been duly delivered to the Gurû, but still no summons reached the disciples. So they proceeded at last together to his house, where on bursting open his chamber-door, they found his decomposing body. No trace of the murderer could however be found, until the king, who had been sent for, found the Sanskrit verses on the pillar and had them translated for him by the *paṇḍits.*

Thus was the mystery of the priest's death solved, and in due course the minister proved that the bear could have escaped through a drain that was found in the building.

Now it happened that the princess's father was related to her husband and went to visit him. During his visit he remarked that the queen was remarkably like the daughter he had set afloat in a box. Thereupon they fell on each other's necks, as soon as the father had heard the rest of the story. Thus was the wickedness of the Gurû finally avenged.

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M.A.

(Continued from p. 195.)

Hyperpera; *s. v.* Carat, 123, ii
Hyphasis; ann 1753: *s v* Sutledge, 859, ii.
Hypo, ann. 1704: *s v.* Upas, 730, ii, twice
Hyrcanae; B. C 19 *s v.* Tiger, 702, i
Hyrcanian; ann. 1671: *s v.* Candahar (a), 771, ii.
Hyson, *s. v.* 328, ii, *s. v.* Tea, 691, i and ii, 692, i, ann 1772· *s. v.* Tea, 691, ii.
Hystaspes; ann 486: *s v.* Aryan, 27, ii.
Hyuer, ann 1643: *s v* Winter, 740, ii; ann. 1653: *s. v* Winter, 867, i, 3 times
Hyver, ann. 1610 and 1665: *s. v.* Winter, 740, ii

I

'Iabadíon; ann. 150: *s v* Java, 347, i.
'Iabadíou; *s v.* Java, 346, i
Iabadiu; ann. 150: *s. v.* Java 347, i.
Iaca; *s. v.* Jack, 338, ii.
Iaccal; ann 1615: *s v.* Jackal, 338, ii.
Iaggarnat; ann. 1632: *s. v.* Juggurnaut, 356, ii, twice
Iagra, ann. 1598: *s v* Jaggery, 341, i, ann. 1616: *s. v* Arrack, 26, ii.
Iagrenate, ann. 1753. *s v.* Gingerly, 801, i
Iaiama; *s. v.* Ananas, 17, ii
Iak, ann. 1730: *s. v.* Yak, 744, ii.
Ialla mokee, ann. 1616: *s v* Jowaulla mookhee, 811, ii
Iamayhey; ann. 1587: *s. v.* Jangomay, 343, ii, twice. *s. v* Lan John, 384, ii.
Iambos, *s. v.* Jamboo, 342, i
Iangadas; ann. 1598: *s. v.* Jangar, 343, i.
Iangoman; ann. 1597: *s. v.* Talapoin, 677, ii.
Iangomes, ann. 1587. *s v.* Jangomay, 343, ii.
Ianizary; ann 1595 *s v.* Turban, 718, ii.
Iao; ann 1511: *s v* Kling, 373, ii; ann. 1602: *s. v.* Pial, 533, ii.
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(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

TRANSLITERATION INTO EUROPEAN CHARACTERS.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR, — I have been recently obliged to examine the method of transliteration of Sanskrit characters into English adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, as I had to follow it in the transliteration of the Sanskrit and vernacular terms in some Archæological papers But in following this method, I found the discrepancies noted below, and was about to address this letter to you for your kind insertion in your Journal, so that Oriental scholars might do the needful in the matter, when I fortunately happened to read the letter from Mr. Syam Sundar Das on page 19 of your issue of January last.

I agree with him in most of his views and should be glad if his suggestions are upheld and a more correct method of transliteration is decided on.

Sanskrit ड — English d. The correct English pronunciation of the letter d, being as in "*do, did,*

deed," does not, as is supposed, really represent the correct pronunciation of the Sanskrit letter द The correct pronunciation of the Sanskrit d under reference is more like the English th in "*than, that, these, those.*"

Sanskrit त — English t The correct English pronunciation of the letter t, being as in "*to, too, tin,*" does not represent the correct pronunciation of the Sanskrit letter त, as is supposed The correct pronunciation of the Sanskrit letter त under reference, is more like the English th in "*thin, thick, thatch*"

ड is represented by ḍ. The dot under the d is unnecessary, for the correct pronunciation of the Sanskrit letter is d as pronounced in "*do, did, done, deed,*" which the English letter d, by itself, and without any symbol added to it, can represent

ट is represented by ṭ. There is no necessity for a dot under the t, for the correct pronunciation of the Sanskrit letter ट is as in "*tin, to, too,*" which the letter t, by itself, without any symbolical dot added to it, can represent.

च — c. The correct pronunciation of c, being as in "*circle, Ceylon, cent, cylinder,*" does not represent the correct pronunciation of the Sanskrit letter च, which is as in ch in "*church, chin, cheek, child*"

These difficulties might be obviated by adopting the proposed symbols as follows —

च ... ch
छ ... c̣h
ट ... t
ठ ... t
ड ... d
ढ ... ḍ
त ... th—like th in *thick, thin, thatch.*
थ ... th or th
द ... th—like th in *than, that, those.*
ध .. dh, as in *Dharmavaram, Dharwar*

Yours faithfully,
C SRINIVASA AIYANGAR,
Pandit,
Office of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey (Madras and Coorg).

Camp Madras,
16th March, 1905.

Note by the Editor.

The receipt of such letters as the above is a good sign, as it shows that *pandits* are now taking a real interest in the representation of Indian vernacular by European characters. I cannot, however, agree with the writer The Indian t and d, in either variety, is not in fact the European t and d. The two varieties have been rendered by t and d and by ṭ and ḍ as being the nearest respectively to European ears I agree with the writer that ट ठ ड ढ are nearer the European t and d than त थ द ध, but as neither are accurately t and d, it is hardly worth while now to alter an old convention. The representation of च and छ by c and ch is due to a well-known European convention for rendering the sound of the *English* ch and is more convenient on the whole than ch and chh, which, after all, suit the pronunciation of one European language only (English) of those symbols.

MISCELLANEA.

CUSTOMARY LAW REGARDING SUCCESSION IN RULING FAMILIES OF THE PANJAB HILL STATES

THERE are striking differences in the customs which govern succession in ruling families of the Hill States in the Panjab and those of certain other States in India, such as Manipûr and Mâlêr Kôtlâ (see *ante*, Vol XX. p 422 and Vol. XVIII. pp. 328—30).[1] In the former strict primogeniture is the rule, but this rule is subject to certain principles Some of these I hope to discuss in a subsequent note.

There is, however, one principle which emerges pretty clearly from the historical records of the Panjab Hill States. It may be called the principle of the 'res judicata,' and is this — that an heir once designated is the heir-apparent, and remains so whatever may happen.

Illustration I. — Râjâ Ummêd Singh of Chambâ (A. D. 1748—64) used to live much at Râjnagar instead of Chambâ In A. D. 1755 one of his *rânîs* there gave birth to a child, Râj Singh, who was at once acknowledged as the heir-apparent. Next day the news arrived of the birth, at Chambâ, of another son, who was born a few hours before Râj Singh. The point was referred to the *pandits*, who decided in favour of Râj Singh

Illustration II. — Kâhan Chand, the 11th Râjâ of Kahlûr, had two wives, princesses of Kûlû and Bâghal. The former first gave birth to a son and the latter also had a son a few days later. In

[1] *Cf ante*, Vol. XXI p 286 ff

the rejoicings which ensued on the birth of the elder boy, no one thought of carrying the news of his birth to the Râjâ, who chanced to be absent at Hûnîgarh, but the birth of the second son was promptly notified to him and he at once declared that this boy was his heir. This declaration precluded him from acknowledging the Kûlû Rânî's son, though the elder, as his heir, when he heard of his birth. The boys were named Ajît Singh and Ajai Singh, and on the latter's accession in Sambat 1156, the former, accompanied by his younger brother Têgh Chand, went to Hindûr, then held by a Brâhman ruler, Handû by name, and, dispossessing him of that territory, founded the State of Hindûr or Nâlâgarh

Exception. — Bikram Chand, like his ancestor Kâhan Chand, had two wives, the princess of Kângrâ and a princess of Bâghal. Both gave birth to sons, and the Bâghal Rânî obtained for hers, though the younger by a few days, the nomination to the throne, but the Kângrâ Rânî succeeded in getting it cancelled. The Râjâ lived with the Kângrâ Rânî and her sons, Sultân Chand and Maidal, at Sonâlî, while the Bâghal Rânî's sons, Misripâ and Kêshab, lived at Bahâdurgarh Fort, now in the Bâghal State Bikram Chand placed his son Sultân Chand on the throne at Kôtgarh Fort in his lifetime in Sambat 1650, but the Bâghal Rânî's sons raised a rebellion, and Sultân Chand had to seek refuge in Kângrâ, whence he returned with a force which enabled him to defeat his half-brothers.

This principle probably explains, or at least illuminates, the following incident in the history of the Katôch Râjâs of Kangrâ:— "Harî Chand, Râjâ of Kângrâ, was out hunting in the neighbourhood of Harsar, a village of Gôlêr, still famous for its extensive woods stocked with various kinds of game By some mishap he fell into a dry well unobserved by his companions, who, after a long and fruitless search, returned to Kângrâ fully impressed with the belief that he had become the victim of a beast of prey His loss was mourned as one who was dead, and his brother Karam Chand ascended the throne But Hari Chand was still alive. After the lapse of several days he was discovered and extricated by some shepherds, from whom he learned the story of his brother's accession. His position was embarrassing; his name had been effaced from the rolls of the living, and another ruled in his stead A return to Kângrâ would cause obvious confusion, so he generously resolved not to attempt the recovery of his birth-right Selecting a spot on the banks of the Bân Gangâ opposite Gôlêr, he built the town and fortress of Haripur, called after himself, and made it the head-quarters of a separate principality Thus, the elder brother reigned at Haripur on a small scale, while the younger sat, without real right, on the throne of the Katôches" — Massy's *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, pp 357-8.

H. A ROSE.

26th May, 1904

BOOK-NOTICE.

TJANDI DJAGO · Archæologisch Onderzoek op Java en Madura. — I Beschrijving, van de ruïne bij de desa Toempang, genaamed Tjandi Djago in de Residentie Pasoeroean 'S-Gravenhage 1904.

DURING the last thirty years or so, the Dutch Government has done much for the illustration of the archæology of Java. It is not necessary to enumerate here the valuable series of works in which the results have been published but we may mention the great work on Bôrô-Bûdûr, with an atlas of 393 beautiful drawings by Mr F C. Wilsen, on large sheets, some of them double. This splendid work was published in 1874 under the orders of the Minister for the Colonies, by Dr. C Leemans, the head of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities, with letterpress both in Dutch and French. In 1891 was issued, by the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, J W. IJzerman's *Beschrijving der Oudheden nabij de Grens der Residenties Soerakarta en Djogdjakarta,* — a monograph illustrated by fifteen photographs and an atlas of thirty large folding plates, giving every detail of all architectural features with complete measurements This was followed in 1893 by Dr. Groneman's *Tjandi Parambanam op Midden Java, na de Ontgraving,* with a portfolio of sixty-two photographs and descriptive text. Again, in 1903, B. Kersjes and C. den Hamer prepared for the Batavian Society a smaller work — *De Tjandi Mëndoet voor de Restauratie,* with twenty-two plates, mostly photographic. These publications are produced on thoroughly scientific lines and seem to leave little to be improved on.

But the Dutch Government have wisely considered that a systematic organisation of qualified experts was required to continue the work and that it could most satisfactorily be carried out under the direction of a Commission of scientific scholars to advise and direct the surveys. This was a most excellent idea, as it provides that the surveys are duly controlled, neither by the tastes and ideas of a single mind nor subjected to uninformed secretariat interference. Accordingly, in May 1901, a Commission was

sanctioned, and the Colonial Minister nominated to it. Such men as Professors H Kern and J G. Speyer, Messrs J W IJzerman, G P. Rouffaer, &c, with Dr J L A Brandes as executive archæologist, assisted by H L Leydie Melville as architectural surveyor, and J Knebel This first volume of the Survey is proof of the wisdom of this arrangement as well as of the high qualifications of the executive staff it is a model for all such work.

The volume is devoted to the complete survey of one ruined temple, dating from about the middle of the 13th century, whose extreme dimensions do not exceed 80 feet by 46 The illustrations follow a well-devised scheme first a map — of the section of country to 15 8 miles to an inch (1/1,000,000) ; second, of Malang and its environs to five times the first scale; and then of Desa Toempang in which Tjandi Djago is situated, to a scale of 1/7500, or 203 yards to an inch

The lithographed architectural drawings, consisting of plans, elevations, sections, contours of mouldings, stairs, &c., are all laid down to commodious scales on a decimal basis. — thus, the ground plan and longitudinal section is to 1/100; eleven drawings of elevations and sections of details, shrine, &c, to 1/40; eight drawings of profiles of mouldings, image pedestal, &c, to 1/20, and two to 1/10 This arrangement enables the reader at once to measure all dimensions as he may choose, in feet or in metres, and the height and projection of every moulding is marked on the profiles in centimetres, as well as the principal dimensions on all the drawings. This is an excellent feature, as it supplies the dimensions at a glance, and makes it unnecessary to cumber the text with many of them. These measurements being inserted in the originals, made in the field, also precludes the mistakes occasionally arising from affixing wrong scales when fairing out the drawings in office The lithographs fill twenty-five plates — eight of them on folding sheets A general plan on a scale of 1/60 supplies a complete index to the various compartments and sculptures referred to in the text, and shows by other numerals the exact position of every one of upwards of two hundred and sixteen photographs — out of the 253 that follow on a hundred and two plates. These represent every foot of sculpture upon the basements and walls, with every statue, — the latter in two or more positions and on a large scale The device by which ready and accurate reference to so numerous a series of details has been secured is simple and perfect: the outline plan gives the position of every sculpture or moulding, and a small board with ledges, on which separate cards with figures can be readily placed, provides the photographer with the means of placing the serial number just below or above the sculpture to be represented. With this he has also placed a metre-rod on every piece, so as not to interfere with the pattern, and as the surfaces photographed extend on an average to from 4 or 5 feet each in length, the representations are equivalent to drawings to scale, but far excel them in accuracy of delineation, whilst there is also a great saving in expense

The making of a complete survey of an ancient monument in this way is most satisfactory wherever possible. From these drawings and photographs it would be possible to construct a perfect model of Tjandi Djago, and, though this is not the object, the full illustration will be of immense value in the further work of the survey both for mythological and historical comparison with other temples. Often it is found that, however careful and instructive a partial survey may be, the student is left at a loss for want of some detail that would have been included had the survey been as complete as this is; and in some instances a later additional photograph may upset some previous conclusion

This survey has followed up those previously referred to, and upon the same thorough system nothing is omitted, the orientation is always prominently indicated, and the letterpress, by Dr J. L A. Brandes,[1] is scholarly and fully informed.

The Commission in Netherlands India has further added ten quarterly reports for 1901-1903, issued by the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, and containing supplementary papers, mostly by Heer J. Knebel, on separate monuments, sculptures in museums, &c, — all excellently illustrated and of much interest to the Indian antiquary, for the Java statues are those of readily recognised members of the Hindû and Buddhist pantheons. The only drawback to the English student is that the text is in Dutch, which is but little used among us. a French version of it, as in the work on Bôrô-Bûdûr, would have been a boon to many. Apart from this, as the results of a thoroughly scientific archæological survey, this volume is of the highest character and value.

J. B.

[1] Since writing the above, we regret to learn that the accomplished scholar and archæologist — Dr J L. A. Brandes — who was directing the execution of this survey, has died at Weltreden in Java, 26th June last, at the early age of 48 years

THE COPPER AGE AND PREHISTORIC BRONZE IMPLEMENTS OF INDIA.

BY VINCENT A SMITH, M A., I C S. (Retd)

(With a Map, five Plates, and four Woodcuts.)

PART I.

The Copper Age.

INDIA had no **Bronze Age**; that is to say, she never passed through a stage of civilization marked by the general employment of bronze, an alloy of copper and tin, for the manufacture of such implements and weapons as have been made ordinarily of iron or steel since the beginning of the present Iron Age. **India had her Stone Age**; the **Neolithic Period** of which is clearly commemorated by a multitude of celts, hammer-stones, and the like, bearing a general and close resemblance to objects of the same kinds found in Europe and other parts of the world. The earlier **Palæolithic Period**, the existence of which in Europe is demonstrated by the abundant relics discovered in the river-drifts and bone-caves, is not well marked in India, and has not been proved except in the south, where it seems to have been separated from the Neolithic Period by a wide interval. **In Southern India the Neolithic Period**, during which every-day tools and weapons were made of stone, highly finished, and often finely polished, **passed directly into the Iron Age**; or in other words, the people who were in the habit of using stone axes and arrow-heads adopted iron instead as soon as it became available. The older elements of the existing Indian peoples, both in the north and south, apparently are the lineal descendants of the tribes who used stone implements and weapons of the Neolithic type. **Bronze,** which in most parts of Europe, and many regions of Asia and Africa, served to bridge over the transition from stone to iron, **was either unknown, or very rarely used, in prehistoric India.** The numerous bronze objects found in the megalithic tombs of the south are prehistoric only in the sense that the history of the times when they were made has not been preserved; but most of them are not of very remote date, and may be referred to the early centuries of the Christian era. They are contemporary, not with the relics of the Bronze Age in England, which date from about 1800 to 500 B. C., but with the remains of Roman and Saxon times. These **comparatively modern bronze objects from the cemeteries of Southern India were made for purposes of luxury or ornament, and never include ordinary tools or weapons.** They are of no significance as landmarks in the attempt to trace the evolution of civilization in really ancient prehistoric times, as indicated by successive stages attained in the knowledge of metallurgic arts. The southern bronzes, therefore, will not be mentioned again in **this essay, which is devoted to the study of the earliest metallic inventions which in India took the place of the stone material used during the Neolithic Period.**[1]

A few specimens of Indian bronze, which may properly be termed prehistoric, as dating back, perhaps, to 2000 B. C., are known; but are of great rarity, numbering no more than six, so far as I am aware. These excessively rare objects, which will be discussed in the concluding section of this essay, are not sufficient to establish the existence in India, as in Europe, of a Bronze Age, intervening between the Neolithic Period and the Iron Age. Reasons will be given for believing that they were either imported, or produced in some casual manner, which does not imply a knowledge of the utility of bronze for everyday domestic and warlike purposes. In the South, as already observed, iron, when brought within the reach of the natives, probably through the agency of foreigners, was quickly appreciated, and substituted for the various kinds of stone previously in use, just as it has been substituted in oceanic islands during recent years. The South was isolated from overland communications with Northern India and the rest of the world by a broad and nearly impenetrable barrier of hilly jungle, and in early times

[1] See Mr R Bruce Foote's *Catalogue of the Prehistoric Antiquities, Government Museum, Madras* (Madras, Government Press, 1901). The date assigned in the text to the southern bronzes is given on the authority of the label on the specimens in the British Museum.

depended almost wholly upon the sea for intercourse with other regions. **The maritime commerce of the South Indian ports** on any considerable scale probably does not go back to very remote ages, and it may well be doubted if iron was in common use in the South before 600 or 700 B. C. After the later of these two dates, the intrusive Northern races began to penetrate the natural defences of the Vindhyan ranges, and a certain amount of overland communication between the North and South was initiated. The knowledge of iron, which had been for long an article of common use in Northern India, must have been then carried down south by overland routes as well as by sea. I cannot pursue the problem of the date and circumstances of the substitution of iron for stone in Dravidian India further at present, and must be content with repeating the proposition that in that region probably weapons and tools of stone were gradually displaced by those of iron, under the influence of foreign example and teaching, from and after 700 B C.[2]

Although *ayas*, or 'metal,' when fitted with an epithet in the Rig Vêda, is described as 'reddish,' and should therefore be interpreted as meaning 'copper,' the use of iron in Northern India must certainly be carried back to very remote antiquity. The authors of the Atharva Vêda knew *ayas*, or metal, to be of two kinds, 'dark' and 'reddish,' and must accordingly be held to have been acquainted with both iron and copper. The Atharva Vêda, which is mentioned in the Śatapatha and Taittirîya Brâhmaṇas, as well as in the Chhandôgya Upanishad, is certainly very old, and anterior to, or, at least, not later than, 1000 B. C. The literary evidence, therefore, indicates that the introduction of iron into the north-west of India was subsequent to the composition of the Rig Vêda and anterior to that of the Atharva Vêda. It is certain that iron was well known in Babylonia from a very remote antiquity and that the primitive civilization of India was in large measure Babylonian, so that there is no difficulty in believing in the early introduction of iron into the basin of the Indus from that of the Euphrates and Tigris.[3]

But before iron came into general use in Northern India, probably at some time between 3000 and 1000 B. C., the place which it now fills was taken by copper, which continued to be for a long time the material from which ordinary tools and weapons were made. **This essay will be primarily devoted to proving that in the greater part of Northern India a Copper Age intervened between the Neolithic Period and the Iron Age; and, secondarily, to proving that India had no Bronze Age.**

The existence of a Copper Age in India has not yet been generally acknowledged. Mr. Read in his recent valuable work on the antiquities of the Bronze Age, refrains from a definite affirmation, and is content to make the cautious observation that certain facts "are held to prove the existence of a primitive copper age in Hindustan."[4]

The evidence, I think, fully warrants a positive assertion of the reality of an Indian Copper Age of considerable duration, during which the tools and weapons in daily use were made of practically pure copper. Recent researches have shown that there is nothing very surprising

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Copper implements have been found in considerable numbers in eighteen out of the thirty-two Irish countries, to the north, south, east and west. About 150 specimens have been recorded, 84 of which are in the National Museum at Dublin, and 16 in the Day collection at Cork. These facts, which in themselves are sufficient to prove the existence of a **copper age in Ireland,** do not stand alone, being supported by much corroborative evidence. The copper celts frequently present forms obviously copied from stone models, and exhibit a gradual development of shapes better suited to the malleable and more costly metallic material; while these metallic shapes, in their turn, have reacted upon the later stone celts, which copy metallic patterns. No copper celt has any ornament, or is provided with a stop-ridge. The Irish copper objects are never found associated with articles of bronze or iron, or other things belonging to a later period. **All these observations apply to India as well as to Ireland.** The Indian examples of copper implements, nearly 500 in number, of very primitive forms, are distributed over a wide area, are never associated with objects of apparently later date, and frequently resemble the Irish in type, while including peculiar forms unknown in Europe. **The Irish and Indian implements also agree in chemical composition, both being practically pure copper** with small admixtures of tin, lead, or other impurities. One implement from Waterford (W. 10) contains the unusually large percentage of 2·74 lead, but in twelve other Irish specimens analysed the alloy is much less in amount. Mr. Coffey's researches have proved that it is quite possible for a prehistoric copper implement to contain as much as 2 per cent. of tin, and yet to have been intended to be regarded as copper, not bronze; and it is by no means certain that the limit of 2 per cent. may not be exceeded. Primitive metallurgic processes were imperfect, and copper extracted from ore containing tin, lead, or other metal, was liable to include an appreciable amount of foreign metal.[5]

I now proceed to describe and discuss **the relics of the Indian Copper Age,** including certain silver objects associated with copper in the Gungeria hoard and in Balûchistân.

Implements of practically pure copper have been found at twelve sites in India, besides two in Balûchistân, which may be regarded as archæologically a part of India. Eight of the sites are in the upper Gangetic valley **(Map),** two are in Bengal, one in Sind, and one in the Central Provinces.

Beginning from the north, the first locality recorded is the village of **Râjpur,** in the Chândpur police-circle, Bijnôr District, United Provinces of Agra and Oude. Chândpur is situated in N. lat 29° 8,′ E. long. 78° 13′ 50″, some sixty miles from the foot of the outer Himalayan range. Here sixteen objects were found, including nine 'flat celts,' one long bar-celt of the Gungeria type, and six barbed spear- or harpoon-heads of the Bithûr type. (Plate I.).[6]

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Implements of practically pure copper have been found at twelve sites in India, besides two in Balûchistân, which may be regarded as archæologically a part of India Eight of the sites are in the upper Gangetic valley **(Map),** two are in Bengal, one in Sind, and one in the Central Provinces.

Beginning from the north, the first locality recorded is the village of **Râjpur,** in the Châudpur police-circle, Bijnôr District, United Provinces of Agra and Oude. Châudpur is situated in N. lat. 29° 8,′ E. long. 78° 13′ 50″, some sixty miles from the foot of the outer Himalayan range. Here sixteen objects were found, including nine 'flat celts,' one long bar-celt of the Gungeria type, and six barbed spear- or harpoon-heads of the Bithûr type. . (Plate I.).[6]

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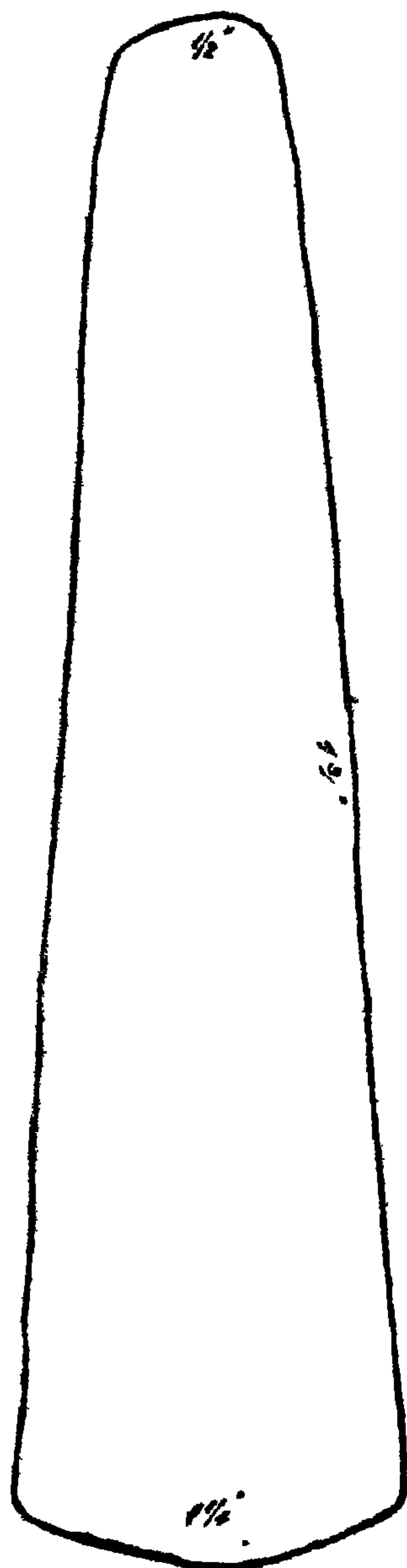
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The next locality is **Mathurâ** on the Jumna (N. lat. 27° 30′. E. long. 77° 40′), where Cunningham excavated a flat copper celt from the Chaubâra mound D, a mile and a half to the south-west of the Katrâ gateway. Copper harpoon-heads, similar to the Bithûr specimens, are said to have been frequently found at and near Mathurâ, but no particulars are recorded, and no specimen is known to have been preserved.

An interesting group of objects, consisting of two flat celts, a barbed harpoon-head, and a set of six rings, was found in a field near **Mainpuri** (N. lat. 27° 14′, E. long. 79° 3′) midway between the Ganges and Jumna. (Plate II.)

At **Farrukhâbâd or Fathgarh** on the Ganges (N. lat. 27° 23′, E. long. 79° 36′), thirteen swords and a rude human figure were discovered. The six specimens preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, are shown in Plates II. and III.[7]

Further south, at a village named **Niorai** in the Itâwa (Etawah) District, near the Jumna, a barbed spear- or harpoon-head and a so-called sword-blade with projecting hook were found, which are now in the Copenhagen Museum.



COPPER CELT, KŪSAM. (*Full size.*)

Two celts and three harpoon-heads came from **Bithûr** on the Ganges, situated in the Cawnpore (Kānhpur) District, United Provinces of Agra and Oude, twelve miles to the north-west of Cawnpore, in N. lat. 26° 37′, E. long. 80° 19′. At **Pariâr**, a village on the other side of the Ganges, in the Unão District, Oude, and opposite Bithûr, similar spear- or harpoon-heads have been found in considerable numbers in the bed of the Ganges, and a neighbouring marsh (*jhîl*), which probably marks an old bed of the river. In 1891 it is said that "a large number" of these objects was collected in the temple of Somêśvara Mahâdeva at Pariâr, and it is probable that they still lie there; but no specimens have been obtained for any museum.

Sir Alexander Cunningham procured a small, narrow celt, 4⅝ inches in length, half an inch wide near the tip, and 1¼ inch wide at the base, at **Kôsam,** an ancient site on the Jumna, about thirty miles above Allâhâbâd, which he presented to the British Museum in 1892. This object closely resembles a polished flint celt from Gilmerton in East Lothian, now in the National Museum at Edinburgh. (Evans, *Ancient Stone Implements*, 2nd ed. fig. 76.)

The most easterly discovery of a copper implement in India was made at the foot of the hill range of Mânbhûm, beyond Sildah, in the Pargana of Jhatibani, in the western part of the **Midnâpur District of Eastern Bengal,** where a shouldered celt was obtained, near a village named **Tamajuri.** (Plate II., fig. 6.) **Near Karharbâri** in the Pâchamba subdivision of the **Hazârîbâgh District, Chutiyâ Nâgpur Division, Bengal,** to the north of lat. 26°, and to the east long. 86°, five pieces of smelted copper were obtained, three of which were unfinished celts of the Midnâpur type.

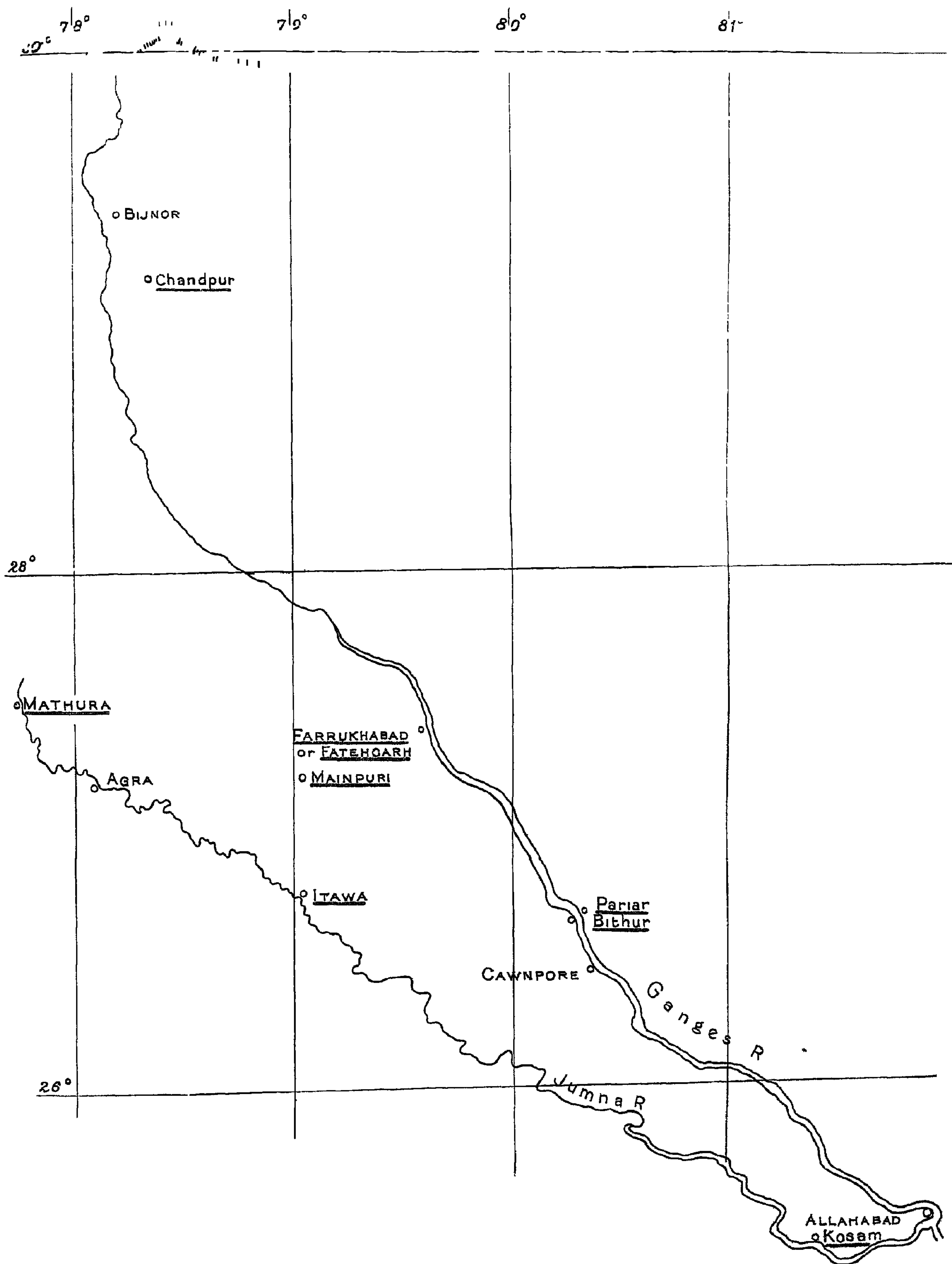
In the extreme west of India, a copper celt was excavated at **Bhagotoro,** near Sehwān (N. lat. 26° 26′, E. long. 67° 54′), **in the Karâchî District** of Sind, Bombay Presidency.

[7] The six specimens ascribed to Fathgarh include the sword or dagger with divergent hilt points (Plate III., fig 2) marked as from 'locality unknown.' It was probably included in the Fathgarh find The human figure is shown in Plate II, No. 5. Dr Vogel has sent me some photographs of implements from Bithûr, too late for insertion in this paper.

Distribution of Copper Implements

in the Upper Gangetic Valley

(*Sites underlined in red.*)



SCALE: ABOUT 1½ INCH = 64 MILES.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

Two localities in western Balûchistân, apparently not very far from Gwâdar, have yielded copper arrow-heads, associated in one instance with a bracelet of silver alloyed with lead.

These discoveries carry the range of copper implements all over Northern India from near the Hûglî on the east to the Indus on the west, and from near the foot of the Himâlaya to the Cawnpore District, but no specimens from the Pañjâb have been recorded.

The most considerable find in India, in fact, "the most important discovery of instruments of copper yet recorded in the Old World,"[8] was made much farther to the south, outside the recognized limit of Northern India, and beyond the Narbadã, at Gungeria [? Gangariyâ]; a village situated in approximately N. lat. 22° 25′, E. long. 80° 8′, three miles to the north-west of Mau police outpost, and about thirty-six miles a little west of north from Bûrhâ, the headquarters of the Bâlaghât District, in the Nâgpur Division of the Central Provinces. The discovery was effected by some boys engaged in tending cattle, whose attention was attracted by a piece of metal sticking up in a plot of waste ground. They began grubbing in the earth, and came upon several pieces within a few inches of the surface. The spot was then excavated, and the deposit was disclosed, occupying a space about three feet in length, the same in width, and four feet in depth. The copper implements were packed in regular layers, with the silver objects compacted together in a mass, and lying to one side; and it is clear that all the articles must have been enclosed in a wooden chest, which had decayed completely.[9]

The hoard consisted of 424 hammered copper implements, made of practically pure copper, with about 0·5 per cent. of lead as an impurity, weighing collectively 829 pounds; and 102 thin silver plates, weighing 80½ rupees, or *tôlas*. The copper implements were extremely varied in form, principally consisting of 'flat celts' of many different shapes. There are also many long crowbar-like instruments, with an expanded lunette-shaped chisel edge at the lower end, which may be designated as 'bar-celts.'[10]

The stem of one of these is serrated on both sides, and the tool is thus adapted to serve also as a saw. The silver objects are all laminæ, about the thickness of ordinary paper, comprising two classes, namely, circular disks, and bulls' heads. The metal is pure silver, with a trace of gold, amounting to 0·37 per cent. So far as I have seen, no two copper objects in the hoard are alike. The few specimens, both silver and copper, preserved in the National Museum, Dublin, are shown in Plate V.

The surprisingly large number in the Gungeria hoard of very distinct implements, adaptable to a great variety of domestic, agricultural, or warlike purposes, affords conclusive evidence that at one time the manufacture of implements of pure copper was conducted in India upon an extensive scale. It is impossible that more than four hundred such implements should have been collected in a single deposit unless they were of a kind in common, ordinary use.

The finds of Indian copper implements may be conveniently summarized in the table on pages 234 and 235 below.

[8] Evans, *Ancient Bronze Implements* (1881), p. 2.

[9] Mr. Bloomfield, in *Proc. A. S. B.* 1870, p. 131, and Plate II.; Anderson, *Catalogue of Archæological Collections in Indian Museum*, Part II, pp. 414—416. Thirteen copper and two silver objects from the find have been figured by Mr. Read in his *Guide to the Antiquities of the Bronze Age, British Museum* (1904), fig. 42, Plate VII. The statement by Mr. Walhouse in his article on 'Bronze Antiquities in India' (*ante*, Vol. IV. p. 302) that "in 1870 more than a ton of rudely-shaped copper hatchets without sockets, and instruments like knives, were dug up in the Bâlaghât, Maisur," is a blunder, due to a confused recollection of the Gungeria find. No such discovery was made in the Bâlaghât, Mysore.

[10] I am indebted to Mr. Reginald Smith of the British Museum for the term 'bar-celt.'

Antiquities of the Copper Age, India.

Serial Number.	Locality.	Lat. and Long.	Contents of Find.	Museum where preserved.	Remarks.
1	Râjpur, in Chândpur P. S., Bijnôr District, U. P.	29° 8′ N.; 78° 13′ 50″ E.	16 objects, namely, 9 flat celts, 1 long bar-celt, 6 barbed spear- or harpoon-heads.	Provincial Museum, Lucknow ...	Now figured for the first time.
2	Mathurâ	27° 30′ N.; 77° 40′ E.	1 copper flat celt; and it is said that harpoon- or spear-heads were found.	Not known	Cunningham, *Archæol. S. Reports*, III. p. 16, Plate II.; Prinsep quoted in *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland*, 1870.
3	Mainpuri	27° 14′ N.; 79° 3′ E.	2 flat celts, 1 barbed harpoon-head, 1 set of rings.	Indian Museum, Calcutta ...	*Proc. A. S. B.* 1868, pp. 251, 262; Anderson, *Catalogue*, II. 403; now figured for first time.
4	Farrukhâbâd (Fathgarh).	27° 23′ N.; 79° 36′ E.	13 swords, 1 human figure.	Indian Museum, Calcutta ...	*As. Res.* Vol. VII. 1832, p. 624; Anderson, *Catalogue*, II. 405; now figured for first time.
5	Niorai, Itâwa District.	About 26° 40′ N.; 79° E.	1 harpoon-head, and 1 'sword' with projecting hook on one side of the tang.	Royal Society of N. Antiquaries, Copenhagen.	*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland*, 1870, pp. 293, 300; *ibid.* 1874, pp. 690, 694, referring to *Report of Roy. Soc. N. Antiquaries*, Copenhagen, 1838-39; Anderson, *Catalogue*, II. 396; Read, *Guide to the Antiquities of the Bronze Age*, p. 68.
6	Bithûr, Cawnpore District.	26° 37′ N.; 80° 19′ E.	2 flat celts, 3 harpoon-heads.	Indian Museum, Calcutta; Provincial Museum, Lucknow.	*As. Res.* Vol. XIV., 1822, App. III., p. 3; Anderson, *Catalogue*, II. 395; now figured for first time.
7	Kôsam, Allâhâbâd District.	About 25° 20′ N., 81° 30 E.	1 flat celt	British Museum...	Not previously published.

Antiquities of the Copper Age, India — (*contd.*).

Serial Number.	Locality.	Lat. and Long.	Contents of Find.	Museum where preserved.	Remarks.
8	Pariâr, Unâo District.	Nearly as No. 6.	"A large number" of harpoon-heads.	....	Führer, *Monum. Antiq. N.-W. P. and Oudh*, pp. 168, 172; no details.
9	Tamajuri, Midnâpur District.	About 22° 35′ N.; 86° 40′ E.	1 flat celt	Indian Museum, Calcutta ...	Anderson, *Catalogue*, II. 485; now figured for first time.
10	Karharbârî, in Pâchamba Subdivision, Hazârîbâgh District.	26° —′ N.; 86° —′ E.	3 unfinished flat celts and two pieces of unwrought copper.	Indian Museum, Calcutta ...	Anderson, *Catalogue*, II. 392—395; *Proc. A. S. B.* 1871, p. 231. Sir W. Elliot erroneously referred to these objects as having been found in Rewah.
11	Gungeria, Bâlaghât District, C. P.	22° 25′ N.; 80° 8′ E.	424 various copper implements, consisting of flat celts and bar-celts, with 102 silver ornaments.	British Museum; Indian Museum, Calcutta; National Museum, Dublin; National Museum, Edinburgh; and probably others.	*Proc. A. S. B.* 1870, p. 131, Plate II.; Anderson, *Catalogue*, II. 414—425; Read, *Guide to the Antiquities of the Bronze Age*, p. 67, fig. 42, Plate VII.; and erroneously alluded to in *Ind. Ant.* IV. 302.
12	Bhagotoro, Karâchî District, Sind.	Nearly 26° 26′ N.; 67° 54′ E.	1 flat celt	Not known	Medlicott and Blanford, *Geology of India*, Vol. I. p. 443.
13, 14	"Kohistan hill near Soorag," and Tank in W. Balûchistân.	....	Arrow-heads, associated with silver bracelet.	Indian Museum, Calcutta ...	*Proc. A. S. B.* 1877, p. 158, Anderson, *Catalogue*, II. 438—462.

The copper objects found at the fourteen localities named fall readily into seven classes, as follows:—

A. — *Weapons and Tools.*

1. Flat celts.
2. Bar-celts.
3. Swords and daggers.
4. Harpoon- or spear-heads.
5. Arrow-heads.

B. — *Miscellaneous.*

6. Rings.
7. Human figure.

I proceed to discuss in some detail the characteristics of each class.

The celts from Upper India found at Mathurâ, Chândpur (Bijnôr), Mainpuri, and Bithûr, examples of which are shown in Plates I., II., and IV., are all, with one exception, of the kind known to archæologists as 'flat celts,' extremely primitive in form, closely imitating common stone models, and obviously referable to a period when metal was only beginning to supersede stone. The shouldered celt from the Midnâpur District in Eastern Bengal (Plate II., fig. 6) is similar on the whole to the unfinished implements found in the Hazârîbâgh District, and is perhaps related to the shouldered stone celts which occur in the same region and in Burma. The Midnâpur specimen may also be regarded as a modification of certain broad types in the Gungeria hoard, and does not differ very much from figure 1 of Mr. Read's plate. The single celt found in Sind was apparently, so far as can be judged from the description, of primitive lithic form, intermediate between the two Mainpuri specimens figured in Plate II.

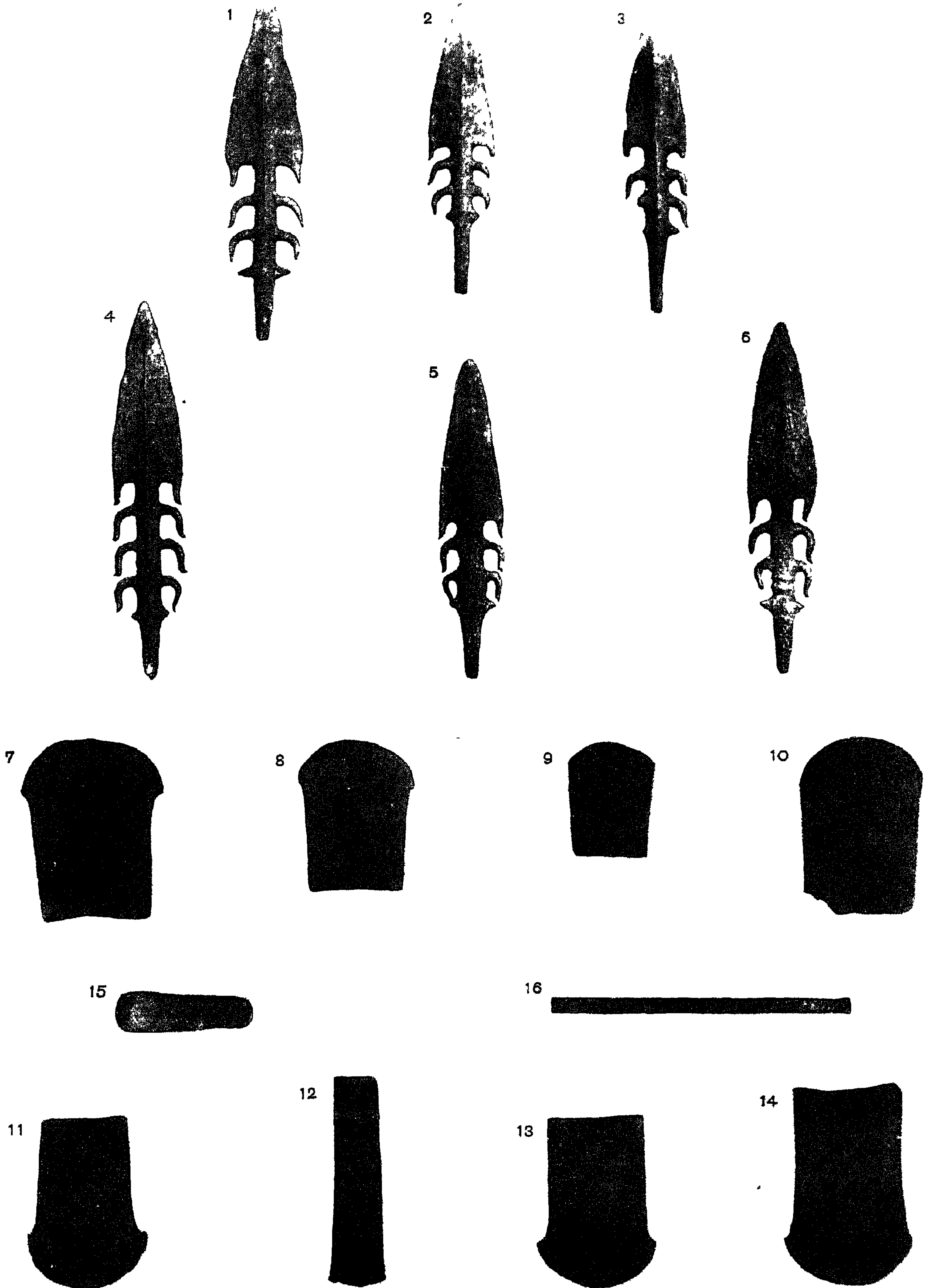
The numerous flat celts in the Gungeria hoard exhibit great variety, and no two are exactly alike. They may be arranged in three main classes, namely, (1) wedge-shaped, or triangular with the apex truncated (*Read*, Plate VII., figs. 2, 3, 8); (2) broad, with lunette edge, and an incipient shoulder (*ibid.* figs. 1, 6, 9); (3) with narrow stem, and expanded splayed edge (*ibid.* figs. 5, 13; and the Dublin specimens in Plate V. of this paper). The first class is simply copied from stone models, whereas the third is a distinctively metallic form, much more suited for any metallic material than for stone.

The long crowbar-like implements, or 'bar-celts,' with a curved chisel edge at the lower end, which were found in considerable numbers at Gungeria, are peculiar to India. One was included in the Râjpur (Bijnôr) find; and one of the Gungeria specimens, figured by Mr. Bloomfield, was serrated on both sides of the handle, so that it could serve as a saw, in addition to its other uses. Four of these strange implements are in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and the following description of the largest by Dr. Anderson will help the reader to appreciate the meaning of the figures in the plates:—

"*Ga* 1. — A copper instrument, weighing 6 lb. 8 oz., and resembling a huge chisel in form. "It measures 23″·90 in length. Its upper end has a diameter of 0″·90, with a breadth of "2″·60 across the expanded, slightly rounded cutting edge. The sides are flat, with "a maximum thickness of 0″·80, the upper end being only 0″·30, but each side contracts "as it reaches the cutting edge. One surface of the instrument is decidedly convex, and the "opposite markedly concave, except in its lower sixth. The sides very gradually diverge, and "at 6″ from the upper end, the breadth is about the same as at 13″, but within 1″·50 of the "cutting edge, the expansion is sudden. The marks of the hammer by which this instrument "was hammered out are still very apparent. The cutting edge is blunt, having a thickness of "nearly 0″·20."

It is evident that such a massive tool might have been used for various purposes, agricultural or other, and that it would have been serviceable as a hoe.

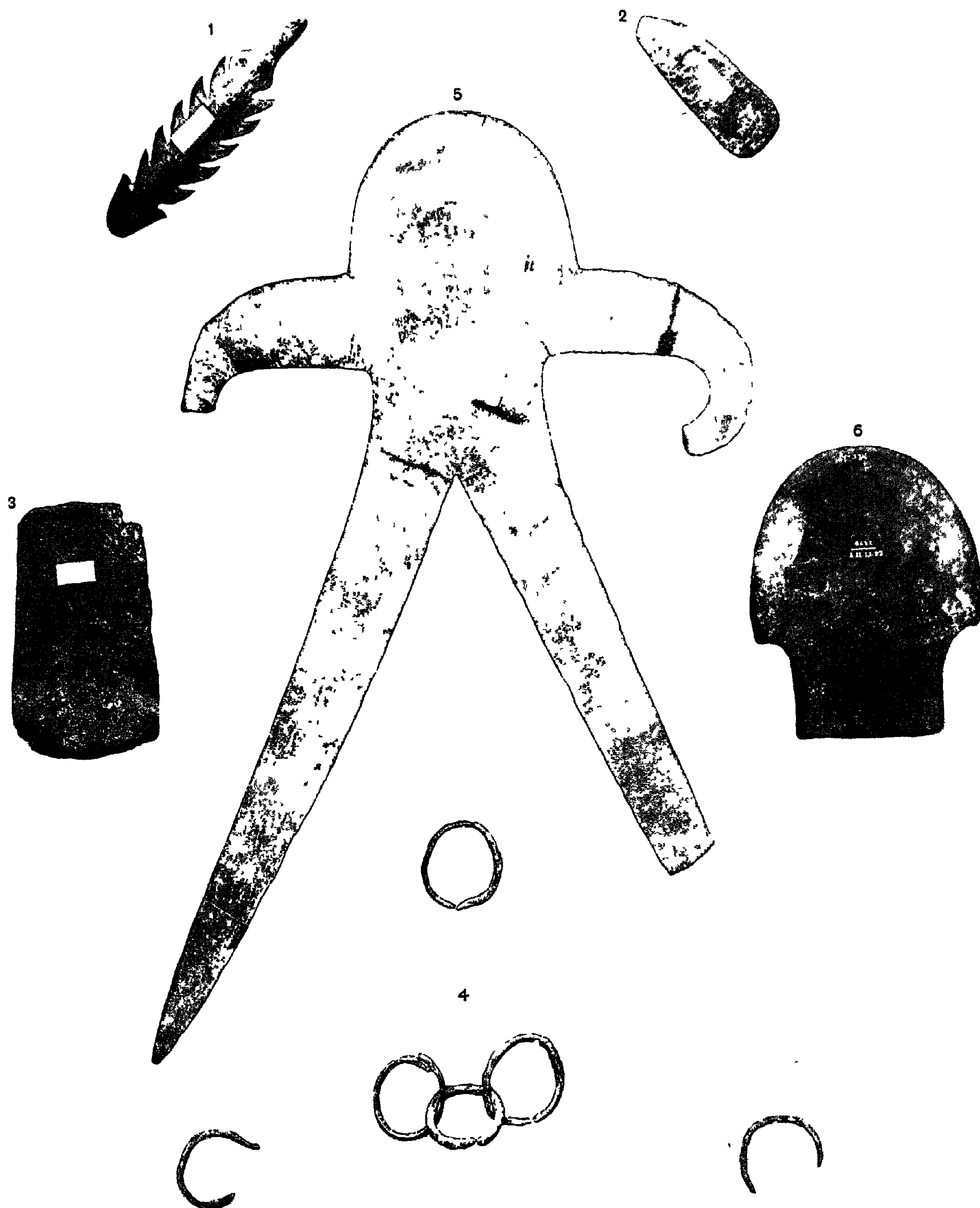
Copper antiquities from the B[illegible] district
in the Lucknow Provincial Museum



SCALE: ONE-SIXTH.

W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE

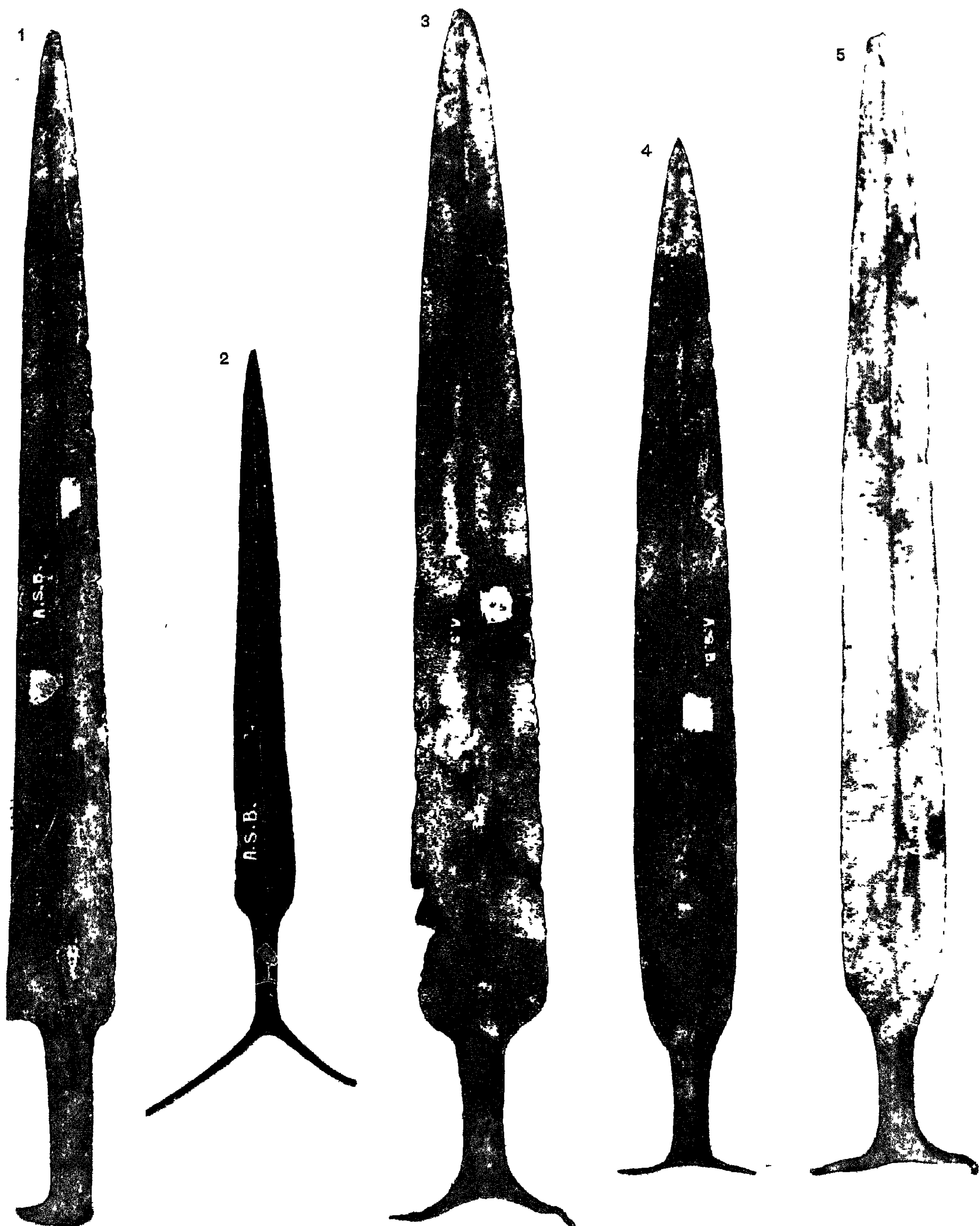
Copper antiquities from Mainpuri, Fathgarh, and Midnapur,
in the Indian Museum, Calcutta



W GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE

SCALE: ONE-QUARTER

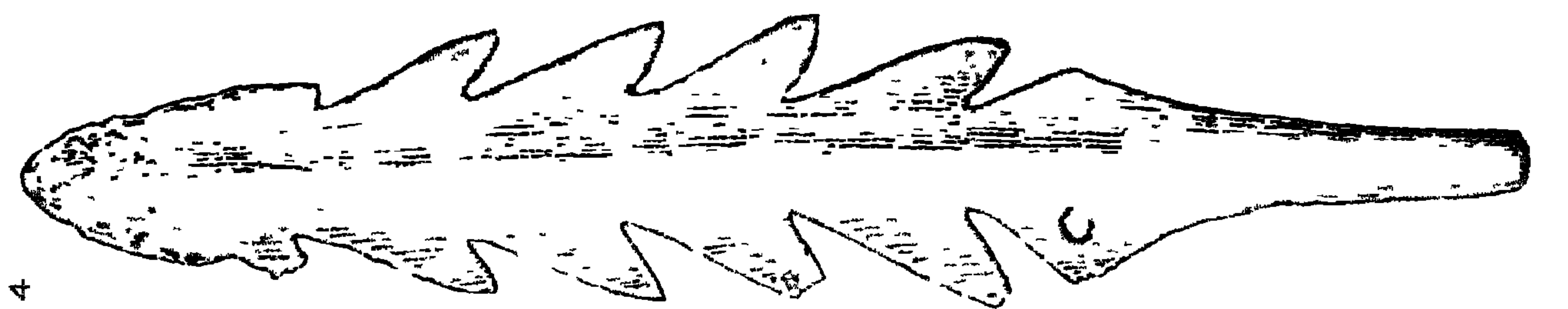
Copper swords and dagger from Fathgarh,
in the Indian Museum, Calcutta

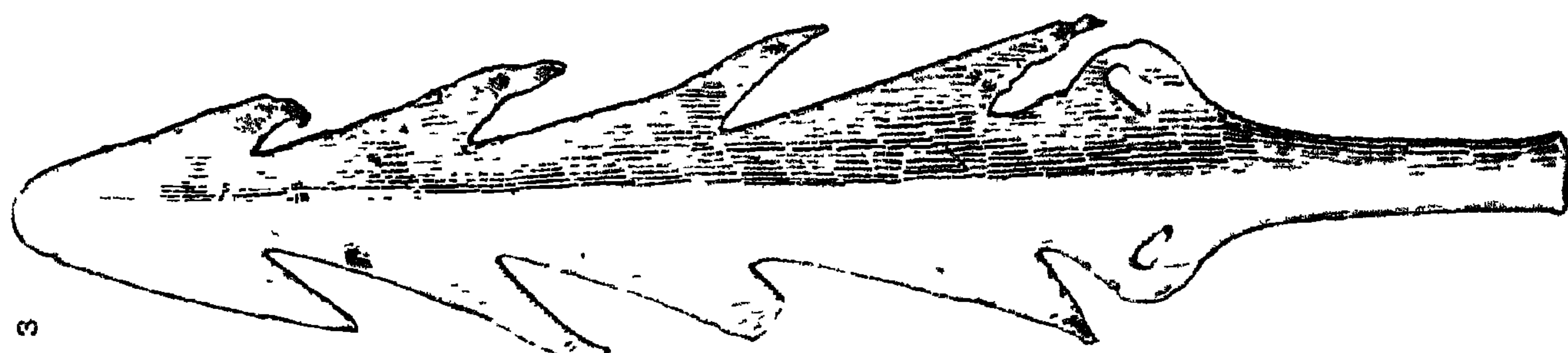


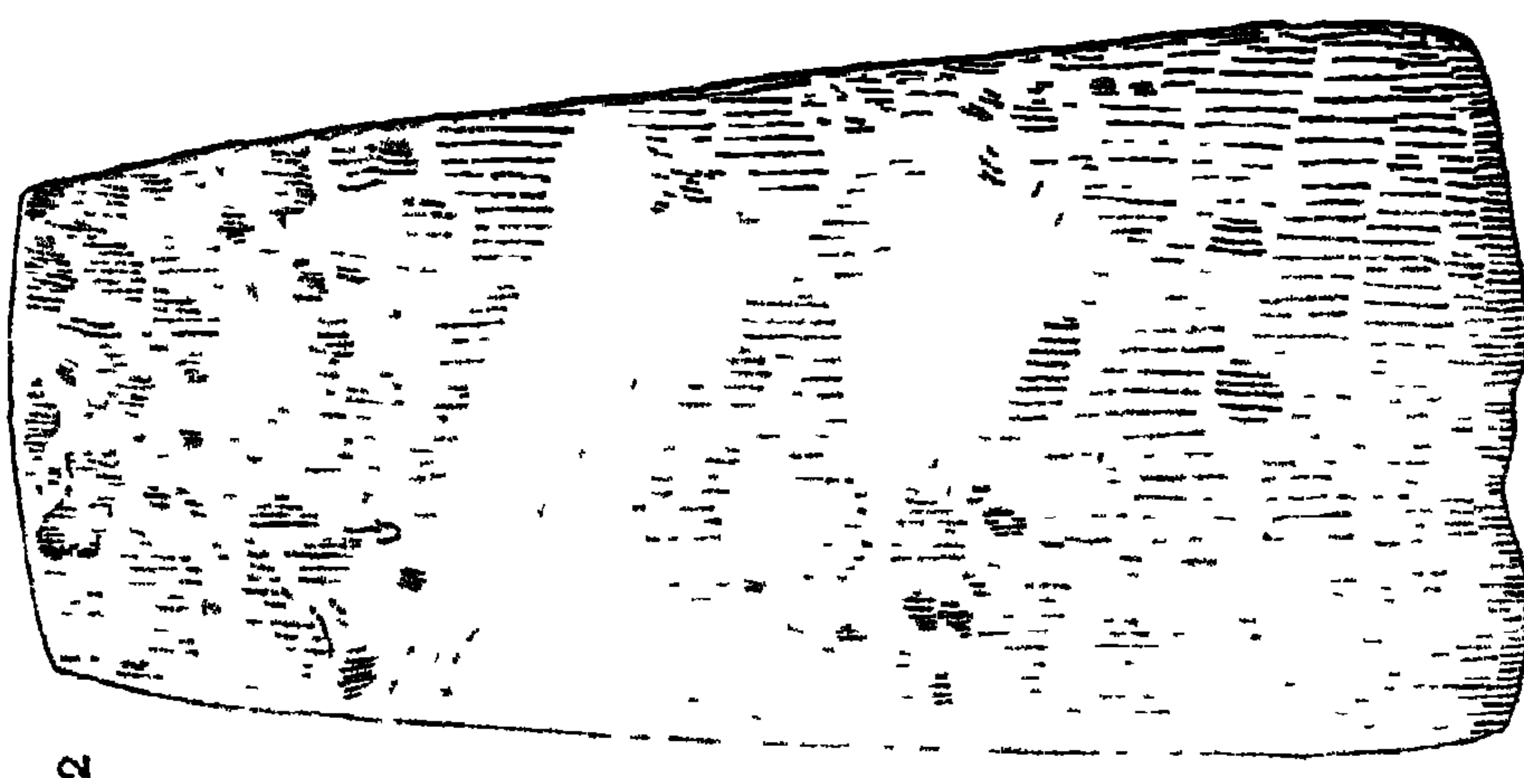
W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE

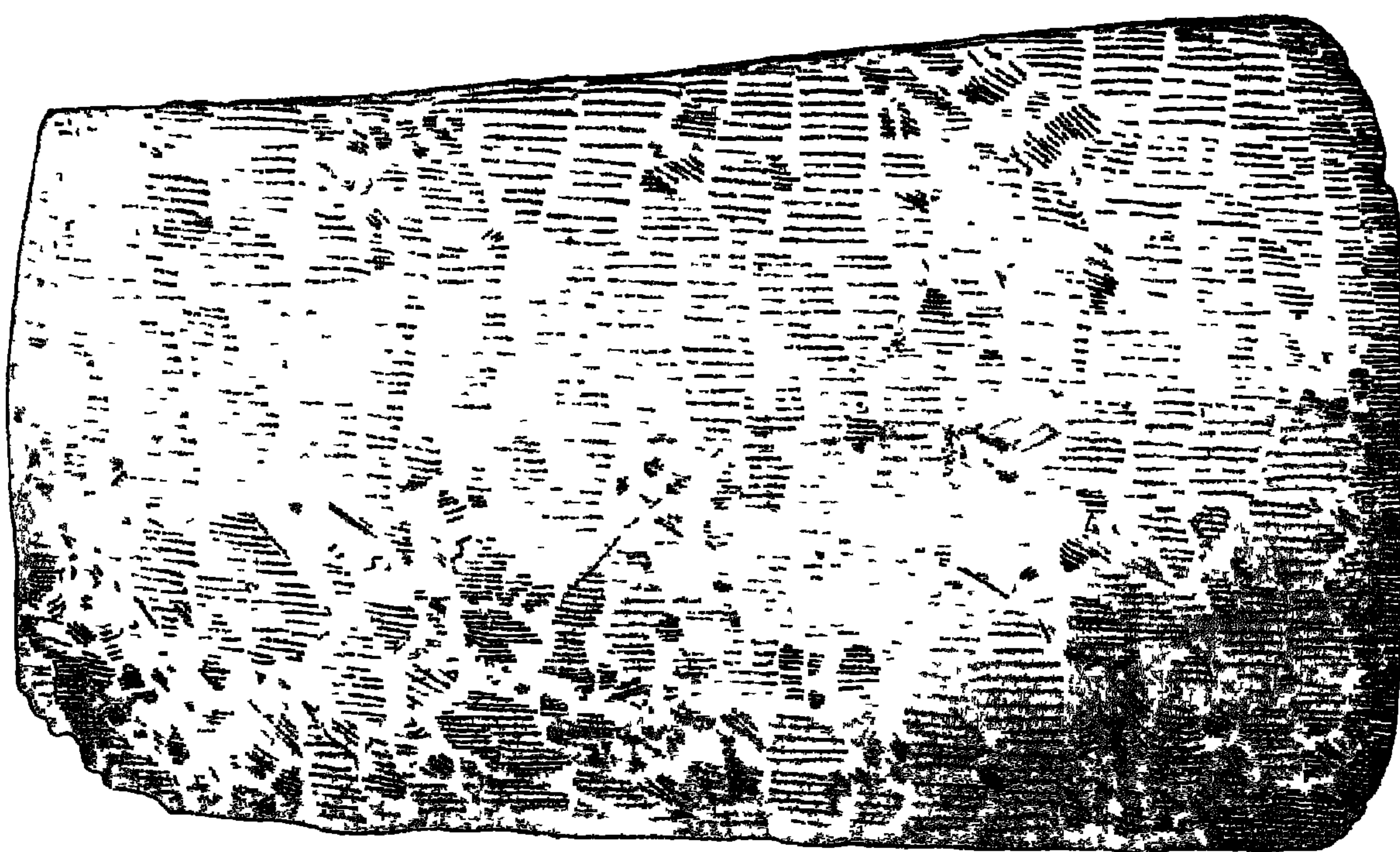
SCALE: ONE-QUARTER

Copper antiquities from Bithur, in the Lucknow Provincial Museum









SCALE, TWO-THIRDS

W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE

These remarkable copper implements in India, which run up to two feet in length, may be compared with the excessively long stone celts occasionally found in Europe which are sometimes almost a foot long (*Evans*, 2nd ed. p. 130) The British Museum possesses nine bar-celts from Gungeria of various lengths.

The swords depicted in Plate III. seem to differ from any type recorded in Europe. The small one with widely divergent points to the hilt is marked in the Indian Museum as coming from a locality unknown, but is probably part of **the Fathgarh find. Dr. Anderson's description of the longest sword,** the middle one in the plate, may be quoted :—

" *Fh.* 1. — A copper sword 2′ 5″[15″ in text]·45 in length from the centre of the hilt to " the tip : greatest diameter at base of the blade 3″ 50, and 6″ from the tip 2″·23 ; thickness " at the base of the blade through the midrib 0″·55, and 0″ 23 at one inch from the tip. The " handle is 4″ long and 0″·45 in thickness, and 1″·28 in breadth, the distance between the " divergent points of the hilt being about 5″·50 One side of the hilt is nearly flat and the " other slightly convex, and its sides bear unmistakable signs of having been hammered out. " The blade is covered with a thin layer here and there of the earth in which it was buried. " This sword weighs 4 lb 11 oz "

The shorter two-pointed swords weigh respectively 5 lb. 4 oz. and 2 lb 12 oz. The curious weapon with only one point to the hilt weighs 4 lb 11 oz., and the dagger with widely divergent hilt-points weighs 13½ oz.

The Itâwa weapon is described as "a sword-blade, or broad-sword (23 *tommers* in length) with a peculiar hook on one side of the tang," composed of pure copper. This specimen, which was obtained along with a barbed harpoon-head of the same material from a landslip at the village of Niorai in the Itâwa District, was presented with its companion by James Prinsep to the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen. The weapon is identical in form with that presented by Sir W. Elliot to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, No BS 634, which contained 3·83 per cent. of tin, and will be more fully described in the concluding section of this paper.[11]

The Mainpuri and Bithûr harpoon-heads have been proved by analysis (Anderson, *Catalogue*, App D) to be composed of practically pure copper, like the Fathgarh swords, and the celts above described. I call the barbed instruments harpoon- rather than spear-heads because they are large and heavy, and adapted for attachment by a cord to the shaft. They would have been well fitted for the chase of the Gangetic porpoise, or, perhaps, even of the crocodile. Their form is well exhibited in Plates I., II., and IV., but Dr. Anderson's description of **the Bithûr specimen** in the Indian Museum, which is not figured, may be quoted : —

" *Br.* 1. — It measures 12″ 30 in length, and now weighs about 1 lb. 3¼ oz.

" It consists of three portions, a terminal tapering blade 6″·30 long, with a maximum " breadth of 2″·15 at its commencement, a cylindrical barbed portion, and the tang. The " blade is traversed longitudinally by a strongly pronounced midrib increasing in thickness from " the tip to the base. Each side of the blade, at its beginning, has a backwardly curved " process or barb. The cylindrical barbed portion consists of two outwardly projecting rod-like " barbs, on each side, separated from each other and from the barbs of the blade by intervals " of 0″·75. Each barb is about 0″ 60 in length, and 0·30″ in thickness. Besides these there " is also a small rod-like outwardly projecting process on each side before the beginning of the " tang, one being perforated at its base by a hole or eye having a diameter of 0″·19, doubtless " for the passage of a cord used for tying the harpoon on to its shaft. This portion of the " weapon is 3″ long and nearly 1″ in diameter. The tang is slightly tapered towards its " proximal end, and is almost 3″ in length."

The Mainpuri specimen (Plate II., fig. 7) is considerably smaller, being only seven inches in length, and weighing 14 ounces. It differs also in form.

11 The Danish description of the Itâwa objects was translated in substance by Dr J. A. Smith in *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland*, 1870, pp. 292 *seqq.*

The Bithûr example agrees closely with the bronze specimens which will be noticed presently. **The Itâwa (Niorai) specimen** in the Copenhagen Museum is described as "a spear or javelin head (14 *tommers* long), very massively moulded, fashioned for insertion in a shaft, where there might be fastenings to the outstanding hooks. The points of the latter are worn off." It closely resembles the bronze Norham harpoon, and the words of Dr. J. A. Smith comparing the two objects will be quoted when the Norham harpoon is described. Prinsep, when forwarding the Itâwa specimens to Copenhagen, declared that weapons of the harpoon class were "frequently dug up in the neighbourhood of the Hindoo towns Muttra and Bindrâband." I have not met with any detailed notice of such finds, the only recorded prehistoric copper implement from Mathurâ being the flat celt, described above.

One of the Balûchistân copper arrow-heads is figured in *Proc A. S. B.* 1877, Plate II., 13 It is leaf-shaped, and about three inches in length Others were triangular These objects may be compared with the **arrow-heads from Sîstân** in the British Museum, which include both lanceolate and triangular forms, and are labelled as being bronze.

The Mainpuri rings are described as follows by Dr. Anderson — "Six rings resembling 'bangles, but three of them are linked together, having been apparently found in that condi-"tion, which renders it improbable that they were wrist ornaments. Some of them, however, "are finished off in the way some bangles are at the present day, *viz*, bevelled off at the edges "with a slight longitudinal ridge externally. They are all open rings, and the largest has "a maximum diameter of 2″, and the smallest of 1″·62. The late Dr. Oldham has pointed out "that they resemble in form the so-called '**ring-money**' of northern antiquaries. They "weigh 4½ oz."

Irish gold ring-money, concerning the use of which by weight much literary evidence exists, is described by Dr. Robert Cane in the *Kilkenny Archæological Journal* for 1849-51, p. 322. **Silver ring-money** (*ibid.* p 332, with plate) is said to be sometimes found with the rings linked together. Although I do not know of any record of ring-money made of copper, **I am disposed to regard the Mainpuri specimens as ring-money rather than as personal ornaments.**

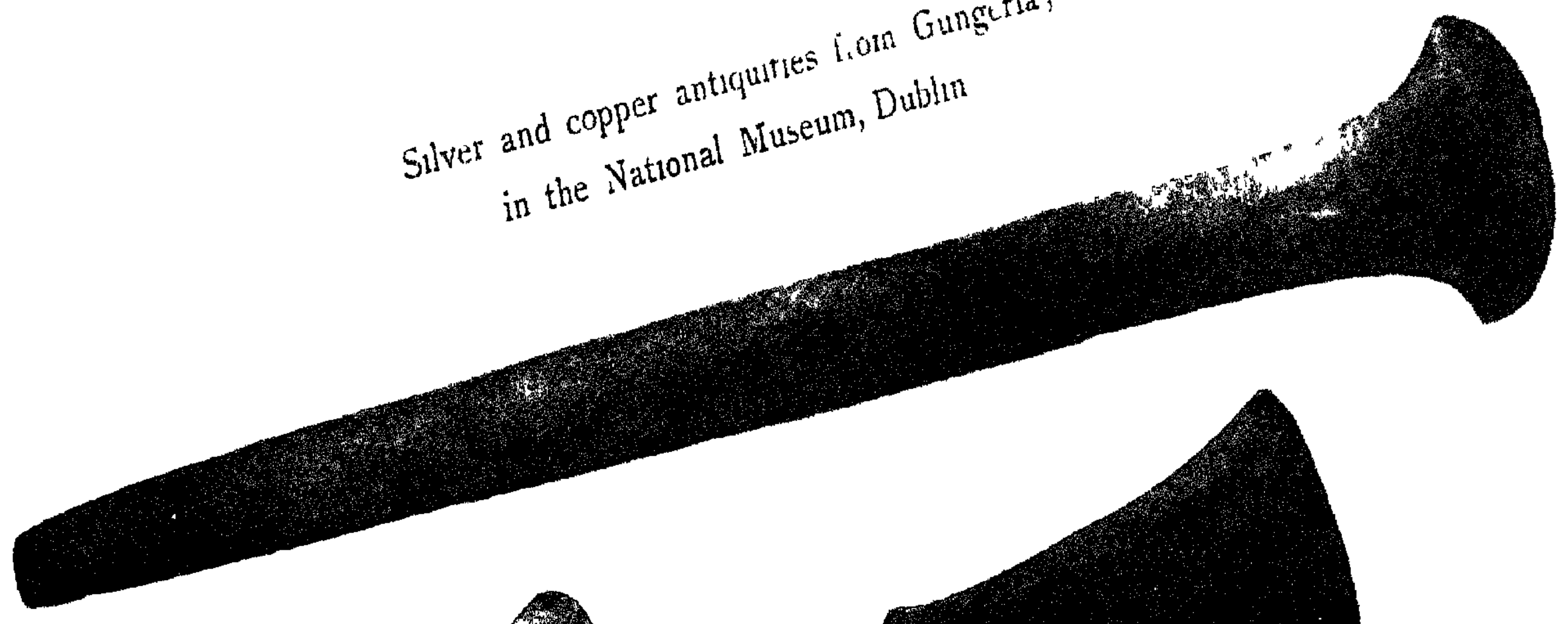
The extraordinary object (Plate II. 5), apparently from the Fathgaṛh find, which I call **a human figure**, in accordance with Mr. Coffey's suggestion, puzzled Dr. Anderson, who described it in the following terms :—

"It consists of an upper portion, semi-circular in form, with a transverse diameter of 6″·50 "and thickness of 0″·12, continuous below, with long divergent sword-like processes. but above "these a long curved process is given off on each side, its free end being curved downwards "and inwards, and tapering towards its apex. This process has a breadth at its base of 2″·15 "and a thickness of 0″·20. The lower border is thicker than the upper, and one side of the "process is flat and the other slightly convex from border to border. The lower divergent "process begins here laterally, and, measured from this point, it is 1′ 6″·30 in length, with "a basal diameter of 3″·05, and thickness of 0″·19. Each is sword-like in form, and tapers to "its apex, the outer border being nearly straight and the inner curved. It weighs 4 lb. 11½ oz. "It is impossible to surmise to what purpose this curious object was put."

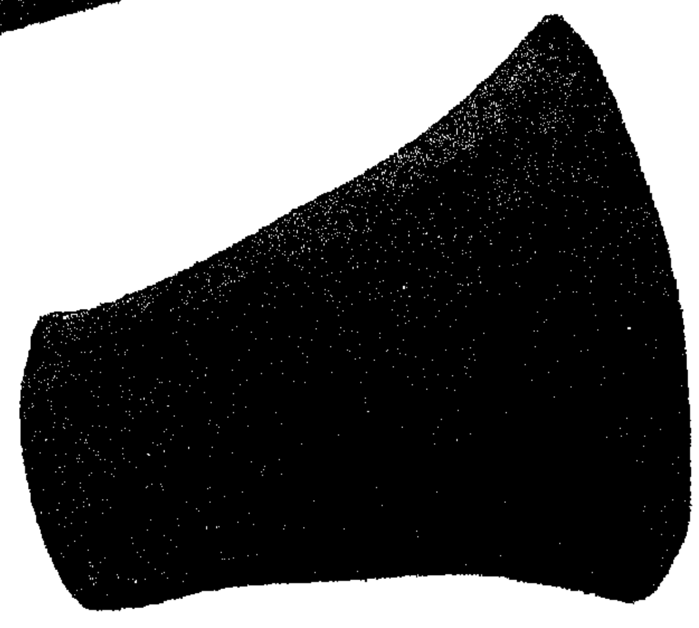
I have been unable to discover anything like it; but Mr. Coffey tells me that it reminds him of certain figures of much later date found in Gaulish graves in Italy. I presume that the figure was used as a religious symbol or image.

The fact that the Gungeria copper implements bear unmistakable marks of hammering led the discoverer to describe them as being hammered, not cast; but the truth seems to be that these articles were **cast in the first instance and then finished by the hammer.** Mr. Reginald Smith pointed out to me that several of the British Museum specimens exhibit ridges which apparently indicate the line of junction of two open moulds applied face to face. When the two moulds had been thus applied and closed, the metal was probably poured in

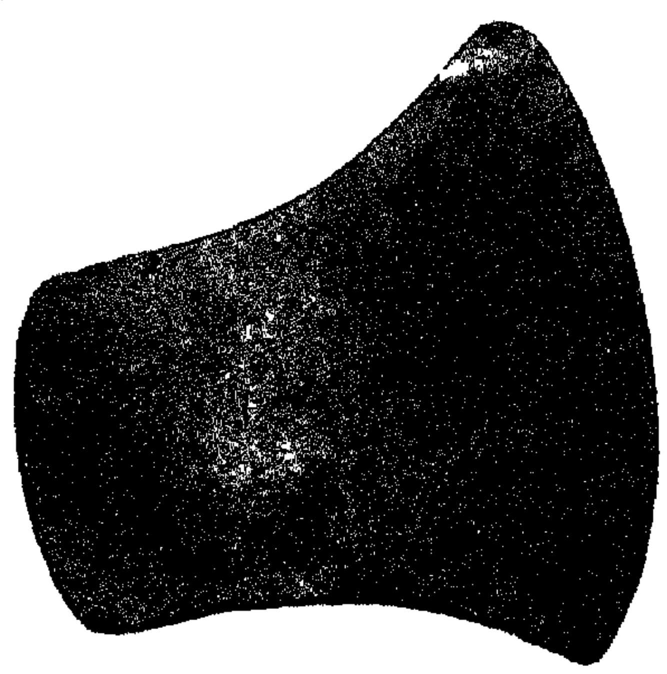
Silver and copper antiquities from Gungeria,
in the National Museum, Dublin



7

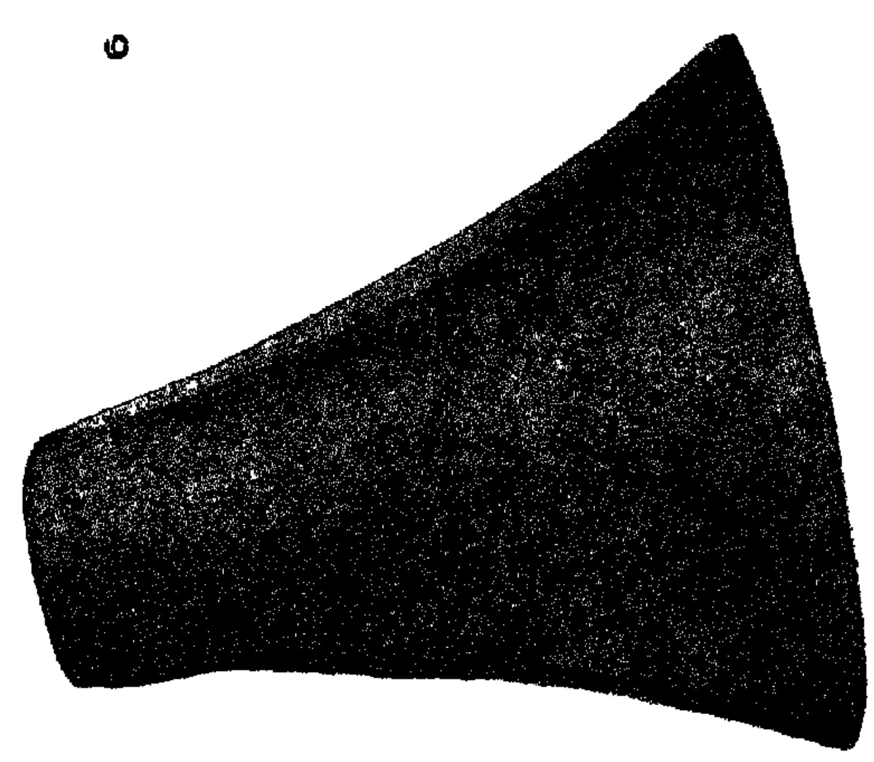


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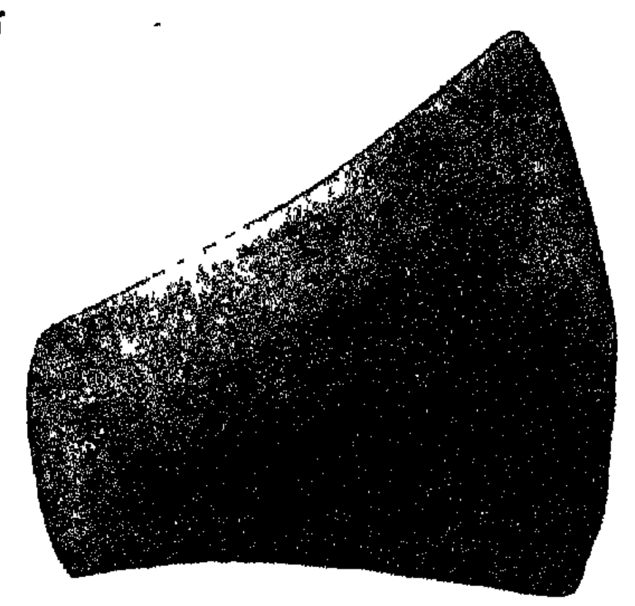


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SCALE · ONE-THIRD



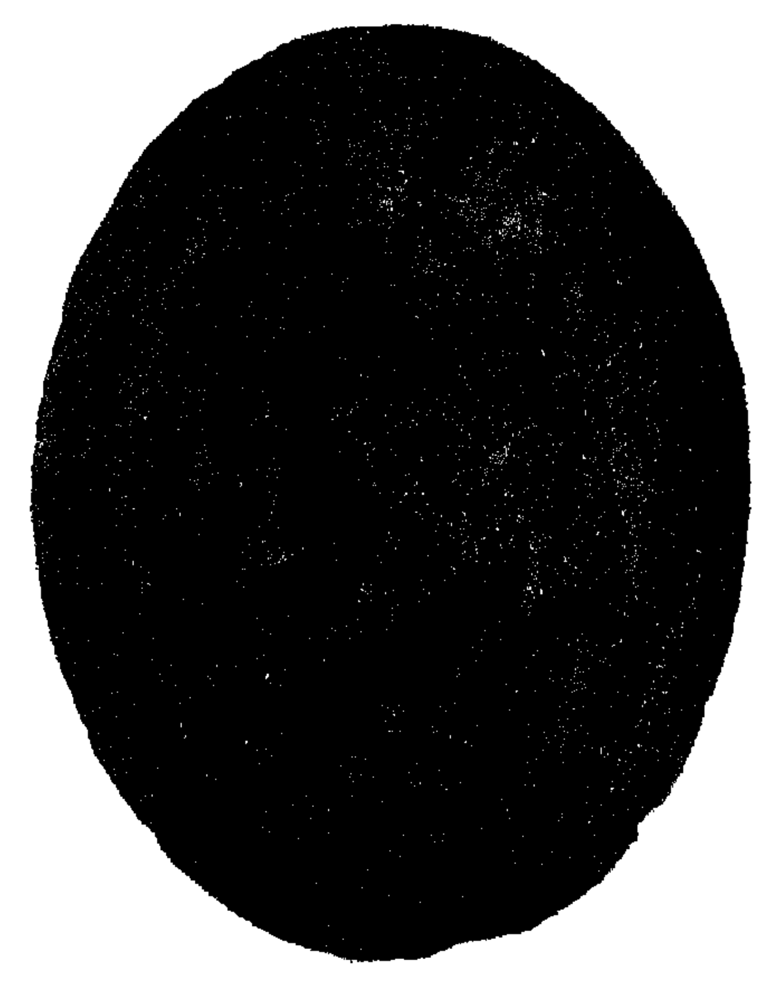
5



3



2



1

SCALE · ONE-HALF

W GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE

through an aperture at the narrow end. The Pâchamba or Karharbâri find permits of no doubt that in Bengal roughly cast 'blooms' of copper were knocked into shape as celts by hammering. The more highly-finished articles from Northern India and Gungeria were, no doubt, made in regular moulds and merely finished with the hammer. There is therefore no reason for hesitating to believe that the Indian examples, like "all the copper implements known to science" in the Old World, were produced by casting in the first instance, however much they may have been hammered afterwards. But no moulds have been discovered in India up to the present time. The British Museum possesses flat open moulds of stone from Dorset, Northumberland, and Spain, unsuited for casting anything but unalloyed copper. (*Read*, p. 71)

The silver objects, 102 in number, found along with the copper implements at Gungeria, and obviously contemporary with them, comprised two classes, 'bull's head' plates and disks. Eight of the former and four of the latter are in the Calcutta Museum, and one specimen of each in the Dublin Museum is shown in Plate V. Dr. Anderson's detailed description of one of the bulls' heads may be quoted:—

"*Ga.* 23. — A thin plate of silver resembling the outline of the front of a bull's head, "the lateral downwardly curved processes corresponding to the ears, no horns being repre-"sented. The lower half of one of the processes is contracted and expanded three times, the "tip forming a narrow termination to the last dilatation. In these details the processes do not "resemble horns. This plate is about the thickness of ordinary paper; and it measures 4″·65 "in length, with a maximum breadth across the processes of nearly 6″."

The plates of this class vary considerably in size and the details of form. The dimensions of the seven other Calcutta specimens are as follows —

Ga. 24. — 4″·60 × 6″, with notch at top.
,, 25. — 4″·10 × 5″·50.
,, 26. — 3″·90 × 5″ 60.
,, 27. — 3″·90 × 5″·30.
,, 28 — 3″ × 5″·40, with notch and finely tapering ears.
,, 29. — 3″·05 × 5″·40.
,, 30. — 2″·80 × 5″·10.

The disks are plain, except for slight ornamentation of the edge on some specimens, and vary in size. The details of the four Calcutta specimens are as follows: —

Ga. 31. — A thin silver disk, slightly concave and crimped at the margin. Diameter 5″·25,
,, 32. — Diameter 4″·80;
,, 33. — ,, 4′·60;
,, 34. — A fragment, 3″·40 × 2″ 90, the border being stamped with a line of little dots.

The British Museum specimens also exhibit variations in detail. The example figured by Mr. Read (*op. cit.* fig. 42) has a simple rope ornament round the edge. Both the 'bulls' heads' and disks were evidently intended to be attached to larger bodies as ornaments, but it is difficult to guess their exact use. When they were exhibited in Calcutta the suggestion was made that the 'bulls' heads' were designed to serve as ornaments for cattle, similar plates of copper being sometimes still used by Hindus for the adornment of dedicated bulls or cows. Another conjecture is that both the bulls' heads and disks were personal ornaments.

The fact that silver articles formed part of the Gungeria deposit has sometimes been supposed to indicate a comparatively late date for the accompanying copper implements, which would otherwise, on the strength of European data, be ascribed to a time about 1800 or 2000 B. C. But there is no reason to doubt that silver may have been known in Northern India as early as 2000 B. C., although, according to Professor Macdonell, the name of the metal does not occur in the Rig Vêda. Silver is one of the metals known from very ancient times, as is

proved by familiar passages in Genesis and archæological evidence from Spain and the Mediterranean region. In Balûchistân a silver bracelet, alloyed with lead, was found in company with copper arrow-heads, the admixture of lead being probably ascribable to the fact that silver is commonly extracted from galena or lead sulphide ore The galena at 'Jungumrazpillay' in the Karnûl District, Madras, is said to be peculiarly rich in silver. In the north of India the Kulu District contains a large area in which ores yielding silver abound, and the metal can be mined in no less than twenty districts of British India.[12] The ancient inhabitants of the country, therefore, may have obtained it in very early ages, even if they trusted to the local supply, but, as a matter of fact, India has never produced any considerable amount of silver, and has usually been content to import it in enormous quantities Whether the Gungeria plates were made from indigenous or imported silver, I do not see any reason why they should not be of high antiquity. The Gungeria deposit, although buried in a spot to the south of the Narbadâ, is clearly associated by reason of its contents, with Northern India, and not with the South. I think it to be extremely probable that the knowledge of both silver and iron reached the Peninsula at a date much later than it reached the North, which was always open to communications by land with the primeval civilization of Babylonia and Assyria.

The variety of type in the Indian copper implements, as already observed, indicates a development which must have extended over a long time. I am disposed to think that the primitive celts of Northern India, which are obviously copies of neolithic patterns, may be as old as 2000 B C. The harpoon- or spear-heads associated with them must be of the same age. They seem to be imitations of bone or horn forms, and should be compared with the drawings in the caves of the Kaimûr hills which I published some years ago[13] The occurrence of a 'bar-celt' in the Bijnôr District, associated with flat celts and barbed harpoon-heads, indicates that the bar-celt, which, like the harpoon-heads, is a copper form peculiar to India, must also date from very remote antiquity. The general facies of the Gungeria deposit, although that deposit includes bar-celts and flat celts of very primitive form, is somewhat less ancient than that of the finds from Northern India, but it is impossible to express the difference, if it be real, in terms of years; and the guess hazarded above as to the possible date of the northern examples has really little foundation, being largely based upon the dates assumed for Ireland. But all the Indian copper implements are certainly extremely old, and must be dated previous to 1000 B. C. Probably they are much earlier.

PART II.

Prehistoric Bronze Implements.

The prehistoric Indian implements, that is to say, either tools or weapons, made of such an alloy of copper and tin as may be designated with propriety by the name of bronze, number only six, so far as I can ascertain. These six specimens comprise one flat celt, one so-called 'sword,' one spear-head, and three harpoon-heads, which I now proceed to discuss in detail, with the special purpose of determining whether or not the existence of these six implements is sufficient to prove the deliberate use of bronze, as distinguished from copper, during prehistoric times in India

The solitary bronze flat celt, discovered at Jabalpur (Jubbulpore: N. lat. 23° 10′; E. long. 80° 1′) in the year 1869, unfortunately was never figured and was soon lost But it was analysed and proved to be composed of copper 86·7, and tin 13 3, per cent.[14] It was described as being furnished "with a long curved and sharp edge, gradually attenuating behind into a kind of straight handle, which had the edges flattened so as to be easily held in the hand."[15] It was,

[12] Balfour, *Cyclopædia*, s. v. Silver.

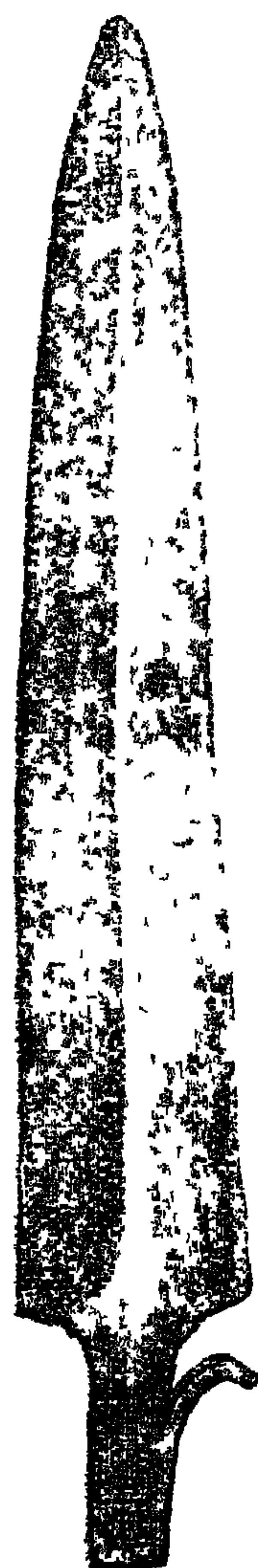
[13] 'Cave Drawings in the Kaimûr Range, North-West Provinces,' by John Cockburn, communicated by Vincent A. Smith (*J R A S.* 1889, p 89, with a plate) Compare also the harpoon-heads from La Madelaine and Kent's Cavern, Torquay, made of reindeer horn (Evans, *Ancient Stone Implements*, 2nd ed. p. 505, fig. 408.)

[14] Brief announcement, without details, in *Proc A S. B* 1869, p. 60

[15] Letter of General Strachey, published by Sir Walter Elliot in *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland*, 1874, p. 691.

therefore, a 'flat celt' of an early type well-represented among the Gungeria copper implements, Class III., and frequently met with in Ireland. The material was undoubted bronze, with a rather excessive proportion of tin, which must have been added to the copper intentionally. **Certain celts found at Dowris, King's County, Ireland,** were composed of copper 85·23, tin 13·11, and lead 1 14 per cent., the lead being probably an accidental impurity, and so were of nearly similar **composition.**[16]

The one bronze sword, if it is rightly called a sword, was purchased by Sir Walter Elliot from persons in India, who had supplied the Museum in Calcutta with certain copper or bronze weapons. No definite indication of the locality where it was found is given, but it would seem that the weapon was obtained somewhere in the Doâb, between the Ganges and Jumna, and perhaps at Fathgaṛh.[17] It is now preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh and numbered BS 634. It was described by Sir Walter Elliot as being "a long heavy blade of nearly equal "width for about two-thirds of its length, and tapering thence to the point with "an elliptical curve. It has a stout midrib running down the centre of the "blade, and terminates at the butt end in a flat tang about one-third of the "width of the blade, which has a curved spine-like projection on one side. Its "dimensions are — length, 28¾ inches, width at the butt, 4 inches; length of "tang, 4 inches." The **composition** was determined by analysis to be copper 95·68, tin 3 83, per cent The annexed woodcut exhibits clearly the peculiarities of this weapon. I have followed Sir Walter Elliot in calling it a sword, but am disposed to think that, in spite of its length, it should be called a spear-head I possess a Somâli spear-head, which is 2⅓ feet long without, and 3¼ feet long with, the socket. The hook on the side of the tang of Sir Walter Elliot's specimen seems to have been intended for fastening the blade to the shaft by a thong. The percentage of tin, 3 83, is perhaps sufficient to justify the application of the term bronze to the metal, but is so low that it may well be doubted whether or not the admixture of tin was intentional. The language of Sir Walter Elliot's rather vague observations suggests that the weapon was found with some or other of the copper weapons now in the Calcutta Museum, where there are none of true bronze, and it is unlikely that the introduction of so small a percentage of tin as 3·83 into one specimen only should be intentional. I am therefore disposed to believe that this sword, or spear-head, whatever be its correct designation, was **intended to be made of copper, and that the admixture of tin is accidental or casual.** A man fully acquainted with the properties of bronze would not be likely to prepare an alloy containing less than 4 per cent. of tin.[18]



28¾ INCHES LONG, BS 634. SIR WALTER ELLIOT'S 'SWORD' IN NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES, EDINBURGH.

The spear-head in the British Museum, which was presented in 1837, is supposed, although not proved, to come from Itâwa (Etawah). It looks like bronze, but has not been analyzed. It is a simply barbed lanceolate blade, about 13 inches in length, without any extra hooks or barbs.

16 Read, *Guide*, p. 29.

17 Sir W. Elliot's words are (*Proc Soc Ant Scotland*, 1874, p. 691) —"Several years ago my attention was attracted by some bronzes [*scil* the copper implements from Fathgarh and Mainpuri] in the Calcutta Museum, acquired shortly before, and I succeeded, through the curators, in purchasing two similar specimens of each kind, but, of a third form in the Museum, like a partisan or halberd with lateral processes, no more remained in the finder's possession." This vague language gives no definite clue to the find-spot; but it is clear that the 'sword' and harpoon-head came from one place, and that they were associated with certain bronzes [*i e*, copper weapons] in the Calcutta Museum. The allusion seems to refer to the Fathgarh swords with divergent hilt-points.

18 I am indebted to the Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, Scotland, for the figures of the Elliot 'sword' and the Norham harpoon, and for permission to reproduce them.



636. THE NORHAM HARPOON (12 × 2¼ INCHES) IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES, EDINBURGH.

The weapon known as **the Norham harpoon** was found by a Berwick man while fishing in the Tweed near Norham Castle, and is evidently of Indian origin, although it is difficult to explain how it found its way to England. Probably it was brought home in modern times by some sailor, who either lost it or threw it away. In form it so closely resembles the Indian specimens of pure copper, while it is so different from all known European objects, that it is impossible to deny that it came from India. Dr. J. A. Smith described it in the following terms :—

"It consists in front of a tapering blade, of dark red-coloured bronze, "with a projecting midrib, which terminates in a pointed extremity, and "runs backward to a pointed barb on each side; behind these barbs, two "other barbs, rounded and more abrupt in character, project outwards and "backwards from each side of the strong middle rib of the weapon; behind "these again there is a rounded horizontal bar or stop, with blunt extremity, "which also projects outwards on each side. And the weapon, instead of "terminating in a hollow or tubular socket for attaching it to a handle, "tapers gradually backwards, and terminates in a rather blunt point "apparently for the purpose of its being inserted in a hollow socket of "corresponding size at the extremity of a wooden shaft or handle. The base "of the transverse bar or stop, on one side, is pierced by a regularly cut "circular perforation.

"The bronze measures one foot in length, by 2¼ inches in greatest breadth "across the blade; and the blade part, from the point in front to the "extremity of one of its lateral barbs, measures 6⅝ inches. The middle "bar is about 1 inch across at the barbs, and the two barbs project "three-quarters of an inch on each side, the transverse bar half an inch; "and the tapering terminal extremity is 2½ inches in length. It weighs "25¾ ounces."

Analysis gave the following results :—

Copper	91·12
Tin	7·97
Lead	0 77
Loss	0·14
	100·0 [19]

These proportions indicate a **hard bronze**, capable of taking and retaining a somewhat fine edge.

The close resemblance between the Norham harpoon and the Itâwa specimen in pure copper at Copenhagen was noticed by Dr. J. A. Smith, who specified the points of resemblance and difference in the following terms :—

"It [*scil.* the Itâwa specimen] has a blade part in front which terminates in barbs, behind "which are three small and much worn projecting points springing from each side of the "prolonged midrib of the weapon, which also terminates in a tapering posterior extremity. "The blade part of the spear is a little longer in proportion than in the one I have described "[*scil.* the Norham harpoon], but the projecting points, although they are much worn away, "apparently correspond both in number and character to the barbs and stop of the one found "on the banks of the Tweed at Norham. The only difference being that there is no circular "perforation through it as in the Scottish bronze, at least none is figured or described. The

[19] Dr. J. A. Smith in Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland, 1870, p. 2[illegible]2. His description and figure were reproduced by Sir Walter Elliot (*ibid* 1874, p. 691).

"Indian weapon is therefore of much interest, and it is curious to observe that no similar "specimen has apparently been found in the north of Europe, at least none appears to be known "to the northern antiquaries."

Sir Walter Elliot obtained a harpoon-head in India along with the sword or spear-head already described, which so closely resembled the Norham harpoon that he considered it unnecessary to give a figure of it. The weapon, which is now numbered as 635 in the Edinburgh National Museum of Antiquities, measures 12½ by 2½ inches and is composed of copper 93·18, and tin 6·74 per cent.

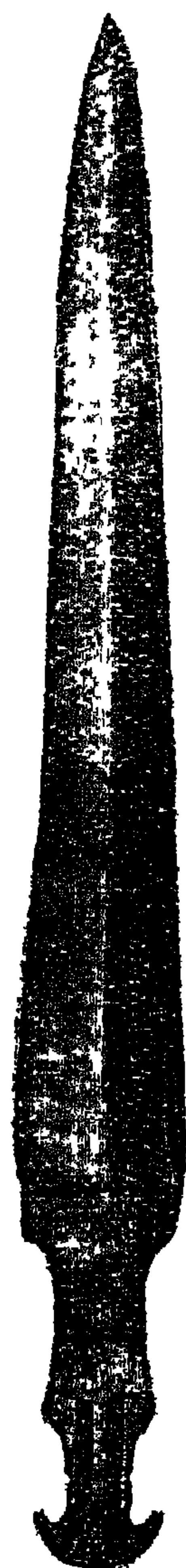
The only other Indian bronze implement known to me, which seems to be of prehistoric age, is a fine harpoon-head, presented by Sir Alexander Cunningham to the collections now in the National Museum, Dublin, and said to have been found somewhere in India. This weapon has four teeth, not recurved barbs, on each side, below the blade, and the loop on one side of the tang, through which the thong attaching the head to the shaft was passed, is formed by the legs and body of a rudely-executed standing animal. The general appearance of this object, which is apparently made of bronze, not copper, is more modern than that of the copper implements from Northern India.

The ornamented "bronze dagger cast in one piece, 17½ in long, from the Pañjâb," presented by Mr. J. M. Douie in 1883 to the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, has a much more modern appearance, and can hardly claim the dignity of prehistoric antiquity. The figure in the Society's Catalogue is here reproduced by permission Whatever be the age of this weapon, it seems to be unique.

If the Douie dagger be disregarded, the truly prehistoric Indian implements, made of an alloy which can be fairly called bronze, amount only to six, as above described in detail, namely: —

	Object.	*P. c. of tin.*
1.	Strachey celt from Jabalpur	13·3
2.	Elliot 'sword,' No. 634, Nat. Mus., Edinburgh...	3·83
3.	Norham harpoon	7 97
4.	Elliot harpoon	6·74
5.	British Museum barbed spear-head	Not known.
6.	Dublin harpoon-head	Ditto

These figures are remarkable.[20] The percentage of tin in the Jabalpur celt is so high, being above the ordinary European standard, that it cannot possibly be an accidental admixture. That celt was unquestionably made of true bronze, intended to be bronze and not copper. Considering the facts that this object was discovered thirty-five years ago, and that no other bronze celt has ever been found in India, I cannot believe that celts made deliberately of an alloy of copper and tin were manufactured in India. If they had been, it is highly improbable that no second specimen should have been discovered. The inference appears to be justifiable, and almost inevitable, that the Jabalpur specimen was imported from some foreign country, and that its occurrence does not prove the existence of an Indian bronze age.



647.

647. BRONZE DAGGER CAST IN ONE PIECE, 17½ IN. LONG, FROM THE PANJAB, INDIA— J. M. DOUIE, 1883.

The two Elliot specimens, namely, the so-called 'sword,' and the harpoon, which is practically identical with the Norham bronze weapon of that kind, and the similar copper object from Itâwa in the Copenhagen Museum, were apparently found together, and in association with implements of practically pure copper. But the 'sword' contains tin to the extent of only 3·83 p. c., while the percentage in the associated harpoon is 6·74, and that in

20 The percentage of tin in ancient European bronze ranges from 5 to more than 18 p. c. (Evans, *Bronze Implements*, p. 419.)

the Norham harpoon is 7·97. The irregular variation in the amount of tin in these bronzes, and their close relation, by reason both of form and local association, with objects made of pure copper, suggest that the makers were not thoroughly acquainted with the art of bronze manufacture. It is very unlikely that a smith who rightly understood the nature of bronze should have put nearly twice as much tin in the harpoon as in the 'sword' found along with it. In both cases, I believe, the admixture of tin was effected in a casual and accidental manner; and, although the Norham harpoon contains nearly 8 p. c. of tin, it also, I think, is not an example of bronze deliberately made by a bronze founder. The amount of tin in it and the Elliot harpoon is probably too large to be ascribed merely to imperfect refining of a mixed ore, and should apparently rather be attributed to casual and tentative experimenting These three bronzes, the Elliot 'sword,' Elliot harpoon, and Norham harpoon are not enough to establish the reality of an Indian bronze age The British Museum spear-head and the peculiar Dublin harpoon not having been analysed, I cannot say anything as to their composition.

My conclusion is that the Jabalpur celt is the only undoubted example of a prehistoric implement found in India, which was made of true bronze, deliberately and knowingly manufactured as such. That example being unique, I infer that it must have been of foreign origin. The percentage of tin, 3 83, in the Elliot sword may possibly be a mere impurity, the result of imperfect metallurgic processes applied to a highly stanniferous copper ore. But I am not qualified to decide whether or not this suggested explanation is admissible. The percentages of tin in the Elliot and Norham harpoons, 6·74 and 7 97 respectively, are too large apparently to admit of interpretation as mere impurities, and suggest a tentative experimentation in the manufacture of bronze. Whatever be the true explanation of the composition of these objects which may be evolved by experts, I am satisfied that the evidence is far short of the amount required to prove the existence of an Indian Bronze Age.

Postscript.

I find that I overlooked one notice of an Indian celt supposed to be bronze. In 1880 Mr Rivett-Carnac submitted a celt for the inspection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal with the following observations: — "A metal celt of the type well-known in many collections in Europe. The implement, which was in all probability used as an axe-head or hatchet, is 5¼ inches long by 4 inches broad. The metal is apparently bronze, being too hard and heavy for copper. It was found in the Hardoī District, Oudh, by Colonel Montague Procter, who has been good enough to place it at my disposal" (*Proc. A. S B.*, 1880, p. 71). The reasons given for believing the material to be bronze rather than copper are unconvincing, for in such matters the eye and touch are unsafe guides, and the very primitive form indicated by the measurements would be more likely to be that of a copper than of a bronze implement. I strongly suspect that Mr. Rivett-Carnac's specimen, if assayed, would prove to be made of copper, and that the Hardoī District must be added to the list of North-Indian localities for implements of copper.

I have also stumbled on a notice of a weapon made of pure copper found in Wales. In the year 1859 thirty-six fragments of broze weapons (including one of pure copper) were found at a place called Henfeddau, on the border-line of Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire, not far from Llanfirnach. The name Henfeddau means 'old graves.' The find included four leaf-shaped swords and thirteen spear- or lance-heads. All the articles were composed of golden bronze, with the exception of one of the spear-heads which is made of pure copper. This fact has suggested the explanation that the copper weapon was the result of the smith accidentally running short of tin. However that may be, the discovery adds one more item to the short list of copper weapons or tools known to have been found in Great Britain. The contents of the find were presented to the College at Lampeter, and presumably are there now (Rev. E. Bramwell in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3rd Series, No. 39, as cited in Laws' *History of Little England beyond Wales*). The southern part of Pembrokeshire was occupied by English and Flemish settlers from and after the reign of Henry I., and so acquired the name of Anglia Trans-Walliana, or Little England beyond Wales. The Welsh language is not spoken in this region. — V. A. S.

ASOKA NOTES.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S. (RETD.).

(*Continued from p 203.*)

VI. — The Meaning of Sâmaṁta in Rock Edict II.

In the Second Rock Edict the word sâmaṁta applied to the unnamed Yôna, or Hellenistic kings, referred to in connection with Antiochos, **has given rise to diverse interpretations. Professor Kern** renders the phrase, *Aṁtiyokon nama Yonaraja ye cha aṁñe tasa Aṁtiyokasa samaṁta* [*ra*]*jano* (Shâhbâzgarhî reading) by the words 'the kingdom of Antiochus the Grecian king and of his neighbour kings';[1] and **M. Senart** similarly translates '[dans le territoire d'] Antiochus, le roi des Grecs, et aussi des rois qui l'avoisinent.'[2] This interpretation, undoubtedly in accordance with the ordinary meaning of *samaṁta* or *sâmaṁta*, was discarded by **Bühler, who rendered the word as 'vassal-kings.'**[3]

To this rendering, which I adopted in my book *Aśôka*,[4] **Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar takes exception, and points out that "sâmaṁta is the reading of all versions except that of Girnâr, which substitutes sâmipaṁ** for it. This variant is of great importance, inasmuch as it indicates that **sâmaṁta must be interpreted in such a way as to correspond to it.** And, as a matter of fact, this is the sense which Childers' Pâli Dictionary gives for the word *sâmaṁta*. There can remain, therefore, no doubt that **sâmaṁta in the edict is to be translated as 'neighbouring' or 'bordering,' and not 'vassal-kings,' as Dr. Bühler has done."**[5]

The **forms of the text** are as follows:—

Girnâr — *Aṁtiyako Yonarâjâ ye vâ pi tasa Aṁtiyakasa sâmîpaṁ :*

Shâhbâzgarhi — *Aṁtiyokon nama Yonaraja ye cha aṁñe tasa Aṁtiyokasa samaṁta* [*ra*]*jano :*

Mansêrâ — [*Aṁ*]*tiyo*[*ke*] *nama Yona . . ye cha . sa . . . . sâmaṁta raja :*

Kâlsî — [*Aṁ*]*tiyoge-nâma Yonalâjâ ye-châ aṁñe tasâ* [*Aṁ*]*tiyogasâ sâmaṁtâ lâjâno.*[6]

Dhauli and Jaugada — *tasa Aṁtiyokasa sâmaṁtâ lâjâne.*[7]

Comparison of the variants clearly shows that Messrs. Kern, Senart, and Bhandarkar are right, and that Bühler was in error. I regret that I overlooked the various reading *sâmîpaṁ*, and permitted myself to be guided by Bühler's authority.

The correction of the translation not only cancels a useless footnote in my little book, to the effect that "the kings subordinate to Antiochus cannot be identified," but **brings the second edict into close connection with the thirteenth.** It is now plain that **the unnamed 'neighbouring kings' of the second edict are identical with the four named kings of the thirteenth,** who dwelt 'beyond that Antiochus' (*paraṁ cha tena Aṁtiyokena chature 4 rajani*, Shâhb.) and are specified as **Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas, and Alexander.** Looked at broadly from an Indian point of view, the dominions of all four, in Egypt, Macedonia, Cyrene, and Epirus respectively, might be described fairly as lying either 'beyond' or 'adjoining' the wide extended realm of the Seleukidan monarch.

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1 *Ante*, Vol. V. p. 272. 2 *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, Vol. I. p. 74. 3 *Epigr. Ind.* II. 466.

4 Page 115, "in the dominions of the Greek king Antiochus, and in those of the other kings subordinate to that Antiochus."

5 'Epigraphic Notes and Questions,' read before *Bo. Br. R. A. S.* in June, 1902; reprint, p. 7.

6 *Ep. Ind.* II. 450, 451. The transliteration is Bühler's. 7 Senart, I. 63.

VII. — The meaning of chikîchha in the same edict; and revised translation of the edict.

Aśôka declares that he provided two kinds of chikîchha — namely, chikîchha for men and chikîchha for animals — in the various countries to which his beneficence was directed. Interpreters differ in their translations of the term thus emphasized. Before discussing the rival renderings it is desirable first to exhibit the variant readings of the text, which are as follows: —

1. Girnâr — *Priyadasino râño dve chikîchha katâ manusa chikîchhâ cha pasuchikîchhâ cha:*
2. Shâhbâzgarhî — *Priyadraśisa raño duvi 2 [chiki]sa ki[ṭra] manuśa[chiki]sa . paśu[chiki]sa cha:*
3. Mansêrâ — *Priya[dra]śisa rajine duve 2 chikisa kaṭa manuśachi[kisa cha] paśuchikisa cha:*
4. Kâlsî — *Piyadasisâ lâjine duve chikisakâ katâ manusachikisâ-châ pasuchikisâ-châ:*
5. Dhauli — *Piyadasino . . . . . cha . . . . sâchikisâ cha pasuchikisa cha:*
6. Jaugada — *Piyadasinâ lâji_________ikisâ cha pasuchikisâ cha.*[8]

The word under consideration thus appears in three dialectic forms — *chikîchha*, *chikisa*, and *chikisaka* — all equivalent to one or other of the Sanskrit words *chikitsâ* and *chikitsaka*.

Four translations have been published by competent scholars.

Professor Kern translates: — 'The system of caring for the sick, both of men and cattle, followed by King Devânâmpriya Priyadarśin, has been everywhere brought into practice.'

M. Senart renders: — 'Partout le roi Piyadasi, cher aux Devas, a répandu des remèdes de deux sortes, remèdes pour les hommes, remèdes pour les animaux.' In my book I followed M. Senart's authority, and wrote, 'Everywhere, on behalf of His Majesty King Priyadarsin, have two kinds of remedies been disseminated — remedies for men, and remedies for beasts.'

Bühler, influenced perhaps by the tradition of earlier scholars, boldly translated: — 'Everywhere King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, has founded two kinds of hospitals, both hospitals for men and hospitals for animals.'

Chikîchha (with its variants), therefore, means, according to Professor Kern, 'system of caring for the sick'; according to M. Senart, 'remedies,' and, according to Bühler, 'hospitals.'

Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*loc. cit.*) objects to the renderings of both M. Senart and Bühler. "If we carefully attend to the contents of this edict," he observes, "it cannot fail to strike "us that, when Piyadasi says that he has established two kinds of *chikîchhâ*, he makes only "a general statement, of which the works of charity he mentions further on are particular "instances. If so, the word *chikîchhâ* must be interpreted in such a way as to go naturally "with planting trees, raising orchards, digging wells, and such other charitable works which "Piyadasi has instituted. But if we hold with Dr. Bühler that the word means 'a hospital,' or "with M. Senart that it signifies 'remedies,' than we shall have to suppose that this edict "simply sets forth a congeries of facts thoroughly unconnected with one another. I, therefore, "propose to take chikîchhâ in the sense of 'provision,' or 'provident arrangement.' "If this sense is adopted, the word *chikîchhâ* goes with all the charitable acts specified by

[8] The transliteration is that of Bühler.

"Piyadasi, and a connection is established between it and what follows. For Piyadasi here "speaks of having made two provident arrangements, *i. e*, provident arrangements for two "classes of creatures — men and animals. And what are these? They are obviously the "planting of medicinal herbs, the growing of orchards, the sinking of wells, and so forth. By "this way of intrepretation alone the edict attains its full significance."

Mr. Bhandarkar's translation 'provident arrangements' is, perhaps, nearer to Professor Kern's 'system of caring for the sick' than it is to either of the rival interpretations proposed by Bühler and M. Senart. But it is open to the criticism that chikitsâ undoubtedly means 'curing,' '*chikitsaka*' means 'a physician,' and '*chikitsita*' means 'physic.' No version can be satisfactory which excludes the idea of 'curing' or 'healing.' Nor can I see any force in the assumed necessity of interpreting *chikîchha* as a generic term comprehending the sinking of wells, and all the other acts of beneficence enumerated in the edict.

Nothing in either the grammatical construction or the context compels such an interpretation. The Sanskrit stem *chikitsa* undoubtedly expresses the idea of 'healing' or 'curing,' and there seems to be no reason to attribute any other meaning to the phonetic equivalents in Prâkṛit. Mr. Bhandarkar fails to cite any authority justifying the translation of *chikîchha* by the words 'provident arrangement' or 'provision,' and, I think, would find a difficulty in quoting any passage to support his rendering. For these reasons I am unable to accept his interpretation, and am obliged to consider how to provide a formula free from objection.

If the Kâlsî variant *chikisakâ* had been adopted in all the texts, there would be no difficulty, because that would naturally be translated 'physicians.' But the shorter forms *chikîchha* and *chikisa* (*chikisâ*) cannot very well mean 'physicians,' and, inasmuch as the variants must all mean the same thing, another translation must be adopted. There is, of course, no objection to treating chikisakâ as merely an amplified form of chikisâ. Some phrase such as 'curative arrangements' seems to satisfy the conditions. Those arrangements would include the provision of physicians, surgeons, and veterinary surgeons, as well as the erection of hospitals, and the supply of drugs and invalid diet. The proposed rendering will cover the meaning of all the three versions proposed by Kern, Bühler, and Senart, and at the same time preserve the ordinary sense of the stem *chikitsa*. I take it that the term *chikîchha* in the edict was intended to comprise the arrangements for importing or planting medicinal herbs and roots which are recited next in order, but that the term was not intended to comprise the planting of road-side trees and the digging of wells, which are mentioned in the concluding sentence. That sentence, which opens emphatically with the word *pamthêsû* (Girnâr), or *magêsu* (Kâlsî), is to be read as a supplement to the record concerning 'curative arrangements,' and is intended to record the provisions made 'on the roads' for the comfort of man and beast, as being connected with, although distinct from, the arrangements for curing both classes of creatures when afflicted with disease.

Fa-hien's description of the Free General Hospital at Pâṭaliputra in 400 A. D. seems to me to give an exact and complete interpretation of the term chikîchha in the edict, so far as human beings were concerned.

"Hither come," we are told, "all poor or helpless patients suffering from all kinds of infirmities. They are well taken care of, and a doctor attends them; food and medicine being supplied according to their wants. Thus they are made quite comfortable, and when they are well, they may go away." (*Travels*, Ch. XXVII., Giles.)

The objection to the translation 'hospitals' is more formal than substantial, because a well-equipped hospital includes a supply of drugs and all necessary curative arrangements; but the more general term is preferable as comprehending all the measures taken by Asôka's

Medical Department for the benefit of the sick, and for the purpose of combating disease.

In order to make the observations in this article and those in the preceding note on the word *sâmaṁta* fully intelligible, I give the Girnâr text of Edict II. (*Ep. Ind.* II. 449), with my punctuation and an amended translation:—

Text.

Sarvata vijitamhi devânam priyasa priyadasino râño, evamapi prachaṁtesu—yathâ Choḍâ Pâḍâ Satiyaputo Ketalaputo â Taṁbapaṁṇî Aṁtiyako Yonarâjâ, ye vâ pi tasa Amtiyakasa sâmîpaṁ râjâno — sarvatra devânam priyasa priyadasino râño dve chikîchha katâ — manusachikîchhâ cha pasuchikîchhâ cha. Osudhâni cha, yâni manusopagâni cha pasopagâni cha, yata yata nâsti, sarvatra hârâpitâni cha ropâpitâni cha; mûlâni cha phalâni cha, yata yata nâsti, sarvatra hârâpitâni cha ropâpitâni cha.

Translation.

Everywhere in the dominions of His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King, as well as among his neighbours — such as Chôla, Pâṇḍiya, Satiyaputra, Kêtalaputra, Ceylon, the Greek king Antiochos, and likewise the kings adjoining that Antiochos — everywhere has His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King made curative arrangements of two kinds, namely, curative arrangements for men and curative arrangements for beasts. Healing herbs also, medicinal for man and medicinal for beast, wherever they were lacking, have been imported and planted; roots also and fruits, wherever they were lacking, everywhere have been imported and planted.

Paṁthesu kûpâ cha khânâpitâ vrachhâ cha ropâpitâ, paribhogâya pasumanuṣânaṁ.[9]

On the roads both wells have been dug and trees planted, for the enjoyment of man and beast.

VIII. — The Kêralaputra and Satiyaputra Kingdoms.

I propose to consider briefly in this article the question of the position of the Kêralaputra and Satiyaputra kingdoms mentioned in the second Rock Edict, of which a revised translation has been given in the preceding note. In the first place it will be well to ascertain exactly the forms of the names which occur in the texts. The passage containing them is wanting in the Dhauli versions; in the other texts they stand as follows:—

Girnâr — *Satiyaputo Ketalaputo;*
Kâlsî — *Sâtiyaputo Kelalaputo,*
Jaugaḍa — *Satiyapu . . . . . . ;*
Shâhbâzgaṛhî — *Satiyaputra Keralaputra;* and
Mansêrâ — *Satiya*[*putr.*] *Kêralaputr*[*e*].

The only important variant is that at Girnâr, where the reading Kêtalaputra is perfectly clear and unmistakable. The Shâhbâzgaṛhî and Mansêrâ texts are recorded in the Kharôshṭhî script, in which it is difficult, and often impossible, to distinguish between the characters for *t* and *r*; but we may assume that Bühler rightly read Kêrala in both places, and that the variant Kêtala is peculiar to Girnâr. The letters are so clear and well formed, and the Asokan *t* is so different from *r*, that it is hardly legitimate to regard the exceptional reading as a mere clerical error, nor is it easy to understand the substitution of *t* for the normal *r*, as a dialectic peculiarity. But the explanation of the phonetic difficulty must be left to linguistic experts; it does not concern me particularly.

The name Kêraḷa[10] is in common use to this day and there is no material doubt as to its meaning. It signifies the strip of coast between the Western Ghâts and the sea,

[9] The transliteration is that of Bühler.

[10] In the edicts the name is spelt with the dental *l*.

extending from about 12° 20′ North latitude to Cape Comorin (Kumâri). The northern boundary is defined as being the 'Kangarote' or Chandragiri river in lat. 12° 29′ N (Balfour, *Cyclop*, *s. v.* Malabar and Malealam). An alternative definition in terms of modern political divisions is expressed by saying that Kêrala includes the Malabar District as well as the Native States of Travancore, Cochin, and the dominion of the Bîbî of Cannanore. A third definition, in linguistic terms, is that of Dr. Caldwell, who says that "the District over which the Tamil Kêralaputra ruled is that in which the Malayâlam language is now spoken" (quoted, *ante*, XXXI. 342). All three definitions approximately agree in substance.

The country governed by the Kêralaputra king known to Aśôka certainly must have included the whole of the coast region so defined, but it is possible, or even probable, that it also comprised a large inland territory, to the east of the mountains. I cannot here go minutely into the obscure question of the relation between the Kêrala region, properly so called, and the inland Chêra kingdom, but the following extract will indicate the widely-extended meaning which Aśôka may have attached to the term Kêralaputra.

"**The Rev. Mr. Foulkes contends that Chêra and Kêraḷa denote the same country,** "the term Kêraḷa being but the Canarese dialectical form of the word Chêra. He points to "a general concurrence of the authorities that Chêra and Kêrala are synonymous names, notwith-"standing the difficulty caused by the supposed identity of Kongu and Chêra. Dr. Rottler's "*Tamil Dictionary* has under the word 'Kêraḷan'—'the king Chêran who reigned on the Malabar "Coast.' 'I have no doubt,' says Dr. Caldwell, 'that the names Chêra and Kêraḷa were "originally one and the same, and it is certain that they are always regarded as synonymous "in Native Tamil and Malayâlam lists.' Dr. Gundert has, in his *Malayaḷam Dictionary*, under "the word Kêram — 'Chêra = Malabar, Canarese pronunciation of Cheram'; and under the "word Kêraḷam — 'Chêram — the country between Gokarnam and Kumâri'; the word Kêraḷa "was known under various forms, such as Sêram, Chêram, &c.

"The Chêra or Kêraḷa kingdom at one time loomed large on the map of Southern India. "According to Dr. Burnell, from the 3rd to the 7th century appears to have been the most "flourishing period in the modern history of the kingdom. It then extended over the present "Mysore, Coimbatore, Tonḍinâd, South Malabar and Cochin. It formed one of the great "triarchy of ancient Hindu kingdoms in the extreme south of India, and had already acquired "a name before the 3rd century B. C."[11]

The triarchy alluded to comprised the Choḷa, Chêra and Pâṇḍya kingdoms. **The proposal to give a wide interpretation to the term Kêralaputra in Rock Edict II. is favoured by the fact that the traditional 'triarchy' is replaced in that document by a 'tetrarchy' consisting of the Chôḷa, Paṇḍiya, Satiyaputra, and Kêralaputra realms. In this enumeration the term Kêralaputra seems to replace Chêra.** The probable meaning of Satiyaputra will be discussed presently.

In Rock Edict XIII., dealing with the dispatch of missionaries, only the kings of the Chôlas and Pâṇḍiyas are mentioned, and it is possible that missionaries may not have been sent into the Satiyaputra and Kêralaputra dominions, although 'curative arrangements' were extended to those countries.

I now come to the interpretation of the term Satiyaputra, which is open to doubt. Dr. Fleet, when writing incidentally on the subject some years ago, contented himself with the safe remark that the kings named Satiyaputra and Kêralaputra occupied territories "probably towards the west coast,"[12] which does not carry us far.

11 'Discursive Notes on Malabar and its Place-names,' by K. P. Padmanabha Menon (*ante*, XXXI. 343).

12 *Kanarese Dynasties*, 2nd ed. p. 277, in *Bomb. Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part II.

Bühler was of opinion that "the Satiyaputra is probably the king of the Satvats; the Kêralaputra, the king of Kerala or Malabar"[13] This dictum also is not very helpful, as no indication is given of the position of 'the Satvats' Dr. Burgess in 1887 made a suggestion which, I venture to think, would not be supported now by him or anybody else, and cannot be justified. "The earliest mention we have of the Telugu country," he observes, "is in the famous edicts of Aśôka, about 250 B. C., in the second of which he speaks of the neighbouring kingdoms 'as Chôda, Pâmdiyâ, the countries of Satiyaputra, and Kêtalaputra as far as Tambapamnî (Ceylon).' Here Satiyaputra represents Telingana, probably including also Kalinga, on the district over which the Telugu language is spoken, and which, in modern times at least, extends along the east coast from Ganjam to Pulikat, and thence eastwards to the seventy-eighth meridian which closely corresponds with its eastern limit as far north as the Pain-gangâ River, when the boundary turns to the eastwards. The earliest dynasty of which we have any record as ruling this country is that of the Sâtavâhanas or Andhras"[14] It seems superfluous to refute formally the whimsical notion that the Satiyaputra kingdom was identical with the Andhra, which is mentioned separately in the edicts. Consideration of the context and of the known position of the Chôla and Pândiya realms requires us to look for the Satiyaputra territory among the southern states on the western side of India, as Dr. Fleet has rightly recognized in the remark quoted above.

Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar carries the process of identification a step further by recording the remark that the term Satiyaputa still survives in Western India. "The close correspondence in sound of Satiyaputa and Sâtputê, a surname current among the present Marâthâs, is so striking that I am inclined to hold that the Sâtputês had formerly settled in the south on the Western Coast, as the mention of Satiyaputa in the edict points to it, and that they afterwards migrated as far northward as Mahârâshṭra, and were merged into the warrior and other classes."[15]

In my recently published work, I have attempted to give greater precision to Mr. Bhandarkar's hint, in the following observations:—"Very little can be said about the south-western kingdoms, known as Chera, Kerala, and Satiyaputra. The last-named is mentioned by Aśôka only, and its exact position is unknown. But it must have adjoined Kerala; and since the Chandragiri river has always been regarded as the northern boundary of that province, the Satiyaputra kingdoms should probably be identified with that portion of the Konkans — or low lands between the Western Ghâts and the sea — where the Tulu language is spoken, and of which Mangalore is the centre."[16]

The Tulu country is defined by Balfour (*Cyclop.*, *s. v.* Tuluva) as "an ancient dominion of Southern India, lying between the Western Ghats and the sea, and between the Kalyanapuri and Chandragiri rivers, lat. 12°27′ to 13°15′ N., and long. 74°45′ to 75°30′ E., with a coast-line of about 80 miles. It is now merely a linguistic division of that part of British India. Tulu is spoken by about 446,011 inhabitants of the tract described above, the centre of which is Mangalore."

According to the latest census the number of persons returned as speaking Tulu is greater, and amounts to 535,210. Dr. Grierson notes that the language, "immediately to the south-west of Kanarese, is confined to a small area in or near the district of South Kanara in Madras. The Chandragiri and the Kalyānapūri Rivers in that district are regarded as its ancient boundaries, and it does not appear to have ever extended much beyond them" (para 90 of 'The Languages of India,' in *Census Report*, 1901).

[13] *Ep. Ind.* II. 466.

[14] *A. S. S. I.* (Amarâvati) p. 3

[15] *Epigraphic Notes and Questions*, p. 7.

[16] *Early History of India*, p. 340.

The small area thus defined as occupied by the Tu'u language seems to be admirably adapted to serve as the equivalent of Aśôka's Satiyaputra. It adjoins Kêrala, is the territory of a Dravidian people, and so completes the summary enumeration of the Dravidian nations given in Rock Edict II But, of course, the proof of the suggested identity cannot be effected until it is shown that the name Satiyaputra is in fact connected with the Tuluva country, and at present such proof is lacking.

The Tulu language is closely related to Canarese, and the alternative suggestion may be offered, that, as Asoka's Kêrala may be interpreted in a wide sense so as to include the Chêra territory, similarly Satiyaputra may possibly have comprised the whole territory occupied by the people speaking Kanarese and the cognate Tulu.

Until some better theory is proposed I shall believe that the Satiyaputra kingdom of Aśôka's time corresponded, in part at least, with the Tuluva country lying immediately north of Kêraḷa.

A NOTE ON MALDIVIAN HISTORY.

BY ARTHUR A. PERERA.

THOUGH the Maldivian Sultanate dates from the time of the Khalifs of Bagdad, all that is connectedly known of its history begins from A. D. 1753; but glimpses of two previous centuries have been preserved to us by Ibn Batûta, the traveller from Tangiers (1343) and by the ship-wrecked François Pyrard de Laval (1602).

In 1753 the reigning Sultân Muhammad Mukarram Im'adu'ddîn was taken captive and blinded by the corsairs of the Râja of Cannanore and the government of the atolls was undertaken, on behalf of the Sultân's daughter Amîna Rânî, by the official Hasan Rannâ Badêrî, who, after six years, ascended the throne as Ghâzî Hasan 'Izzu'ddîn (1), probably after marrying the royal princess, and founded the present royal dynasty. He died in 1767, naming as his successor his old master's nephew Muḥammad Ghiyâsu'ddîn (2); but this arrangement only lasted for seven years, as his own two sons usurped the throne, and successively reigned as Muḥammad Mu'izu'ddîn (3) and Hasan Nûru'ddîn (4). The latter reigned from 1779 to 1799 and left two sons, Muḥammad Mu'înu'ddin and Ahmad Dîdî.

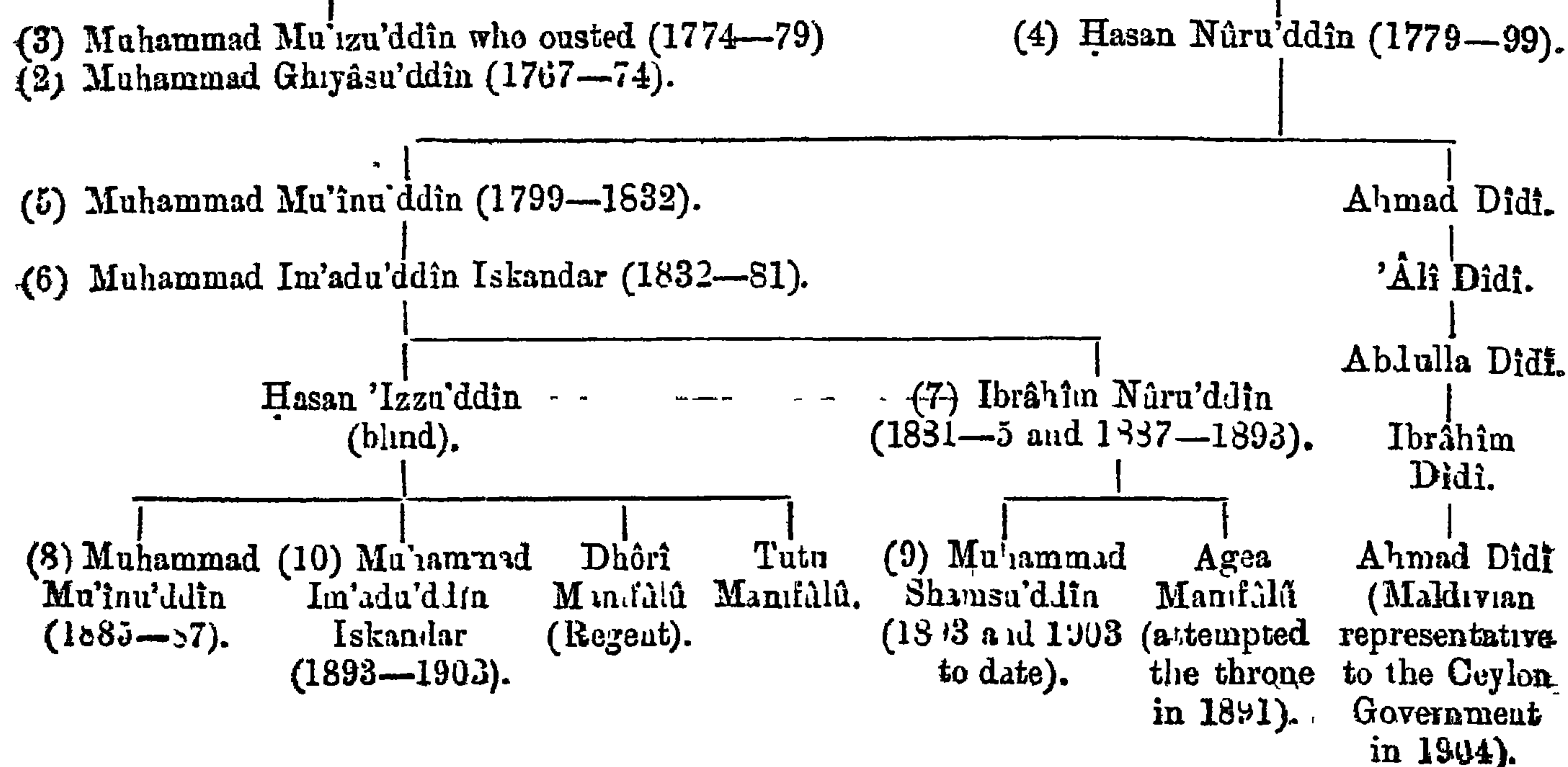
Muḥammad Mu'înu'ddîn (5) succeeded his father, and Ahmad Dîdî had to flee the country to Mocha and finally seek refuge in Cochin for trying to introduce enlightened modes of government. The latter, however, returned to the atolls in 1832, when his nephew Muḥammad Im'adu'ddîn Iskandar (6) ascended the throne, and became a valuable minister to the Sultân, and at his death, his son, the intelligent 'Alî Dîdî took his place. The two cousins soon fell out, and 'Alî Dîdî left the Maldives and became domiciled in Ceylon.

Ever since the death of Muhammad Im'adu'ddîn Iskandar in 1881, there have been frequent revolutions in the Maldives, owing to the ambitious designs of the descendants of Aḥmad Dîdî to have an upper hand in the Sultân's Councils. As Hasan 'Izzu'ddîn, the eldest son of Muhammad Im'adu'ddîn Iskandar, was blind from his twelfth year, his younger brother Ibrâhîm Nûru'ddîn (7) succeeded to the throne. In 1885 he was deposed by his nephew Muḥammad Mu'înu'ddîn (8), but he regained his throne in 1887 and reigned till his death in October 1893, in spite of a second attempt to dethrone him in 1891 in favour of his second son Agea Manifûlû.

The Sultân's eldest son Muḥammad Shamsu'ddîn (9) succeeded to the throne, but only reigned for three months, as his cousin Muḥammad Im'adu'ddîn Iskandar (10) successfully contested his right and was declared Sultân in December 1893. Ten years after, on 11th March 1903, Muḥammad Shamsu'ddîn took advantage of his adversary's absence at Suez for his marriage with

an Egyptian lady of rank to get back his throne, which he is now holding, by expelling the Regent Dhôrî Manifulu.

Genealogical Table of the present Maldivian dynasty.



MISCELLANEA.

A COIN OF MENANDER FOUND IN WALES.

FEW more unlikely places for the discovery of a coin of Menander in the soil than Tenby in Pembrokeshire could be imagined, and yet the following extract proves that one was actually dug up in that ancient town. "In 1878 a coin of Vespasian was dug up on the Esplanade, Tenby, in juxtaposition with goat- and small ox-bones. Two years afterwards, a silver Bactrian coin was discovered close by. It lay two feet under the surface, and was unearthed while the workmen were digging out the foundation for Mentmore House, immediately opposite the new archway made in the town wall, near the south-west corner. It is a drachma of Menander, king of Bactria in the second century B. C. On the obverse is a head of Pallas [*sic*, read 'bust of king'], with the legend:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΥ [*sic*, read ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ] ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ:

on the reverse is Pallas fighting, with the legend in Pehloi [*sic*, read 'Kharoshthî'] character, *Maharajasa tradatosa* [*sic*, read *tratarasa*] *Menandasa* [*sic*, read *Menadrasa* or *Menadrāsa*]. The authorities in the coin department of the British Museum, who most kindly identified the coin for me, insist that it cannot possibly have been found in Britain, *but for all that it was*, and, what is more, seems to me to have been placed where it was discovered in the first century A D. Its intrinsic value is about 6*d*, for these coins are very common in North-Western India. It is in the Tenby Museum with the Vespasian. I myself saw the latter dug up." (Laws, *History of Little England beyond Wales*, p 46)

Although the traces of Roman occupation, excepting coins, are very rare in South Wales, coins have been found in great variety and considerable numbers. At Tenby, or in the immediate neighbourhood, specimens of the coinage of Domitian, Faustina Junior, Marcus Aurelius, Probus, Maximianus, Carausius, Constantine, Constans, and Diocletian have been found, and it would seem that Tenby, even if it were not actually held by a Roman garrison, must certainly have been frequented by people who used the money of the Cæsars. Probably the port was a place of call for coasting ships, and the Bactrian coin was a curiosity belonging to a Roman soldier or trader.

V. A. SMITH.

ALEXANDER, PORUS, AND THE PANJAB.

BY C. PEARSON, INDIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICE (RETD).

(With a Map, and a Prefatory Note by Vincent A. Smith, M.A., I.C.S., Retd.)

[SOME time ago Mr C. Pearson favoured me with rough notes commenting on the theories advocated in my *Early History of India* concerning **the date and localities of Alexander's operations in the Pañjâb in 326 B. C.** His observations, based on intimate personal knowledge of the country, seeming to me worthy of record, I suggested that he might recast them with a view to publication in the *Indian Antiquary*. Mr. Pearson was good enough to adopt the suggestion, and has sent me the paper now presented, accompanied by a map, drawn by a young military friend.

Mr. Pearson's remarks on 'Buddhist masonry' are of interest, He is clearly right in noting that Arrian's estimate of 15 *stadia*, or about 3000 yards, as the width of the Chinâb at the crossing-place, must be regarded as excessive. In my book (p. 53 n.) I dated Alexander's passage of the Indus in March, 326 B. C. Mr. Pearson shows reason for supposing that the event may have occurred a month earlier. This possibility supports the theory that the battle took place in April, but the very explicit testimony of the historians that the river was actually in flood cannot, I think, be rejected on *à priori* grounds. I, therefore, adhere to the view that the battle took place "at the very end of June, or, more probably, early in July" (*Early Hist.* p. 80). Mr. Pearson argues that the assumption of the earlier date allows more time for the preparation of the fleet intended to descend the rivers. But that argument has no validity, because the arrangements for ship-building were entrusted to subordinates and did not depend on Alexander's personal movements, The time available extended from March to October.

The observation that **the dépôt for deodar logs** presumably was in ancient times, as now, **at or near Jihlam,** is of importance as indicating that the ship-building operations must have taken place high up the river. It is true that the assumption that the voyage began near the town of Jihlam conflicts apparently with the statement that the descent to the first confluence occupied only eight days, but no conceivable theory fits all the statements on record. We can only balance them, and decide according to the cumulative weight of evidence, admitting that in any case difficulties will remain unsolved.

The **map,** as explained by Mr. Pearson's comments, gives the reader valuable help in understanding that Alexander's line of march to the river must have been determined by the position of the passes in the Salt Range and connected hills. He must have marched through either the Bakrâla or Bunhâr Pass, and may well have used both roads, Once he was through the hills he could select any suitable ground on the river bank for his camp. A few miles' march would bring him to the neighbourhood of either Jihlam or Jalâlpur. The decision as to the crossing-place consequently does not depend on the opinion formed as to the line of march from Taxila, but must be guided by the necessity of reconciling the ancient author's descriptions with actual topographical details. I am still of opinion that in all probability Abbott's view is correct, but I have not any personal knowledge of the ground.

I am indebted to Captain Talbot, Settlement Commissioner of Jammû and the Kaśmîr State, for the information that **Major Norman has propounded a fresh theory,** an abstract of which will appear in the new *Gazetteer* for the Jihlam (Jhelum) District, of which Captain Talbot has kindly sent me proofs. I do not feel justified in quoting textually from proof-sheets, but may say that according to Major Norman,. the Greek camp should be located near Pind Dâdan Khân, far *below* Jalâlpur, and the crossing-place at the Aḥmadâbâd bluff, about 12 miles below Aḥmadâbâd. This theory seems to me wholly untenable for many reasons. Captain Talbot appears to be right in holding that no conclusive determination of the problem can be

attained without exhaustive study on the spot by qualified students of ancient topography, skilled in critical methods. But, after reading the observations of Messrs. Pearson, Norman, and Talbot, I still venture to hold the opinion that, on the evidence now available, Abbott's solution is the best. — VINCENT A. SMITH. 20-6-05.]

THE first successful attempt to write an *Early History of India* has no doubt received the attention which it deserves. In detail the subject has been ably treated by scholars, soldiers, and historians, but the general reader has hitherto been without a connected account of the whole. So much, perhaps, I may be permitted to say without claiming to be a competent critic of Mr. Vincent Smith's interesting volume. My only reason for attempting to discuss the questions which give a title to this paper, is that I enjoyed some special advantages for forming an opinion. The theories of antiquary or strategist may often receive confirmation or correction when considered from the point of view of one who happens to have a good knowledge of the ground. As Inspector of Schools for about twenty years (1865—1885) I marched with my camels and tents over the whole country between Agra and Peshâwar, and became acquainted in a special manner with the districts about Râwal Pindi and west of Lahore. Twice during the rainy season I made the voyage from Jihlam to Multân in a country boat. And all this time, being interested in antiquities, I examined everything that came in my way with the help of such books and maps as were available at the time. I made no notes, or measurements, or excavations. But it was my amusement to hunt up old mounds and ruins instead of going out with a gun as most of my friends would do under similar circumstances. It was my desire to get a sound general idea of Indian History as a whole, separating, if possible, Vedic India from the India of Alexander, and that again from Buddhist India. Certain clear views seemed to emerge, and on the whole were amply supported by documentary evidence. But sometimes the written record would appear to conflict with facts or probabilities. Perhaps no satisfactory explanation would be forthcoming, but perplexity would at least encourage a more minute study of details than would have been undertaken otherwise. To give an instance. According to Manu, quoted by Elphinstone,[1] the sacred land of the Hindus was a narrow tract between the rivers Sarasvatî and Drishadwatî, or Ghaggar. Both these rivers, as we know them, are weak streams not worthy to be mentioned in the same breath with the Ganges and Jumna. But the traveller from Ambâla to Simla sees upon his left hand and upon his right the stupendous gorges from which the Sutlaj and the Ghaggar descend upon the plains. To understand the full significance of these gorges it may be necessary to go back to the glacial period. It is however a reasonable conjecture that within the period of history the Sutlej united with the Sarasvatî and Ghaggar to form the great river[2] which once flowed into the Indus through Bahâwalpur, and that then Brahmâvarta was a Doâb which might be compared with that of the Ganges and Jumna. In the Greek accounts of the rivers of the Pañjâb nothing is more surprising than the omission of the Sutlaj. Mention of the Hydaspes, Akesines, Hydraotes, and Hyphasis is frequent and explicit, but after the Hyphasis comes the country of the Ganges. Only Pliny gives a hint of the true explanation. "To the Hesidrus[3] (Sutlaj) 169 miles" from the Hyphasis. "To the Jomanes (Jumna) an equal distance." Consistent with such an opinion is the statement that there is no ridge of high ground between the Indus and the Ganges, and that a very trifling change of level would often turn the upper waters of one river into the other as may perhaps have occurred in past time.[4] The Hyphasis (Biâs) in fact is known to have had an independent course into the Indus, and it is further supposed that there has been a gradual uprising of the watershed of the Indus and Ganges systems outside the Himâlayas — "an hypothesis supported by the undoubted fact that the Jumna has within a recent period

[1] *History of India*, p. 225.

[2] *Early History*, p 85.

[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* VI. 21.

[4] *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. VI. p. 663.

moved eastwards, while the Sutlaj and other Pañjâb rivers have moved considerably to the west."[5]

A tourist who keeps his eyes open will in time become a good judge of things which are not likely to be found in histories. When he sees a new church in an old churchyard he has not much difficulty in forming an imaginary picture of the old church, and in the same way can decide whether a castle attributed to Shêr Shâh or Akbar occupies an ancient site. In what follows, the reader must suppose, if no authority is quoted, that the antiquity of a town or road is inferred from some traces of the works of a bygone age. The most conspicuous testimony to the existence of ancient habitation is a mound. Villages often stand upon mounds, and mounds mark the site of deserted villages. Such mounds are formed automatically from the sun-dried mud with which the houses were built and repaired. The lofty mounds which were the citadels of ancient capitals are in part at least artificial. It is certain that these high places were already in existence when Alexander invaded the Pañjâb, and it is doubtful whether any have been built up since. It would seem that after **burnt bricks came into use, a few centuries before the Christian era**, it was no longer the fashion to heap up a huge mound for a fortress.

General Cunningham, who made a careful survey of Shôrkôt,[6] found that the towers and walls were formed of solid masses of sun-dried bricks faced with burnt bricks. There were numerous walls of both kinds of bricks down to 50 and 60 feet below the main level of the fort, which is itself 100 feet high. M. Foucher remarks that the outline of the Bâlâ-Hisâr[7] at Chârsada is strangely like the mounds of Babylonia. The interior, as is the case with similar mounds in Swât, consists of alternate layers of earth and of boulders collected from the bed of the river. Only he seems to have been misled by his Buddhist pre-occupations as to the age of the mound, which assuredly is much older than the *stûpa* seen by Hiuen-tsang.

From the study of ancient mounds, as well as for other reasons, we know that **the whole of the lower Pañjâb, until recently a waterless waste, was covered by a dense population two thousand years ago.** As Cunningham justly remarks, the chief towns were near the great rivers. So were Baghdad and Babylon. But the choice of roads from the North-West to Râjputâna or the valley of the Ganges would of course depend much upon the state of the lower plains of the Pañjâb. In 1832 Burnes,[8] travelling by the old road from Lahore to Pind Dâdan Khân, passed through a desert where water was drawn from a depth of 65 feet, and this seems to have been the character of the country for at least a thousand years.

Ancient roads may be recognised in many ways. Besides the mounds which have been already described, there are holy shrines with legends attached to them and ruins of some sort in brick or stone. In the Northern Pañjâb all roads converge upon Lahore. Multân is the centre of another system. It may be doubtful whether Shôrkôt was the capital of a kingdom or a frontier fortress. Every strong place seems to have been either the one or the other.

"It may create a feeling of disappointment," says Fergusson, "in some minds when they are told that there is no stone architecture in India older than two and a half centuries before the Christian era."[9] According to Arrian, in Alexander's time cities near rivers or the sea were built of wood, but in high places, out of the reach of floods, of brick and clay[10] In the District of Peshâwar, the ancient Gandhâra, **a peculiar kind of Buddhist masonry** is very abundant. It has been described by Foucher[11] and by Cole. Irregular blocks of partially squared stone are evenly laid in rows, and the interstices are filled up with horizontal flakes of slate. These Buddhist walls seem always to be coeval with the Græco-Buddhist sculptures, which Fergusson rightly judges to be Byzantine in character, or of a date corresponding to that of a specimen from Hashtnagar, of which a photograph is given in the *Early History of*

[5] *Ibid.* Vol XIII p. 10.
[6] *Reports*, Vol. V. p. 97.
[7] *Geographie ancienne du Gandhâra*, p. 18.
[8] Burnes, I. p. 49.
[9] *Indian Architecture*, p 1
[10] *Indica*, Chap. X.
[11] *Gandhâra*, p. 84.

India.[12] Some mistakes in the identification of Aornos might have been avoided if it had been recognised that all Buddhist masonry is long subsequent to Alexander.

This skilful method of stone-laying in the construction of walls may deserve more attention as an indication of date and origin than it received, at any rate, five and twenty years ago. It is to be seen everywhere on the slopes of the hills which surround the Peshâwar valley. The fort at 'Alî Masjid, and, unless my memory fails me, the ruins at Amb, on the southern side of Sakêsar, at the lower end of the Salt Range, are built in this fashion. It is conspicuously absent in the old mounds of the plains, within the Salt Range, in Kaśmîr and in the ancient kingdom of Taxila. Something similar, though with larger blocks of stone, and smaller interstices, I saw at Smyrna. Of its distinctive character I have no doubt. Where the slate flakes are laid by an unpractised hand there is always some irregularity which betrays the want of a tradition of style. So far as I remember, the stones are sometimes laid in clay and sometimes in mortar. M. Foucher thinks that the wall was always faced with a coating of mortar.[13] Lime mortar seems to have come into use about the commencement of the Christian era. In this connection it may be useful to remember a remark of Fergusson with reference to the architecture, probably coeval, of the Indian colonists of Java.[14] No mortar is used as a cement in their temples, although many of these buildings are plastered, and painted on the plaster. The accounts of India which we get from the Greek historians are truthful and exact in the main, but include a certain amount of romance. No one could desire a more careful and judicious writer than Arrian, but coming several centuries after Alexander he had to be content with such materials as he found. He had no opportunity of cross-examining his witnesses, and whenever he happens to have drawn a wrong conclusion, the excellence of his style may gain credit for a statement which it never deserved. Some of our difficulties may be explained by the change of circumstances, as in the case of the missing Sutlaj, which we have already considered. But certain mistakes may be corrected by local knowledge. We know, for instance, that the Akesines (Chinâb) is not nearly two miles broad where it dashes over large and jagged rocks,[15] and that the description of the confluence of that river with the Hydaspes is greatly exaggerated. On the whole it is necessary to reject statements which appear to conflict with probability, while freely admitting such as are consistent with our general knowledge.

Where it is impossible to place complete reliance upon our authorities it seems preferable to take a broad general view of their meaning rather than to follow them in minute detail. When Pliny gives the mileage "ad Hydaspen fluvium clarum CXX M., ad Hypasin non ignobiliorem, XXIX mill. CCCXC," and "ad Hesidrum CLX mill.,"[16] we feel that he means to give the whole breadth of the Pañjâb, and when Arrian[17] states that Megasthenes had been at the courts of Sandracottus, "the greatest king of the Indians, and of Porus who was even greater," we should surely understand that in his opinion Porus was not merely the Râjâ of one of the Doâbs of the Pañjâb, but the king or overlord of a large territory, or at least the head of a confederacy for the defence of the North-West Frontier against foreign invaders.

It was in this sense that Burnes, a very shrewd observer, remarks that Rañjît Singh had the same sized army as Porus, counting guns for war-chariots, and that the same country will generally produce the same number of troops.[18]

What has been said above, perhaps at too great length, may serve as an introduction to the discussion of some disputed points which have been dealt with in an unexceptionable manner by Mr. Vincent Smith so far as the documents are concerned, but upon which local experience may have to say the last word.

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12 *Early History*, p 238. Date, 384 A. D.

13 *Gandhâra*, p. 37

14 *Indian Architecture*, p. 660.

15 Arrian, *Anab.* Book V., Chap. 20, and Book V., Chap. 5.

16 Plin, VI. 21, Ed. Delphin. The figures vary in other Editions.

17 *Indica*, Chap. V.

18 Burnes, I. p. 59.

Thanks to Colonel Deane and M. Foucher, the route of Alexander through Gandhâra appears to have been determined almost beyond question. M. Foucher, however, assumes too much in supposing that this was the ancient road of commerce between India and the North-West. It is possible that the direct road from Peshâwar to Attock is modern But it must always be remembered that on this side of the Jihlam wheeled carriage is also modern, and that ancient roads went across ravines and along the sandy beds of nullahs. Both Attock and Khairâbâd were places of importance long before the first Muhammadan invasion. The hill at Khairâbâd, which in the opinion of Löwenthal was Aornos, is surmounted by the remains of a Buddhist castle attributed to Râjâ Hodi. And seeing that boat-bridges were understood in the time of Alexander, it is not likely that so good a position for one was neglected. At the same time the road from the Khyber and Peshâwar used by Bâbar ran to the south of the present Grand Trunk Road, and crossed the Indus at Nîlâb, 15 miles below Attock. Here there is a convenient ferry and some interesting tombs in the style of the earlier Muhammadans. This road has the advantage of avoiding the Haro as well as the Kâbul river, as the present writer once found by experience when detained for two or three days by a flood in the former stream. According to Strabo and the historians, Alexander was at Taxila in the beginning of spring 326 B. C., or perhaps about the middle of February, when native gentlemen pay complimentary visits in white clothes, and remark that the season has changed.[19] He arrived at the Hydaspes a month or two later and defeated Porus at the commencement of the rainy season.

This distribution of the time allows several months for preparation in a friendly country, and only two or three for all that followed between the battle of the Hydaspes and the check upon the Hyphasis. Knowing these rivers at all times of the year, and under all conditions, I could not avoid the conclusion that the real date for the passage of the Hydaspes was, as stated by Arrian, the month of Mounychion in the archonship of Hêgêmôn, and that Mounychion in that year occurred as early as April rather than as late as June. It was a matter of prime importance to cross the river before it was in high flood, and no sufficient explanation is given of the supposed delay.

When Alexander reached the banks of the Hydaspes[20] he found the army of Porus on the opposite side, and detachments of the enemy's forces guarding all parts of the river where a passage might be made. Arrian seems to say that he made raids across the river into the enemy's country, but, however this may be, to get the bulk of his army across without being observed would have been impossible. What he actually did has been repeated by the Japanese during the last few months. By a rapid night march under favourable conditions of weather he moved a large force fifteen or twenty miles higher up the stream, and was across before Porus could prevent him.

The question now arises whether this manœuvre could have been carried out in July when the river was in high flood. Burnes gives an amusing account of his adventures when crossing the Biâs on his journey from Amritsar to Lûdiâna in August 1831. The river was swollen to a mile in width from rain. The current exceeded five miles an hour. They were nearly two hours in crossing, and landed about two miles below the point from which they started. The boats are mere rafts with a prow; they bend frightfully, and are very unsafe, yet elephants, horses, cattle, and guns are conveyed across on them. They passed in safety, but an accident occurred on one of the small channels which might have proved serious. They attempted the passage on an elephant, but no sooner had the animal got out of his depth than he rolled over, wheeling round at the same time to regain the bank. After this they crossed on inflated skins supporting a frame-work.[21]

19 When Burnes was with Rañjît Singh at Lahore the festival of spring was celebrated with lavish magnificence on the 6th February.

20 Arrian, *Anab.* V. ch. 9.

21 Burnes, III. p. 178.

When the river flows evenly between high banks a passage may be obtained easily and rapidly throughout the rainy season, but the boat is carried some way down stream, and to bring it back again to the starting point must be a work of time. The secret and sudden collection of a flotilla for the transport of an army of 10,000 men and 5,000 horses, and their conveyance across the Hydaspes when in high flood after a long march, has always seemed to me incomprehensible. It is a question, however, for military experts, who, so far as I know, have hitherto raised no objection to the received account. The description given by Arrian is anyhow more consistent with a series of operations carried out not later than the first half of May, which may have been partly hindered and partly assisted by the accident of stormy weather. The explanation of the character of the rainy season at the end of Chap. IX.[22] may be a commentary borrowed from Eratosthenes, or some one who was more familiar with the climate of the Ganges valley. A similar description of the climate of "a great part of the country" is given by Elphinstone.[23] At Râwal Pindi, however, it is said that there is more rain in the dry season than in the monsoon, which seldom breaks before the end of July. It must be admitted that this view contradicts the apparent meaning of the written record, but the historians seem to me to have been dominated by the current opinion of a dry and rainy season which is not true of this part of India.

However this may be, an early date for the battle of the Hydaspes gives no more time than is required for the alarms and excursions, ship-building, and other events which occurred before Alexander started in the autumn upon his voyage down to the sea.

The road which he followed between Taxila and the place where he met Porus is a question of less importance except as involving several nice points, military, geographical or political. The subject has been treated from many points of view. Burnes,[24] who travelled up the right bank of the Jihlam from Pind Dâdan Khân to Dârâpur, and thence by Rohtâs and the Bakrâla Pass, was at first inclined to regard the extensive ruins near Dârâpuras Boukephala, and Mong on the other side as Nicæa, but afterwards thought the place must be at Jihlam which he supposed to be on the high road from Tartary to Hindostan. There was more than one high road from Tartary to Hindostan, and Burnes himself was perhaps treading unconsciously in the footsteps of Alexander. It is difficult to compress within reasonable limits all that may be said against, or in favour of, such a view, but it may be worth while to notice some considerations which have not hitherto been fully discussed.

Next to Taxiles and Porus the most important chief with whom Alexander had dealings at this time was Abisares. Abisares, according to Dr. Stein, was Râjâ of the lower hill country between the Hydaspes and Akesines, and it seems likely that he had control of the tract of hill and plain which includes Tilla, Rohtâs, and Jihlam. As the lord of the salt mines must always have been an important political personage, so the control of the dépôt for deodar logs, then, as now, probably at or near Jihlam, must have been in the hands of a strong ruler. For the conduct of this important trade in timber implies at least friendly commercial relations with those who worked the forests in Kaśmîr and Khâgân, and the employment of a number of skilled labourers to forward the logs down stream to the dépôt.

Whoever he may have been, whether Abisares or another, he held the keys of two difficult passes. The Bakrâla Pass to the north was guarded by the ancient fortress of Rohtâs opposite to it on the Tilla range. The enormous castle built here by Shêr Shâh in the sixteenth century, with a view to an expected invasion from Persia, encloses the old Hindu town rich in legends of an earlier age. The southern pass of Khârian in the Pabbi hills, through which the Grand Trunk Road passes, was not of much importance in early times.

[22] Arrian, *Anab.* V. ch. 9.

[23] *History of India* p. 4.

[24] Burnes, I. p. 57. There is no primæval mound as at Mong, but the ground is strewn for miles with large bricks, and there are old wells and foundations

According to General Cunningham,[25] before the British occupation the Pabbi hills were crossed by only one carriage-road, **the Khori Pass, five miles above Rasûl,** where the river pierces the Pabbi range, and about fifteen miles below Jihlam. Rasûl was the site of the entrenched camp of the Sikh Army between the battles of Chilianwâla and Gujrât in 1849. It commands the ferry at Dârâpur, the roads to Jihlam on both sides of the river, and the roads to Lahore either by Wazîrâbâd or Râmnagar. It was also the nearest point across the river to the only great city of ancient times between Taxila and Lahore, the ruins which Burnes was inclined to identify with Boukephala. Whether Alexander came by the upper road through the Bakrâla Pass and Rohtâs, or by the easy but narrow defile of Jalâlpur, it is difficult to imagine that Porus would entangle his army among the Pabbi hills without regard to his base and communications, which lay at the mercy of his enemy, or that the battle was fought anywhere but in the neighbourhood of Chilianwâla. With a different result but under similar conditions, the same game was played over again when Shêr Singh met Sir Hugh Gough at Chilianwâla and Gujrât, and if Abisares played fast and loose with both sides, it was only the course of conduct which was pursued by his successor Gulâb Singh in 1845. The supposition that the main road from Jihlam went through the Pabbi hills and the Khârian Pass seems to be an anachronism, and no other reason has been given for placing the army of Porus in so dangerous a position. **From Taxila to the Hydaspes Alexander had the choice of two main roads.** Either of them would be practicable provided that the passes were in the hands of friends. The main chain of the Salt Range commences in the lofty hill of Chêl formed by the convergence of three spurs, two of which extend as far as the Himalayan outliers. The first is traversed by the Grand Trunk Road at Bakrâla, and twenty miles lower down by the Dudhiâl-Jâlâlpur road at the gap through which the Bunhâr nullah flows. The spur on which Rohtâs rests is terminated at this end by the Bunhâr, and at the other end by the Kuhân nullah, and by the valley of the Jihlam, which flows through the Pabbi range near the apex of the triangle.

The lower road which emerges near Jalâlpur, though easy enough, is narrow, and might be blocked by an enemy. One might suppose that the lord of the Salt Mines would hold Jalâlpur, and control this pass, and that, except in times of civil war, the wardens of the Bakrâla and Jalâlpur passes would be responsible to a suzerain at Lahore. It should be observed that **Rohtâs commands** not only the precipitous descent from Bakrâla, but also, though at a greater distance, the gaps in the Chêl and Rohtâs ranges through which the other road passes by easy gradients along the course of the Bunhâr nullah either to Jalâlpur or Dârâpur. The lower roads to Lahore and Hindostan naturally fell out of use, when the "Bâr" became a desert, but there is much evidence of their popularity in very early times. Pliny's mileage seems to agree with that of a direct road from Lahore by Kasûr to Mathurâ and thence to Kanauj. **The four ancient fortresses,**[26] almost due south from Lahore, Abôhur, Bhatinda, Bhatnîr, and Sirsa, forming a quadrilateral with a face of 50 miles in each direction, were built in the same style, it is said, about 1300 years ago to block the road of invasion from the North-West. It is not easy to understand why Alexander should prefer a more difficult road near the mountains. As Arrian[27] judiciously observes, he would be likely to cross the rivers where they were broader and less rapid. Political considerations may have influenced him, and the help of Porus may have been purchased by a condition that the Greek army should not pass through the Kingdom of Lahore.

It is open to doubt whether Alexander's forces would be more likely to descend upon the Hydaspes through the Bakrâla or the Bunhâr Pass. At Râwal Pindi, Tôp Manikyâla, and Dârâpur, there are remains of cities which must have flourished in the Buddhist age, and perhaps earlier, while the lower road, with many traces of great antiquity, has nothing of importance to show between

[25] *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 166 [26] *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. II. p. 378. [27] *Arrian*, V. ch. 20.

Taxila and Jalâlpur. The march may have been by both lines, while the leader himself climbed the conspicuous peak of Jogi Tilla to consult the oracle which had already warned Porus to make terms with his cousin, the son of Jove.[23] Supposing that Dârâpur, Jalâlpur, and Pind Dâdan Khân were strongly held by Sopeithes, the king of the Salt Range, the line of the Grand Trunk Road, occupied, in the interest of both parties, by the faithless Abisares, may have furnished the only available line of advance. But whether Porus was merely the Râjâ of a petty state, or a king "greater than Sandrocottus," he must have been in some sense warden of the marches, in command of an army drawn from the greater part of the upper Pañjâb, and depending for his communications and supplies upon the country now known as the "Bâr," south of the Grand Trunk Road. After deciding on general grounds that the camp of Porus must have been in the open country somewhere opposite to Jâlalpur, it seems hardly worth while to compare the two possible battlefields from the indications of the Greek historians. Abbott examined the ground in the neighbourhood of Jihlam, and Cunningham that at Jalâlpur, and both were satisfied that they had found a field for manœuvre and battle which would satisfy the conditions of Arrian's graphic description. Neither of them, perhaps, made sufficient allowance for the changes which a great river produces in the lapse of ages, particularly if swollen by periodical rains and the snows of Himâlaya. Bearing in mind the general rule that a river has been over every part of the valley through which it flows, and that one inch of erosion or deposit will amount to more than 60 yards in 2,000 years, we must recognise that the river which separated Porus and Alexander in 326 B. C. was not in all respects similar to that upon which Shêr Singh and Gough manœuvred in 1849 A. D. When the Jihlam leaves the Himâlaya on its right bank it continues to wash the hard limestone *dêbris* of the Rohtâs range, "its waters gushing over a bed of white quartz boulders," as described by Abbott, but the Pabbi hills on the left bank belong to the Siwâlik range,[29] which edges the Himâlaya from the Jihlam to Assam. These deposits, consisting of soft sandstone, clay, and conglomerates, afford a weak barrier to a powerful river, and, in consequence, although the high right bank of the Jihlam may be regarded as comparatively a fixed boundary, the islands and channels in the bed of the stream cannot be the same for long periods of historical time. From this it follows that even if Abbott and Cunningham have both made out a good case for Alexander's night march, conditions of crossing the river must be so changed that no identification of localities is possible. There are still wooded islands above Dârâpur, remnants of the Pabbi hills. Above Jihlam there is no wood except shrubs, and the alluvial islands are of a different character to those where the river passes through the Pabbi range. Any doubt upon this point might be set at rest by a competent geologist on the spot.

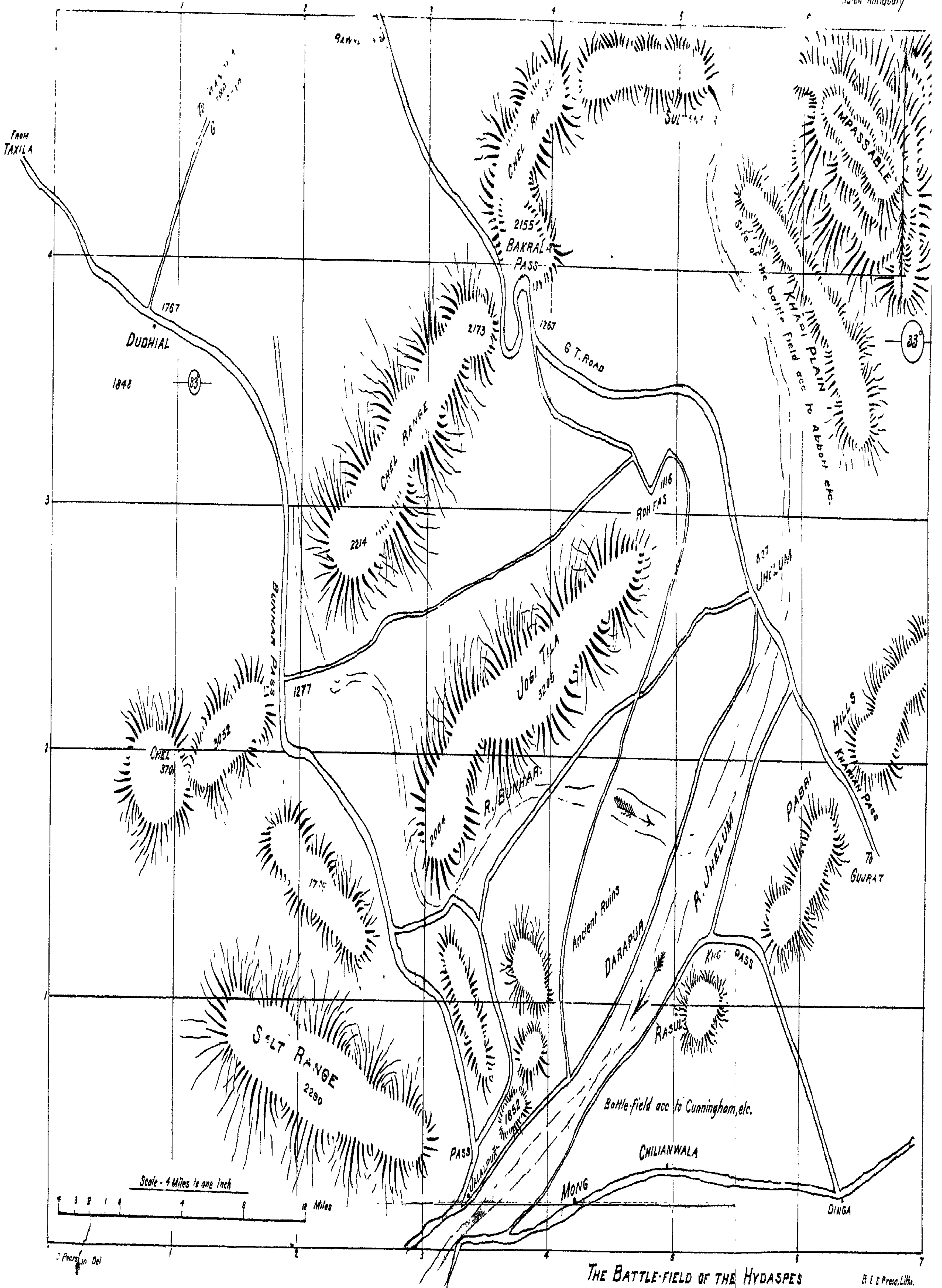
It may be remarked by the way that Abbott's evidence, so far as it goes, is strongly in favour of an early date for the battle. His survey was made in April under usual conditions. He speaks of the "crystal Hydaspes" which he forded upon his elephant. But he was strangely mistaken in supposing that at this time there was a greater depth of water than in the rainy season. His informants may have intended him to understand that when the river is at its highest from melted snow, that is, early in July, before a drop of monsoon rain has fallen, the water is "a foot deeper" than it is on an average in August and September. For all I know this may be the case. Certainly, the rivers of the Pañjâb are not so high in April as they are towards the end of May, when the boat-bridges are dismantled, until the autumn.

The road, by which Cunningham supposes the night march to have been made, seems well suited for moving a large body of troops without the knowledge of a watchful enemy on the left bank of the river. It is screened by a range of lofty hills and is sufficiently remote from the river without being so far from it as to make the term "parallel" inexact,[30] especially if the Jihlam has been pushed further away by the encroaching sands of the Bunhâr nullah. One advantage of this last hypothesis will be that we get the "notable bend" in the course of the river, of which Arrian speaks, at the

[28] Cunningham, *Geogr. Ind* p. 165, quoting Plutarch

[29] *Imperial Gazetteer*, V. p. 409 and elsewhere.

[30] If Cunningham cannot go to the river, the river must be brought to Cunningham.



THE BATTLE-FIELD OF THE HYDASPES

Pearson Del
R. E. S. Press, Litho.

point of crossing. If it were permissible to speculate upon minute details, one might hazard a conjecture that Alexander with the cavalry made a détour through the Khori Pass, five miles above Rasûl, while Meleager, with the mercenary troops, crossed the river at Dârâpur after the engagement had commenced.

It is probable, however, that if such were the case, so important a manœuvre would not have escaped notice in the narrative.

In conclusion, I feel, that some apology from me is due for dogmatizing upon subjects which have been handled by others far more competent than myself. It is more than twenty years since I left India, and my knowledge of the literature is not up-to-date. In particular, I am not well acquainted with the work of Dr. Stein, who enjoyed similar opportunities, together with qualifications in which I am deficient Nor do I know General Chesney's lecture, quoted by McCrindle (p. 94), in support of the view that Jalâlpur was the position of Alexander's camp. Chesney is of course a first-class authority on a military question, but he overrates the difficulty of the march upon Jalâlpur when he speaks of Alexander "threading his way through the intricate ravines of the upper part of the Salt range." For pack animals the Dudhiâl-Jalâlpur road is easier than either the Bakrâla or Khârian Passes. Cunningham's very considerable services towards the right understanding of these problems were perhaps impaired by some unwillingness to learn from any one else. On the whole, the time seems to have come for some one, well acquainted with the country and competent in other respects, to review the various opinions which have been offered, to eliminate those which are untenable, and to carry our knowledge a little further than it can claim to have reached hitherto.

THE AGNIKULA; THE FIRE-RACE.

BY S. KRISHNASVAMI AIYANGAR, M A., BANGALORE.

IN one of his interesting contributions entitled "Some Problems of Ancient Indian History," published in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1905, p. 1 ff., Dr. Hoernle regards the Paramâra Râjputs as the only family that laid claim to belong to the **Agnikula or Fire-race** before the time of the poet Chand (*loc. cit.* p. 20), and, so far, the evidence all seems to point to any such claim being not found earlier than the middle of the eleventh century. That, however, does not preclude an earlier existence of the legend. It would be interesting, therefore, if the legend could be traced to an earlier period than that of the Paramâras of Mâlwâ. In the early classical literature of the Tamils, there is a reference to this same legend, and there appears to have been in that part of India a family of ancient chiefs who claimed descent from the Sacrificial Fire.

There have been **in the Tamil land** a certain number of chiefs, whose names have been handed down to posterity as the Last Seven Patrons of Letters, the patron *par excellence* among them having been **Pâri of Parambunâḍu.** This chief had a life-long friend in the person of a highly esteemed Brahman, **Kapilar,** who was a poet *sui generis* in a particular department of the poetical art. "The three crowned kings of the south," — the Chêra, the Chôḷa, and the Pâṇḍya, — growing jealous of the power and prosperity of Pâri as a patron of poets, laid siege conjointly to his hill-fort, Muḷḷûr. Pâri having fallen a victim to this combination, it fell to the lot of his Brahman friend to get his daughters suitably married, to bring about acceptable marriages being one of the six special duties of Brahmans in the social system. He therefore took the girls over successively to two chiefs, Vichchikkôn and Puli Kaḍi Mâl Iṟungôvêḷ of Aṟayam. This latter chief is addressed by the poet in these terms: — "Having come out of **the sacrificial fire-pit of the Rishi,** — having ruled over the camp of Dvârapathi, whose high walls looked as though they were built of copper, — having come after forty-nine generations of

patrons never disgusted with giving, — thou art the patron among patrons."[1] The allusion to the coming out of the sacrificial fire of the sage cannot but refer to the same incident as the other versions discussed by Dr. Hoernle. The chief thus addressed was a petty chief of a place called **Arayam**, composed of the smaller and the larger cities of that name, in the western hill-country, somewhere in the regions of the Western Ghâts in the south of Mysore.

The more important question, exactly relevant to the discussion, is: — **What is the time of this author and his hero?** This has, so far, reference to times anterior to epigraphical records, and has therefore to be considered on literary data alone. This poet, Kapilar, is connected with a number of chiefs and kings, and is one of a galaxy of poets of high fame in classical Tamil literature.

According to the *Tiruviḷaiyâdal Purânam*, **Kapilar** was born in Tiruvâdavûr, and was a Brahman by birth. The tradition that he was one of the seven children of the Brahman Bhagavan, through the non-caste woman Âdi, is not well supported by reliable literary evidence. But if this tradition be true — (there are some inconsistent elements in it), — he must have been the brother of Tiruvalluvar, the author of the *Kuṛaḷ*, and of the poetess Avvaiyâr. This relationship, however, is nowhere in evidence in contemporary literature.

So far as they are available at present, **his works**, — all of them being "Paradises of Dainty Devices" in Tamil literature, — are: —

(1) The seventh of the *Padirruppattu*, the "Ten-Tens," in praise of the Chêramân Selvakkaduṅgôvâḻyâdan.

(2) *Kuriñjippâṭṭu* of Pattuppâṭṭu, the "Ten-Idylls," to teach Brahasta, the Aryan king, Tamil.

(3) *Iṅguṟunûṟu*, *Kuriñji Section*, the whole anthology having been collected and brought out by Kûdalûr Kiḻâr for the Chêra "Prince of the Elephant-eye" (Yânaikkatchêy).

(4) *Innâ*, "that which is evil and as such to be avoided," 40.

(5) 20 stanzas in *Narriṇai*, 29 in *Kurunthogai*, 16 in *Ahanânûṟu*, and 31 in *Puranânûṟu*.

Kapilar appears, from his works, and from the high esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries, poets and potentates, and from the great approval with which he is quoted by grammarians and commentators alike, to have been a specialist in composing poems relating to *Kuriñji*, *i.e.*, the hill-country, this being the scene of the inward feelings evoked, such as love, and the outward action induced by inward feelings.

As to **details of the author's life**, we have but little information. Of course, he sang in praise of the Châramân Sêlvakkaduṅgô, and received a large reward. Otherwise, he appears to have been the life-long guest and intimate friend of his patron, Pâri of Paṟambunâdu. It was after the death of this chief that the poet went about with his daughters to obtain for them eligible husbands, and that the allusive reference to the Agnikula descent was made for Iruṅgôvêḷ.

This **Pâri of Paṟambunâḍu** was one of the Seven Patrons, besides the Three Kings, who flourished about the same generation in South India.[2] All these are celebrated in the poem called Sirupâṇâṟṟuppadai of Nallûr Nattattanâr, who sang in praise of Êrumânâṭṭu Nalliyakkôdan, as a more liberal patron than the "Three Kings" and the "Seven Patrons." These poems are rhapsodies of a Homeric character, sung on occasions by wandering minstrels, who received sumptuous rewards for their labour. The plan of the Sirupâṇ is that a wandering minstrel is at a loss to know where he could find a patron, and one such, returning from the court of the

[1] *Puranânûru*, 200, 201. Pandit Swaminatha Iyer's Edition.

[2] *Pattuppâṭṭu*, Pandit Swaminatha Iyer's Edition, 3rd poem.

patron, solves the puzzle by pointing to the particular personage who is the object of praise. As a rule, therefore, these poems are directly addressed to the patron by the poet. And this circumstance makes them of great importance for purposes of the history and social condition of those times.

Unfortunately, however, the author does not mention the Three Kings by any specific names, — a matter of indifference to them, as they could not have had any idea of the rise of laborious students of history among their posterity. But the Seven Patrons are referred to specifically enough. And certain of the details relating to the Kings themselves give important clues. The Seven Patrons are, in the order given by the poet: — Pêhan, round about the Palnis; Pâri, along the Western Ghâts further north, Kâri, round about Tirukkôvalûr in South Arcot, Ây, round about Padiyil Hill in the west of Tinnevelly: Adihaman, of Tagadûr, either the place of that name in the Mysore country or Dharmapuri preferably,[3] Naḻḻi, of Malanâdu (there is nothing else by which to fix his exact locality); and Ôri, with his territory round about Kolli Malai in Salem. The Chôla is associated with Uraiyûr, and the Chêra with Vañji, — specifically, and not in the general terms in which the Mahârâjas of Travancore are nowadays styled.

Kapilar is generally associated with **Paraṇar**; and the two together are usually spoken of by the older commentators Kapila-Paranar. That this is due to contemporaneousness, is proved by the fact that Kapilar was an elder contemporary of "the Chêra of the Elephant-look" in whose reign the *Iṅgurunûru* collection, of which Kapilar composed the third part, was made by Kûdalûr Kilar, a Sangam celebrity. Further, both these poets, Kapilar and Paranar, interceded with Pêhan on behalf of his wife when he deserted her in favour of another woman. Thus, then, Kapilar and Paranar were contemporaries, and the latter celebrated Śenguttuvan Sêra in the third section of the "Ten-Tens." This, therefore, takes the Agnikula tradition to the age of **Śeṅguṭṭuvan**, who was the grandson of Karikâla-Chôla. This Karikâla is placed in the Leyden Grant and in the Kaliṅgattupparaṇi far anterior to Parântaka I., and the Śilappadhikâram itself makes Śeṅguṭṭuvan the contemporary of a Gajabâhu of Ceylon, whose date is held to be A. D. 113 to 125.

The name of Pâri had become proverbial for liberality in the days of Sundaramûrti-Nâyanâr. This latter must have lived centuries before Râjarâja the Great, as some of his grants make donations to the image of the Nâyanâr. It was Râjarâja's contemporary, Nambi Âṇḍâr Nambi, who elaborated the *Tiruthondathogai* of Sundara. On these and other considerations, Sundaramûrti has been alloted to the eighth century of the Christian era, and therefore Kapilar and others have to be looked for at a respectable distance anterior to this. For, between the date of Sundara and the fifth century A. D., the Pallavas of Kâñchî occupied the premier position in South India, and there is absolutely no reference to this in the body of the literature to which the works under consideration belong.

The Chêra capital, as given in all these works, is Vañji, on the west coast, at the mouth of the Periyâr, while the Chôla capital was Uraiyûr. In the later period, from the days of Kulaśêkhara-Alwar, the Chêra capital certainly was Quilon. This change is said to have taken place, according to tradition, after the days of Chêramân-Perumâḷ, who was a contemporary of Sundara. Besides this, the language of the whole of the south was Tamil, Malayâlam had not yet become differentiated from it. These considerations, again, would lead us to refer **Kapilar** and the galaxy to a period **anterior to the seventh century**, according to even the most unfavourable estimate.

But, in point of fact, the time referred to is much earlier than this. The contemporaneousness of Gajabâhu refers the period of Kapilar to **the second century A. D.**; and this, so far,

[3] See Vol. XXII, above, pp. 66 and 143, and *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI. p. 331.

has not been shown to be incorrect. There was at any rate a king Gajabâhu previous to the days of Mahânâman, the author of the earlier part of the *Mahâvamśa*.

Thus, then, the tradition of a race of rulers whose eponymous ancestor was born from the sacrificial fire of a Rishi is far older than the period for which Dr. Hoernle has found authority. This does not necessitate the affiliation of the one dynasty to the other. It only shows that the legend is very much older, and might have been laid hold of by ruling families at great distances, and otherwise unconnected, for the embellishment of genealogies, just as in the case of the Greeks of yore.

NOTES ON THE TIRUVELLARAI INSCRIPTIONS.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI, B.A., M.F.L.S.

TIRUVELLARAI is an ancient village 8 miles north of Trichinopoly. It is in a rocky situation and reminds one of the ancient Jaina settlements. It has been the birth-place of many famous Śrî-Vaishṇava *âchâryas* and is to this day the most important centre of the Pûrvaśikhâ Brâhmaṇs who have contributed not a few famous leaders to Śrî-Vaishṇava thought. The Vaishnava temple in the village has been sung by the two Vaishṇava saints, **Periya-Âḻvâr** and **Tirumaṅgai-Âlvâr.** There is also a temple dedicated to Śiva which is neglected. To the south of the Śaiva temple there is another ruined shrine. The god of the Vaishnava temple is known as **Puṇḍarîkâksha** or **Sendâmaraikkaṇṇar**, and the goddess **Paṅgayachchelvi.** This temple is built upon a small rock, below which is a cave temple, with no god, however, placed in it.

The saint **Tirumaṅgai-Âḻvâr,** when extolling Puṇḍarîkâksha, must refer to this cave in his expression "*Kallarai mel Veḷḷarai yay,*" which means "the white chamber over the rock chamber." The *garbhagṛiha*, or *sanctum sanctorum*, of this temple is an exact counterpart of that of Arulâla Perumâl at Conjeeveram (Kâñchîpuram), where the Vaishṇava god is supposed to have his mansion built upon Hastigiri. At Tiruveḷḷaṛai the Vaishṇava mansion is called Śvêtâdri.

There are three enclosures (*prâkâras*) in the Tiruvellaṛai temple, the first two being studded with inscriptions. Most of these appear, however, to have suffered much from wanton hands and are mostly unreadable, while the few that are readable are not very old. In the rock-cut cave underneath the Vaishnava shrine, on the pillars, there are a number of very badly damaged inscriptions of **Râjakêsarivarman** and perhaps of **Madiraikoṇḍa Parakêsarivarman.** On the rock above the cave there are two fairly well preserved epigraphs of **Kulôttuṅga I.** in *maṇipravâḷam, i. e.* a mixture of Sanskṛit and Tamil. Besides these there are a few badly preserved inscriptions. On the walls of the Puṇḍarîkâksha temple there are a few inscriptions of **Tribhuvanachakravartin Râjarâja III.** and of the **Vijayanagara kings,** besides a large number wantonly erased. There are also fragments belonging to the time of **Râjarâja I.** and **Râjêndra-Chôḷa I.** on a *maṇḍapa* to the west of the *balipîṭha*. On the left side of the entrance (in the south wall) there are a few records of **the later Pâṇḍya kings.**

There are a few pieces of fine sculpture on the base of the central shrine.

The Śaiva temple contains a few well preserved inscriptions, which are transcribed below, and the ruined temple to the south of it, already mentioned, also bears some in good preservation, but the whole place is so overgrown with prickly-pear that it is difficult of approach.

The Chôla king **Madiraikoṇḍa Parakêsarivarman** of the inscriptions at Tiruveḷḷaṛai is alluded to in several Tamil works as the **Kalingattuparaṇi** and the **Tiruviśaippâ.** From other inscriptions it is known that he also conquered Ceylon. **No. 10 of the subjoined inscriptions** is a **fine Pallava grant,** but unfortunately, as a portion of it has been built over, nothing definite can be said about it. The ndivarma in line 3 may be **Nandivarma**

or **Dantivarma** of the Pallava family, as he is said to belong to the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* (*vide* line 1). The left half of this inscription has been cut away to give place for the foundation of the Amman temple. In addition to those given below, there is one of **Râjêndra-Chôḷa I.**, but, being much damaged, it was not copied.

The formation of certain **letters** in these inscriptions is worthy of notice. *Rai*, instead of being written with the *ai* mark and *ra* separately, is written as one letter, as *lai*, *ḷai*, and *ṉai*. There are some **words**, too, the formation of which might interest the philologist. The Sanskṛit word *Kâtyâyana* has been transformed into *Kâchchâṇan*[1] and *Kâśyapa* into *Kâchchuvan*.

THE TIRUVEḶḶARAI INSCRIPTIONS.

No. I.

On a rock to the South of the Akhilâṇḍanâyaki shrine in the Jambukêśvara temple at Tiruveḷḷaṟai: —

1. Svasti Śrî Madiraikoṇḍa kô=Pparakêsaripa-
2. ṉmaṟk=iyâṇḍu padiṉaindâ[va]du iv-
3. vâṇḍu Tiruveḷḷa[ṟai] Tiruvâ[ṉai]kkal-mâ . .
4. yittiyayiṉa Nakkaṉ Mallaṉ
5. Tiruvâṉaikkal perumâṉadi-
6. kaḷukku tirunond[â]viḷakku
7. iravum pakalum eriṗpadar-
8. ku vaitta pon muppati[ṉ] kaḷa-
9. ñju chandrâdityaa[vara] paṇmûlapa
10. mûlaparudaiyâr rakshai

No. II.

To the north of No. 1 on the same rock: —

1. Svasti Śrî kôv=Irâjakêsaripaṉmaṟku yâ-
2. ṇḍu 3ṉṟu vadu Tiruvellarai Tiruvâṉaik-
3. kaḷ peru[mana]ḍikaḷuchcha[m]pôdu amudu śey-
4. yumpôdu Vêdama[va]llânoru Brâhmaṇa-
5. ṉ uttamakkramattu ûṭṭuvidâka ivûr
6. Chchattuv[â]y Kañjan Dâmôḍiraṉ ivûr
7. kkallâl vachcha poṉ eḷupadiṉ kaḷañ-
8. ju ippoṉṉin paliśaiyâl ûṭṭuvadâ-
9. ṉapadi tâlamoṉṟu vaṭṭil=oṉṟu pattet-
10. tu kuttal paḷavariśi nâḍuri kumm[â]yamu[ḷ]
11. ney âlâkkum ppaḷam=iraṇḍum kâykka-
12. [ṟi]puḷiṅgari tayir nâli porikkari kâmi[lai]
13. pakkiraṇḍu ippariśu śandirâdittavara û-
14. ṭṭuvôm[â]nô mulapaṟiḍaiyôm ira-
15. kshai

No. III.

To the north of No. II. on the same rock: —

1. Svasti Śrî Madi[r]ai[ko]ṇḍa kô=Pparakê-
2. śaripanmarku yâṇ[ḍi]rupattoṉrâvadu iv-
3. vâṇḍu Tiruveḷḷarai=ttiruvâṉaikkal peru-

[1] See inscription No. IV., line 4, and also No. XII., line 8.

4. mâ[n]nadıka[l]lukku Tiruvellaraı[2] Angaı[2]
5. va[ttı]kal Tıruvadık[â or l]van tırunondâ-
6. vılakku iravûm pakalûm erıppadaka kudut-
7. ta pon ırupattırukalañju sa[n]drâditya-
8. var Mulaparudaıyâr rakshaı

No. IV.

Below No. III. on the same rock:—

1. Svasti Srî Madıraikonda kô=Pparakêsaripa-
2. nmakku yându padınâlâvadu ıvvându
3. Tıruvellaraı=Ttiruvânaıkkal=pperumânadi-
4. kalukku Nângûr-nâttu dêvadânam Nângûr-Kâch-
5. chânan Tattan Chandıraśêkharan vaichcha no-
6. ndâvılakku iravum pakalum erivadâka kudut-
7. ta pon muppadın kalañju śa[n]dıâdityavat sa-
8. bhâıyâr[2] rakshâı.[2]

No. V.

On the same rock, but to the north of the Akhilândanâyaki shrine in the Jambukêśvara emple at Tıruvellarai·—

1. [Svasti] Srî Madıraikonda kô=Ppara-
2. [kêśarı]vanmakku yându 30tâvadu Tiru
3. [vella]raı Tiruvânaıkkal perumânadi-
4. [kalukku i]vvûr Sâttuvâykumara vañs[e]n
5. tan[. . . . a] mudukku vaichcha pon 30,
6. [. . . . .] kalañju ponnittâl van
7. ta [. . . . .]r Narana [Muve]. .
8. . . . .

No. VI.

On the same rock below No. IV.:—

1. Svasti Srî Madiraikonda kô Parakêśaripa-
2. nmarkku yându muppa[t]tu ârâvadu Tıruve-
3. llarai Tiruvânaıkkal=pperumânadikalukku i-
4. vvûr madhyasthan Karanattân tirutteyam vait-
5. ta tirunondâvılakku chandradıtyâvad=erıya vait[ta] tiruno
6. ndâvılakku [ı]tark[ku] kudutta pon Tiruvellaraıkkal[lâl]
7. kalañja potta[n] muppadin kalañju pon kudutta ni-
8. laivilakku onrum ipponnil pokam kondu
9. tirunondavilakkerippôm ânôm Tiruvellarai mûlapari-
10. daiyôm rakshai.

No. VII.

On the same rock below No. II.:—

1. Svastí Sri Madiraikonda kô Parakêśari-
2. parumarkku yandu 13 âvadu Tiruvâ-
3. [naı]ykal perum[â]nadikalukku Tiruv[e]-
4. llaraıy Chchâtûvây Kâdankâri ti-
5. runondâvilakkiravum pakalum erip-
6. tarkku vaitta pon muppatin kalañju śan-
7. dirâ[dı]ttavaraı mûlaparidai-
8. yâr rikshai [pi]râkadam

2 *raı* and *kai* are written with double *e* marks as ெெர and ெெக

No. VIII.

On the same rock to the north of No. III.: end of each line built in.—

1. Svasti Śri Madirai ko . . . .
2. ṇdu 23 âvadu ivvûr . . . .
3. t=tirumâl Kovan man . . . .
4. vellaṛai=Ttiruvâ[nai] . . . .
5. dityavat oru nondâviḷa . . . .
6. toṇṇûṛu idu mulaparu . . . .

No. IX.

On the same rock below No. VIII.:—

1. Svasti Sri kôv=Irâjakêśaripanmaṛkku [yâṇ]-
2. ḍu 3 âvadu Tiruveḷḷarai Tiruvânai[kkal]
3. perumânadi[ka]ḷ uch[cha]mpôdu amudu śeyum[pôdu]
4. Vêdam vallâ[n] oru Brâhmananai [ût]-
5. ṭuvidâka Uraiyûrmani grâmattu Nârâ[yaṇaṉ]
6. nâchchan ivvûr kallâ[l] va[ch]cha poṉ añ[padi]-
7. n kalañju ponnin paliśaiyinâl Ti . . . .
8. mâka kramathi ûṭṭuvadâna padi palavariśi nâ[duri]-
9. yum paruppu u[ḷa]kkaraiyum vâlaippaḻa[m] ira[ṇ]ḍum [ne]-
10. y oru piḍiyum kâykarippuliṅgaṛiyum ppo[rik]-
11. kariyum tayir nâli adaikkây nâlum i[ppa]-
12. di śandivâdittavar ûṭṭuvômâ[nôm]
13. Tiruvâṉaikal vâriyarôm tâla nirai
14. padu va[t]ṭil padin palam mûlapari[dai]-
15. yâr irakshai

No. X.

On the same rock below No. IX.: end of each line built in. Below No. X. there is an inscription belonging to the time of Parakêsari:—

1. Svasti Bhâradva . . . .
2. lya varmahârâja . . . .
3. ndivarmarku yâ . . . .
4. rittaiyâr Brahma . . . .
5. van vendan[3] . . . .
6. n Sâttan śe . . . .
7. tiru marumân peru . . . .
8. va[. .]tan marava . . . .
9. veḷaḷaraiyâr tan . . . .
10. kkan Urudiyâḍai . . . . . .
11. Brâhmadeyattu[3] . . . .
12. than[3] ma[ṛṛa]va . . . .
13. perungâvidi . . . .

No. XI.

On the same rock below No. I.:—

1. Svasti Śri Madiraiko[ṇḍa kô=Ppa]rakêśaripan-
2. marku yâṇḍu muppadâvadu Tiruveḷḷaṛai Tiruvâ-
3. ṉaikaṛ=perumâṉaḍikaḷukk=uchchampôdai tiruvami-

[3] The puḷḷi is marked in these letters.

4. dukku ivûr śsâttuvây sendan Mâdêvan ma-
5. navâtti Kuvâvansendı vachcha pon Tıruv[e]llaṟ[ai]
6. kallâl muppadu palıyu . . . . la ıravum pakalum e-
7. rıya tırunondâvılakkınukku kudutta po-
8. ṉ muppadu t[e]pakulattukku kuḍutta po-
9. n pattu erṟı[. .] elupadin kalañju poṉ[. .]
10. [—]du ippaḍı śeyvıppômanôm śa-
11. ndırâdıttavaraı mulaparudaıyâr=ırakshai

No. XII.

On the west wall of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* in front of the rock-cut Jambukêśvara shrine at Tiruvellaṟai: —

1. Svastı Śrî Madiraikoṇda kô=Pparakêsarıvarmaṟku yâṇdu 39 âvadu Tiruveḷḷaṟaı= Ttıruvâṉai-
2. kkallıl bhaṭṭârakar uchchampôdu amu[du] śeyumpôdu Vêdam vallâr-ıruvar Brahmanarai ûttuvadarku ivûr
3. Kâchchuvaṉ Kesuvaṉ durkkaṉ ıvûr kkallâl kaḷañju poṭṭadu 140-nûṟṟu ṉârpadiṉ kalañju poṉṉıṉ
4. palıśaıyâl karanattâl munnâli paḷavariśiyum=uḷakkupparuppum kâykaṟiyum pulıngariyum porıkkaṟıyum ıvirandu vâlaı-
5. ppalamum tayır ırunâḷıyum neyâḷâkkum âka ippadıyûṭṭuvômânôn=dêvar-ka(n)mıkaḷôm idu mulaparıḍaıyâr rakshaı kâmilai eṭṭu
6. elunâliyal
7. tâlamırandu[va]-
8. ttil=eraṇdumâ[y].
9. ṉâḷı

No. XIII.

On the same wall below No XII · —

1. Svastı Sri kô Râśakêsarıvarmarku yâṇdu 2-randa-âvadu Tıruveḷḷarai Śaṅka-rappâdi Marudan âchchan Tıruvanaikkallıl bhaṭṭârakarku vaı[ṭ]ta no[n]da-vılakku onru idukku vaitta
2. pon 25 irupattu aındu kalañju idu mudal nirka palıśaiyâl Chandrâdityavar erippomânôm=ıvvûr mulaparu[daiyom] — *end, built in.*

MISCELLANEA.

MUHAMMADAN SHRINES IN KURRAM.

BY H. A. ROSE.

THE Tûrîs of Kurram, who are Shias, and consequently great admirers of Alı and hıs descendants, have a large number of Sayyid shrines, which are held ın profound veneration and periodically visited. The prıncıpal ones are the followıng : —

Sayyid Shrines.

At Paiwar: —

(1) Alıma, Gulla *ziârat*, visited by the Paiwaıîs on the two *'Ids*

(2) Sayyıd Mahmûd *ziârat*, visited by the Tûrîs of Paiwar on the 10th of Muharram.

(3) Shâh Mardân.

(4) Sika Râm *ziârat*, on the summit of Sika Râm, the peak of the Sufêd Kôh, is held in high repute both by Hindus and Muhammadans and is believed to be the resting-place of a Sayyid recluse by name Sayyid Karam, who is said to have lıved there for a long time and reared his flocks on the summıt, which came to be known after him as the Sayyid Karam (corrupted into Sika Râm) Peak. The Hındu version, however, is that an Indian hermit named Sakî Râm or Sıkâ Râm used to frequent the peak and pray in solıtude to hıs *dêôtás*. Sayyid Karam had two brothers, Mandêr and Khush Karam, who lıved and prayed on two other peaks, called after them

the Mandêr Peak and the Khush Khiram Peak respectively. The Mandêr Peak is on the Afghân side of the border opposite Burkî village, and its shrine is visited by Jâjis. The Khush Khiram (a corruption of Khush Karam) peak, being on the British side of the border in the south of the Kurram Valley above the Mukbil encampment of Ghozgarhi, is visited by the Tûrîs of Kurram Both these peaks are studded with lofty *dêôdâr* trees and evergreen shrubs which the people ascribe to the numerous virtues of the holy men

At Shalozan —

(1) Imâm *ziârat*.
(2) Sayyid Hasan
(3) Mîr Ibrahîm or Mîr Bîm *ziârat*.
(4) Shâh Mîr Sayyid Ahmad *ziârat*.
(5) Bâbâ Shâh Gul *ziârat*

At Malana —

Shâh Talab *ziârat*.

At Zêrân · —

(1) Shâh Sayyid Rûmi *ziârat*

(2) Mîr Kâsim or Mast Mîr Kâsim *ziârat* at Zêrân is annually resorted to by the Mallî Khêl, Hamza Khêl and Mastu Khêl, *kuchi* (nomad) Tûrîs, in the month of Safar, and a regular fair is held.[1] Sheep and goats are also slaughtered as offerings to the shrine. All the people visiting the *ziârat* are fed by the Zêrân Sayyids, who are said to have been ordered by the saint to do so.

At Karmân —

(1) Shâh Sayyid Fakhr-i-Alam *ziârat*.
(2) Mîr Karîm *ziârat*.

At Sadra —

Abbâs *ziârat*, visited by Tûrî women.

Children are shaved here and vows made for sons.

At Kharlâchî. —

(1) Burqâ Pôsh *ziârat*.
(2) Lâla Gul *ziârat*.

At Nasti Kot: —

The Dwalas (Twelve) Imâms' *ziârat*, said to be the resting-place of the Twelve Imâms of the Shîas.

At Ahmadzai: —

(1) Mîrak Shâh *ziârat*.
(2) Arab Shâh *ziârat*.

At Samir —

Shâh Abbâs' *ziârat*, visited by people of the Ghundî Khel tribe on both the *'Îds* and the Muharram days.

At Balyamin —

(1) Shâh Ishâq *ziârat*, visited by the Alîzais, Bâgzais, Hamza Khêls and Mastu Khêls of Châidiwâi.

(2) Mir Hamza *ziârat*, visited by Mastu Khels and Hamza Khêls, *kuchî* Tûrîs and the Ghilzais of Afghânistân on their way to India.

In the Darwâzgai Pass —

The Diwâna Malang or Laila-Majnûn *ziârat*. in the Darwazgai Pass, is annually visited by the Malli Khêl, Hamza Khêl, Mastu Khêl and Duperzai *kuchî* Turis. A fowl is killed as an offering for every male member of the family. An iron nail is then driven into the trunk of a tree close to the shrine. There is a legend that if a man can climb up the tree at one bound, he is sure to get a horse after a year. A huge black stone lying near the shrine is said to have been split in two in obedience to Laila's command.

At Tongai —

Zar Pîr *ziârat* is visited and venerated both by Shîas and Sunnîs.

At Bâgzai: —

Shâh Ibrahîm *ziârat* is visited by the Tûrîs of Bâgzai and Chârdiwâr. A visit to it is said to be a specific for small-pox.

At Shabak: —

Zarauna Buzurg *ziârat*, near Shabak, is also visited by the Tûrîs. The Tûrî belief is that a gun will not go off at this shrine.

Khânwâdâ Shrines.

Of all the shrines of the Kurram Valley, the following five are the most important. They all belong to Sayyids and are called the five khânwâdâs (families). The Sayyids of the Kurram Valley are descended from these five *khânwâdâs*. A description of them is given below: —

I — Shâh Sayyid Rûmi, whose shrine is at Zêrân, is the patron saint of Zêrân. His descendants, who are called the Rûmi Khêl, Mashhadî or Imâm Razâi Sayyids, are confined to

[1] It is said in connection with this fair, which is held annually at the end of May or beginning of June, that the parents of Mîr Kâsim suggested that he should marry. He replied that rather than marry he would prefer to excavate a water-course from a spring above Zêrân and lead it to the *ziârat*. Accordingly, the chief feature of this fair is the periodical excavation of this water-course when men and women mix freely, just as they do at Chintpurnî, near Bharwâin, in the Hoshiarpur District.

Zêrân and Shâl Khâna, and are much reverenced by the Tûrîs The charms of the Rûmî Khêl Sayyids are considered very potent for curing ailments, and many legends are told about this miracle-working saint —

(i) On one occasion he is said to have presented the building of Mecca to certain Sayyids of the Fakhr-i-Alam Kaol. A stone bearing the names of Allah, the Prophet, Alî and his family is preserved at Zêrân as a testimony of this miracle

(ii) He is said to have once flung a club from Zêrân to Shânai, a distance of about six miles, and as a reward he was given by the Bangash tribes the land between these two places as *nazarâna*, and this his descendants still enjoy

(iii) A woman is said to have taken refuge with him from her enemies and was miraculously transformed into a stone. The marks of ornaments and outlines of human features are still to be seen on it.

Numerous other miracles are said to have been wrought by this saint, whose ancestral home is traced to Rûm or Asia Minor.

II. — **Mîr Ibrahîm or Mîr Bîm,** whose shrine is at Shalozân, is highly revered by the Tûrîs of Kurram He is the patron saint of Shalozân, and his descendants, who are called Ibrahîm Khêl or Imâm Mûsa Kâzimî Sayyids, are found in Shalozân, Nurkai, Ahmadzai, and Nastî Kôt, and are much respected by the people. The shrine of Mîr Bîm is visited both by Sunnîs and Shîas. Children are shaved, animals and sweetmeats offered, flags hung and vows made for success against enemies at it Two miracles are ascribed to this saint —

(i) He is said to have increased, at the request of the Shalozânîs, the water of a spring which was previously hardly sufficient for the requirements of the people depending upon it.

(ii) A dry olive-tree is said to have become green, when it was merely touched by this saint.

III. — **Sayyid Fâkhr-i-Alam,** whose shrine is at Karmân, is held in high repute not only by his Karmân desciples, but also by those of Shalozân and other places. His descendants are known as Husainî Sayyids and are found at Karmân, Shalozân, Darâwî, Alî Shêrî, and even in Tirâh. Regular fairs are held annually at this shrine at both the Ids and on the Muharram days. People from distant villages attend them. Almost all the visitors are Shîas, Sunnîs being very seldom seen. Sheep and goats are slaughtered and distributed among the guardians (*mujâwars*) of the shrine, and the people attending the fairs. Prayers are offered to the soul of the saint The story of a miracle, wrought by this saint, is as follows —

It is said that Ujâj, a tyrannical king, was a great persecutor of the Sayyids, whom he could recognise by a peculiar fragrance which came from their mouths. The Sayyids thereupon rallied round Fâkhr-i-Alam and begged him to request the prophet to remove the fragrance, which was so dangerous to them Fâkhr-i-Alam accordingly went to Medîna, bowed before the mausoleum of the Prophet and made the request. He then went to sleep, and in a dream saw the Prophet, who told him that his request had been granted. Fâkhr-i-Alam then came back to Kurram While passing through the outskirts of Karmân, he prayed that the stones and pebbles, which had proved so gentle to his bare feet, might be changed into fine white sand The prayer was heard, and the sand is still seen in its vicinity. He also blessed the fields of Karmân, which have since yielded abundant harvests

IV. — **Lâlâ Gul,** whose shrine is at Shakh, is much resorted to both by the Mallî Khêl and Duperzai Tûrîs and the Muqbils of Kurram His descendants, who go by the name of Lâlâ Gul Kâwal Sayyids, are found in Kharlâchî, Shal Khâna, Sultân and Shakh Lâlâ Gul is also known as the Yakh-pôsh (endurer of cold) saint, as he passed a night in a pool of frozen water at Istia. According to another legend, he sat on a burning pile of wood without being injured, and in return for this miracle he was given by his disciples a piece of land near Shakh, which his descendants still enjoy as *nazarâna*. Lâlâ Gul's father, Burqa-pôsh, is also much revered by the people. He is said to have requested the Amîru'l -Mûminîn Alî to show him his face, and on receiving no answer he put on a *kafan* (winding-sheet) and went to the cave of a big serpent, known to be the guardian of a hidden treasure at Pîr Ghar, about 2 miles from Kharlâchî. As soon as the **Burqa-pôsh** (Veiled Prophet) went near the serpent, it lowered its head as a tribute to his virtues The Burqa-pôsh then took up his abode in the serpent's cave, and it became as harmless and tame as a domestic animal. After a few days three Muqbils of Istia, thinking that the serpent was dead and that Burqa-pôsh was in possession of the treasure, determined to kill him and steal it. But when they neared the cave, the serpent gave a furious hiss and all three were burnt to death. Three black stones are still preserved as evidence of the incident. Burqa-pôsh

then lived peacefully for some time in the cave with the serpent which provided him with sustenance. One night he had a dream in which Alî appeared to him and told him to pay a visit to the Shapôlâ hill, close to Pîr Ghar. Next morning he went to the Shapôlâ hill and was much astonished to see a wall miraculously rise around him and some sheep descend for him from heaven Almost immediately after this he saw the face of Alî, which was like a full moon. Burqa-pôsh then bowed before the Amîru'l-Mûminîn (Commander of the Faithful), and received, as token of his love, a gold ring and a golden flag from him. Thenceforth Burqa-pôsh always kept his face under a veil and never showed it to the people, signifying that nobody was worthy to catch sight of him That is why he was known as Burqa-pôsh. His shrine is at Shakh, close to Lâlâ Gul's shrine

V — **Shâh Ishâq**, whose tomb is in Balyamîn, was the ancestor of one of the five recognised *khânwâdâs* of the Sayyids. His descendants are called Bukhâiî Sayyids and are found at Paiwar, Mahura, Agra, Tutak, Makhêzai and Nastî Kôt. His shrine is visited by the Hamza Khêls and Mastu Khêls of Alizai, Bagzai and Chârdiwâi. Offerings are made, and the *mujâwars* and poor people are fed Flags are also hung here Many miracles are told about this saint, but the most important of all was that he perforated, by means of his club, a hill which obstructed the water of the Alizai Canal That tunnel still exists, and through it flows the water of the canal As a reward for this miracle he was given a piece of land, called Barghatai, which is still in possession of his descendants

In addition to these shrines, the Tûrîs make long and perilous journeys to the famous shrines of Karbalâ and Mashhad in Persia In former days, when there were no facilities of communication, they had to travel the whole way on foot, but now circumstances have changed and the greater portion of the journey is made by rail and steamer Sometimes a whole family migrates to these shrines and takes up its permanent abode there This is called *hijrat* by the Tûrîs. Well-to-do people often send the bones of dead relations to the Karbalâ cemetery to be interred there.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

TITLES AMONG RULING FAMILIES IN THE PANJAB HILL STATES.

THE subject of titles in ruling families in the Native States of the Panjab is of some interest as bearing upon the customary law regarding succession in those families, which was discussed in the note published *ante*, p 226 f.

There are two points to discuss· (i) that of the true title or prefix, (ii) the other that of the cognomen or suffix, which appears to be a part of the name. Modifications of the latter are exceedingly common, especially when the bearer changes his religion or enters a religious order. The best known instance occurs in Sikhism On entering that religion the *pahul* or baptismal rite involves the assumption of the affix 'Singh' or the substitution of that affix for 'Râm,' 'Chand,' &c. The customs among ruling families appears to be based on a similar principle, the assumption of a new function involving the assumption of a new cognomen. Whether this assumption of a new cognomen is an integral part of the initiation into a religious order or merely incidental to it, I cannot at present say.[1]

In the case of a ruling family the general rule appears to be that on accession the suffix is changed. For instance, in Sukêt and its daughter state of Mandî, the heir-apparent's suffix of Singh is changed to Sain on his accession to the throne; and in Sirmûr to Parkâsh Singh is comparatively seldom used as a royal title It is assumed in Bashahr at the naming ceremony and not changed at accession In Chambâ, too, it is not changed, but, both before and after accession, the suffix Varma is used instead of Singh by the priests when the ruling chief is referred to by name in any religious ceremony.

Pâl. — The Kullû, Bangâhal, and Kotlehr families had the suffix Pâl, as had also those of Nurpur, Basaulî, Badû, and Bhadarwâ. The Râjâs of Kashtwâr had also this title originally, but changed it to Sain, then to Deo, and lastly to Singh The old branch of the Jammû family, expelled in 1816 and now *jâgîrdârs* at Akhrôtâ, near Dînanagar, in the Gurdâspur District, also bear the suffix of Dêô, which they still retain, younger members of the family other than the head of it being now called Singh The present ruling family of Jammû bear the suffix Singh for a special reason they are descended from a *chauthain* or fourth brother of Ranjît Dêô of Jammu (1750—81)

[1] The change of suffix on accession would appear to be a somewhat modern practice, or possibly a local one. No allusion to it, or to anything corresponding to it, can be traced by the present writer in A. Weber's *Über die Königsweihe, den Rajasûya* (*Abhandlungen der königl Preuss Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1893).

On the subject of the older suffixes in Chambâ, Dr. J. Hutchison of the Chambâ Mission writes as follows:—

"**Varma.**—The original title, or second name, in the Chambâ royal family was Varma, a cognomen extensively used in ancient times. Ma'sūdī, the historian, speaks of it as being the title of 'all kings,' and it was used in the reigning families of Nêpâl, Kâmrûp or Assam, and Kanauj in the seventh and eighth centuries, in the Râthôr family before it acquired Kanauj, and by the Chandêl Râjâs of Bandêlkhand. Though probably not adopted as a dynastic surname in any of these families, its use by individual chiefs proves that it was widely known. There was also an entire Varma dynasty in Kashmîr from A. D. 854 to 939; and the cognomen is still in use in the royal houses of Travancore and Cochin. The Chambâ Râjâs continued to bear it till the end of the 16th century, after which it was gradually displaced by 'Singh,' which was then coming into general use among Râjpûts, but the older title is still employed in all religious ceremonies.

Dêvâ.—The title Dêvâ is also found *after* each Râjâ's name in the inscriptions and copper-plates. This too was a royal designation, as we learn from Sanskrit literature, and was affixed to the names of all kings and queens in its masculine or feminine form, just as Rex and Regina are in our own Royal family. Hence arose the Râjpût salutation Jaidêyâ = Jaidêvâ, which all Râjpûts receive and give, but which a ruling chief receives and does not return. The original form in Sanskrit was *jayatu dêvah*, 'may the king be victorious.'"

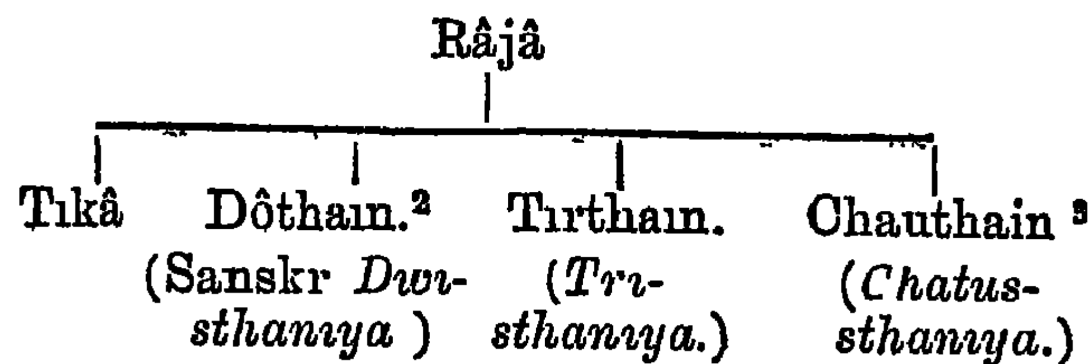
On the subject of the **prefixed** titles, Dr. Hutchison says:—

"**Yûvarâjâ and Tikâ.**—In former times, as we learn from the copper-plates, an heir-apparent in Chambâ bore the title of 'Yûvarâjâ.' When it was disused is not known, but it is found in plates issued towards the end of the sixteenth century. At the present time an heir-apparent, *if a son of the ruling chief*, has the distinctive title of 'Tikâ,' while younger sons are named Dôthain, Tirthain, Chauthain, &c. These titles do not, however, appear to be earlier than the 17th century or even later.

"**Miân.**—All Râjpûts in the Western Hills are addressed as 'Miân,' a name said to have been given them by one of the Mughal Emperors, probably Jahângîr, but its precise origin and signification are unknown. It occurs as 'Miê' on a copper-plate dated A. D. 1613, as one of the titles of Janârdhan, son and heir-apparent of Râjâ Bâlâ Bhadrâ. In Chambâ, younger sons of a ruling chief, other than the 'Tika,' and also brothers, are addressed as 'Miân Sâhib,' all others of Râjpût caste being called 'Miânjî.'"

In Bashahr the title of the heir-apparent, if the son of the Râjâ, is Tîkâ: otherwise it is Miân. It used to be Yûva-râjâ. The title of Miân is retained for a good many generations, but eventually descendants of Miâns sink to the status of Kanêts or ordinary peasants.

In the **Mandî State** the title of Miân appears to be applied generally to all relations of the Râjâ, the heir-apparent being called Tikâ, the next to him Dôthain, the next to him again Tirthain, and the next Chauthain, as in Chambâ, thus:—



It would, however, further appear that the sons of a Dôthain are themselves Dôthains, so that in **Gurdâspur District**, on the borders of Chambâ, the Râjpût grades are returned as Tikâ, Dôthain, &c. Among the Sikhs a precisely similar instance is afforded by the Sôdhîs of Anandpûr in the Hoshiârpur District. 'From the four nephews of Gulâb Rai, *viz.*, Uchar Singh, Udai Singh, Khem Singh, and Chaur Singh are descended the Anandpûr Sôdhîs in four branches, known as the **Barî** (great) **Sirkâr, Dûsrî, Tîsrî** and **Chauthî Sirkârs.**[4]

In Sirmûr the heir-apparent, if the son of the Râjâ, is *Tikâ*; any son of the Râjâ is a Râj Kanwar; grandsons and great-grandsons are recognised as Kanwars; and any descendant of a Râjâ, however remote, is Bhau. The latter title is not officially recognized, but elderly people, especially women, address the descendant of a Râjâ by it. Descendants in the 30th or even of a later generation are commonly called Bhau or Kanwar.

H. A. ROSE.

[2] The earliest mention of Dôthain in Chambâ appears to be in a copper-plate of 1748 A.D.

[3] In Bashahr these forms appear to be, dialectically, Do-thayinyân, ... , Pach-thayinyân, 'of the 5th place,' &c.

[4] Massy's *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, p. 332.

STORIES OF THE TAMIL VAISHNAVA SAINTS.

Translated by N. Kuruthalwar and communicated by Mrs. I J. Pitt.

I.

The Tirukôralûr Avatârs.

(A)—Poikhai Alwâr. The Conch Avatâr.

HIS soul was incarnate in a human body, which appeared in a lotus in a well near **Conjeveram.** He was born supernaturally of the same mental nature as the **Conch of Vishṇu.**

(B)—Pudhatta Alwâr.

He was born supernaturally in the same manner, of the mental nature of the **Club of Vishnu.** He was found in a flower called **kurukatti at Tirukadalmalli.**

(C)—Pê Alwâr.

He was born supernaturally in the same manner, of the mental nature of the **Sword of Vishnu,** and was found in a lotus in a well at **Mailapûr, Madras.**

These three, by the free grace of God, got rid of *rajoguna and tamguṇa*, and were full of pure *sattva,* and lived only for the service of God, and increased in knowledge, devotion and non-attachment to worldly things. They refrained from eating and drinking the love of God being their sustenance. They avoided the company of worldly men, travelling about the country, and not staying more than two days in one place, instructing the people as they went, but up to this time they had not met together. Then God wished to reveal their real nature to the world, to enable the people to gain more by their instructions, so he caused them to meet in **Tirukôvalûr in the South Arcot District**—during a great storm. One of them being alone in the storm, sought shelter in a small room outside a Brâhmaṇ's house, shut the door, and lay down. Then the second one, finding himself also in the storm, came across the small room and tapped at the door. Then the first one called out, "There is here hardly room for one to lie down." The second replied, "If one can lie down, two can sit down." The first one, hearing his reply, and concluding that he was a wise man, opened the door and let him in.

Presently the third one came, knocked, and begged for entrance, when the two called out that there was hardly room enough for two to sit. In reply the third one said, "Where two can sit, three can stand." This sensible answer pleased the first and second one, and they let the third one in. After the usual salutations they asked questions of one another. The first said, "I am the inseparable attendant of God." The second, "I am the servant of Vasudêva." The third said, "I am one with Paramâtmâ, who is knowledge and bliss."

And so they mutually made each other known. When these three were thus met together, **Vishṇu** was desirous to be amongst them, for as he is always present in a garden of *tulasî*, or in a tank of lotus flowers, so he must be always near his devotees. Accordingly he caused himself to be present amongst them. As it was very dark they could see nothing, but each one felt that there was a fourth presence in the room. One said, "Light a lamp, and see who this is." However, being *yôgîs* they were able to perceive mentally that God was amongst them. Then the first Alwâr exclaimed, "I will make the earth the vessel, the sea shall be the oil, and the sun shall be the wick; with this light do I decorate the person of Vishnu" The second Alwâr then said, "I will make my devotion the vessel, my adoration shall be the oil, my ardent love shall be the wick. This light is the lamp of knowledge offered to Nârâyaṇa, by whose free grace I gained this knowledge which I have given forth in the Tamil language." Then suddenly a great light burst upon them, and the third Alwâr cried out, "I behold the golden bodies of Vishṇu and Lakshmî, the entire beauteous forms

of them both, and their radiant lotus eyes and the disc, and the conch." Immediately the other two saw the wondrous vision, and all were transported with joy. Then upon that sacred spot each one composed a hundred stanzas, full of love and devotion to God. They were so arranged that the end of one set was the beginning of the next. So they went their way together, relating to all their marvellous experience.

II.

Tirumalli Sai Alwâr.

Part I.

This saint was born supernaturally, and was found in a cane-bush by a man called **Tiruvalan**, who took home the child and reared it. When **Tirumalli Sai** was seven years old a great desire to practise *yôga* arose in him. In the practice of *yôga*, meditation is the principal part, but it is necessary to have something to meditate upon. So Tirumalli began to try to find out what that something is. He spent some 400 years in studying the philosophical treatises in several languages which existed in his time. Then he became **a Srî-Vaishnava.** After this God showed him all the fullness of the two worlds, the transitory and the eternal. Also God showed him the order of creation. When Tirumalli saw this, any doubt he had before in his mind was removed, and he exclaimed — "I have studied all the *sâṅkhya* philosophy, and all the works written by Śiva, and in the end, by blessed fortune, I became a servant of Vishnu! Now I am perfectly sinless, and have nothing more to know." Saying this he took Vishṇu to his heart, and remained in *yôga* 700 years in his village near **a tank called Gâgêndra.** He cared nothing for the world and lived in rags.

One day he was sewing up the holes of his red cloth, when Śiva and Pârbatî were traversing the sky. Seeing them, Tirumalli, to avoid Śiva's shadow falling upon him, moved a little to one side. Observing that he did this, Pârbatî was displeased, and enquired of Śiva who this was and why he behaved thus. Śiva replied, "It is no use resenting this, if we approach him, he will only slight us." But Pârbatî insisted, and so they both descended and stood before Tirumalli, who however paid no attention to them whatever, and continued to sew his rags. Then Śiva asked him how it was that he paid no attention to them, Tirumalli replied, "I have nothing to ask of you." But Śiva offered to give him something. Whereupon Tirumalli said, "Are you able to give me emancipation?" Śiva replied, "Vishnu alone is able to give you that." Then Tirumalli asked, "Can you prolong a man's life for at least one day?" "No," said Śiva, "that depends on Vishnu's *karma*." Then Tirumalli asked, "Well then: can you make my needle follow my thread." Upon this Śiva lost patience, and became angry, and opened his third eye, which emitted burning fiery rays. But Tirumalli also possessed an eye of the same kind in his right big toe, and with this he did battle with the fire of Śiva's eye, who found this unbearable! Meanwhile the world began to burn! Whereupon the Dêvas and Ṛishis went and complained to Vishnu. Then Vishnu bethought himself of some clouds, which were kept in readiness for the time when they should be required to drown the world. These he ordered should be used to quench the fire. The clouds however refused to obey the order on the ground that they could not act against the Ṛishi Tirumalli. Vishnu persuaded them, by saying that he would take the responsibility upon himself. During this time Śiva was being fearfully burnt by the fire, and was calling loudly for help. Then the clouds spread themselves over the heavens and let fall their water, and quenched the fire of Śiva. When Tirumalli saw this he shut up the eye in his toe, so the remaining fire was also put out. By this time Śiva's anger was abated, and looking, he saw that Tirumalli was sitting quite unmoved by the downpour of rain. Then addressing all the Dêvas and Ṛishis standing round, he expressed to them his wonder at the steadfastness and imperturbability of Tirumalli, whom he would henceforth call **Bhaktisaru.** Furthermore, he related to them stories showing that the devotees of Vishnu are never affected by any injuries done to them. Then he and his wife with a good will took leave of Tirumalli, and went their way.

A few days after this a *siddha* named **Suktihâra** was riding on a tiger through the air, and happened to pass above the place where Tirumalli was sitting, when the tiger suddenly stopped unable to proceed The *siddha* then discovered that the reason of this was that Tirumalli's thoughts on God were so concentrated and strong, that they created a material resistance in the air, which the tiger was not strong enough to cross. The *siddha* being amazed at this, looked and saw Tirumalli sitting silently near the tank Then the *siddha* descended and approached and saluted Tirumalli offering him a valuable cloak, and begging him to throw away his rags , but Tirumalli refused, at the same time causing to appear before the *siddha's* eyes another cloak even more beautiful than the one offered. Then the *siddha* presented Tirumalli with his necklace, thereupon Tirumalli took his lotus-seed chain, and held it up before the eyes of the *siddha*, when it appeared like diamonds and rubies. By this time the *siddha* understood that Tirumalli was perfect, and did not want anything, and so took his way

Presently an alchemist came up to Tirumalli and offered him a pill **made of mercury**, and said that this pill could change one-carat gold into any number of carats. Then Tirumalli took some dust off his foot, mixed it with some mud, and made another pill, and told the alchemist to touch any inferior gold with this one. The alchemist doing so found this pill to be of far stronger properties than his own.

After this, Tirumalli, to avoid these interruptions, went into a cave, and there continued his *yôga*.

While he was there **the three Alwârs of Tirukôralûr** were on their pilgrimage together, and as they were passing by this way, they saw at a distance a shining miraculous light. Going to see the cause of it, they found the cave and Tirumalli seated therein Immediately through their *yôgîs'* power, they were able to recognize each other, and embraced with eyes shining with joy and bodies thrilling with transport They stayed there for some time ; their company together being like the mixture of milk, fruit, and sugar. Their sustenance was undisturbed meditation of God in continuous bliss. **The four** felt themselves to be as one in their love to God, all being merged in one extasy. After a time **the four went to Mailapûr** together, from whence the three departed on their own way, leaving Tirumalli alone at that place.

Part II.

At the time of **Poikhai's birth at Conjeveram,** Tirumalli Sai wished to go to that town, and there he remained worshipping in the temples for 700 years. At this place **Kanikanan** came and joined Tirumalli as his attendant. During this time, one day an old courtezan, suffering from a bad disease and deserted by all, took upon herself the menial work for Tirumalli, hoping to gain merit thereby. As he was engaged in *yôga* he did not notice her for some time, but one day he opened his eyes and observed her, and by his *yôgî's* powers was able to read all her past history and also her future. Then he asked her what she wanted. She besought him to grant her youth again. He consented, and she became a young woman, but nevertheless continued to work for him. One day a *râja* happening to see her, fell in love with her and took her away as his wife. They led a happy life together for some years, until the *râja* began to suffer from the effects of age, while his wife retained her youth Wondering how this was, and enquiring of her, she told him that it was by the grace of Tirumalli Sai, whereupon he also wished to gain the same favour. His wife then advised him to seek the goodwill of **Kanikanan,** who came every day to beg alms, and gain his mediation with Tirumalli. This the *râja* did, but Kanikanan gave him no hopes, telling him that Tirumalli had no regard for anyone, not even for Siva himself. Then the *râja* knowing that Kanikanan was a very learned man and a good poet, asked him to compose a poem in his, the *râja's* honour. But Kanikanan refused to do this. The *râja* then became angry, and threatened Kanikanan with punishment, who however paid no attention, but only repeated a stanza in praise of God. Whereupon the *râja's* anger increased, and he commanded Kanikanan to be banished from the country.

Kanikanan then went to Tirumalli and told him that he was banished by the *râja's* command. Tirumalli then said, "If you go away, I shall have very little to do here, and if I go with you all these idols will follow us." Thereupon he rose, and addressed the idols in an extempore stanza —

"Kanikanan must go, I must go, therefore you must not remain.
Take up your beds and come with us."

Immediately the idols, which were lying down, rose up, and began to move, and all the other idols with them. First Tirumalli preceded them, then Kanikanan came after, then followed a procession of all the idols. In this way they slowly proceeded through the streets. When the people saw this, they were much amazed and afraid, and ran to tell the *râja*, who came out with great haste and prostrated himself before Kanikanan, and begged his forgiveness. Upon pardon being granted, the whole procession turned round and went back in the same order. When they reached their old place, they all stopped, and Tirumalli addressed the idols again in the following stanza: —

"Kanikanan has returned, I have returned,
So you must lie down as before."

From that day the chief idol goes by the name of **Yathôktakârî** (the idol that did as it was bidden).

After this Tirumalli remained in that place for a few years, then he had a desire to go to **Kumbakônam.** On his way there he rested in the village of **Perambuliyûr** One day he sat down on a *payâl*, where some Brâhmaṇs were reciting the *Vêdas*. Seeing him, and knowing him to be a Śûdra, they stopped their recitation. So Tirumalli moved away to the prescribed distance. When the Brâhmaṇs wanted to renew the recitation, they found they could not remember it. Then Tirumalli took some black paddy and began splitting off the husks, thereby bringing back to their memory the passage they required, namely — "Take away the husk of the black paddy with the nail." Then observing Tirumalli, they understood that he was a great and learned man, and they prostrated themselves before him. At this time, while Tirumalli was going about begging for alms in the streets of the village, the idol of the temple was observed to turn towards whichever side Tirumalli was at that moment. Then the priest, understanding the cause of this marvel, ran to the place where some Brâhmans were performing a sacrifice and told them what was happening. Upon this several of them approached Tirumalli and respectfully invited him to their shrine, and shewed him great honour. Seeing this, some of the people, knowing Tirumalli to be a Śûdra, began to abuse the Brâhmaṇs, who were shewing him this honour. Then the Brâhmans were at a loss to know what they should do, and turned to Tirumalli for advice, asking him to speak himself to the people. Tirumalli then prayed to God asking him to reveal himself before the people in the same way that he had revealed himself in his devotee's heart. Immediately the whole assembly saw the wondrous sight of the beautiful form of **Vishnu** in his full glory appear within the body of Tirumalli. The people, amazed and awe-struck, threw themselves down before him in adoration, then, sending for the temple car, they placed Tirumalli in it, and drew it through the streets, worshipping him as they went; and finally all the people with one accord became his disciples.

After this he proceeded to Kumbakônam and there saw the shrines and all he wanted to see, and heard the *Tiruvoimoli*, written by **Nammalvar.** After hearing this, he considered that all his own compositions were worthless, and so he threw all the volumes he had written into the river Kâverî, but two of the volumes sailed on the current without sinking. Seeing this, he took it for a sign that they were worth something, so he saved them and taught them to the people. One day he went into the temple and prayed the idol to sit up and listen to his instruction, thereupon the idol attempted to raise itself. Tirumalli was much rejoiced that God had so quickly granted his prayer and praised him: and to this day the idol in that temple has remained in a half-rising posture.

Thus Tirumalli lived according to the Vṛiddha Yôga, teaching the people from his two books, and eating only a little fruit. At last he went to heaven at the age of 4,700 years !

III.

Madhurâ Kavi Alwâr.

He was born **in the nature of Garuḍa** at **Tirukhôlûr**, South Arcot District. His father was a Brâhmaṇ of the *Sâma Vêda*, and he was made to undergo all the ritual necessary to a Brâhmaṇ boy, and well educated in all branches of knowledge then in vogue, and performed many pilgrimages.

Once there occurred a great famine in his country, so he set out for another pilgrimage. When he took leave of the townspeople, they asked him when he would return, and he answered, "When the sun rises in the South." Thinking he was mocking them, they laughed and let him go.

He went as far as Bhadrînâth in the Himâlayas, and returned to Kâśî, on his way there stopping at Ayôdhyâ. One day in the fourth watch of the night he rose up, and looking towards the South he saw a wonderful light. He supposed it to be a burning village, but after he had seen it for three nights, at the same time each night, he began to wonder what it was, and proceeded towards the South. As he moved the light also appeared to move in front of him, and he followed it. In this way he slept in the daytime and walked at night, and so he went as far as the town of **Kurugûr**, now called **Alwâr Tirunâgiri**, in the Tinevelli District.

On leaving this town he found that the light stopped there behind him, so, concluding that he had reached his destination, he remained there all the night gazing at the light, rose early in the morning and bathed in the river Tambaparṇî, and performed all the morning ritual, and then went to the town to make enquiries. There he was told that some years before a son had been born to the *râja* of the place. This child, from the time of its birth, did not open its eyes, or take its natural food, but nevertheless grew in size, and was well and strong. The parents, according to custom, took the child on the twelfth day to the temple where the idol is called the " self-shining, " and after the usual ceremony they made the child prostrate himself before the idol. After this, to the amazement of the on-lookers, the child got up and began to circumambulate the temple, after which he went towards a tamarind tree, into the hollow of which he entered, and sat down in *padmasaram* (*yôgî* posture). Here he sat without moving, and though his parents tried to rouse him, they failed to do so. Thus he had remained, so **Madhurâ Kavi** was told — for sixteen years. Hearing this, and learning that the boy's name was **Satakôpa**, Madhurâ Kavi went to the tamarind tree and saw the boy sitting there, and understood that he was a *yôgî*.

Wishing to find out if the boy was in *samâdhi*, Madhurâ Kavi made a noise by throwing a stone in front of the boy, who then opened his eyes. Upon this, Madhurâ Kavi drew near, and whispered to Satakôpa the following questions: First, — "If a superior being is born of an inferior being, what would his sustenance be, and where should he live ?" Second, — "If an inferior being is born of an inferior being, what would his sustenance be, and where should he live ?" Satakôpa answered the first question thus, " A superior being will be sustained by the grace of God, and live in it," and the second question thus, " An inferior being is sustained by worldly things, and will live in them." Then Madhurâ Kavi saw that Satakôpa was a perfect philosopher, both in precept and example, and prostrated himself before him, and prayed that he might be taken as Satakôpa's disciple. The parents who were standing by, had overheard their son's word, and understood that Madhurâ Kavi was worthy of reverence. Then he turned to them, and told them that at some time their son would come out from the tree and live with them for a period.

The next night Madhurâ Kavi dreamt that Satakôpa appeared to him in the form of the future **Râmanûjâchârya**, and related to him all that he had experienced during his sixteen

years of *samâdhi* of the real nature and the glory of God, which he would commit to writing in four books. The first would be the essence of *Rig-Vêda*, the second the essence of *Yajur-Vêdu*, the third the essence of *Sâma-Vêda*, the fourth the essence of *Atharva-Vêda* The end of each stanza would be the beginning of the next stanza. He told Madhurâ Kavi to prepare for this a volume of palmyra leaves, and write down what he was told. Then the vision disappeared. In the morning Madhurâ Kavi rose very early, prepared the palmyra leaves, and took them to where the boy was seated. Then to the amazement of the bystanders, the boy began to dictate all these stanzas. After all was finished, he rose up from his sitting posture, left the tree and went to his parents, with whom he lived for sixteen years, during which time he was looked upon as a *guru*, and all castes came to him, and he imparted knowledge to all.

After this Śatakôpa told the people he must leave them, and he walked to the River Tambaparṇî and entered into it, telling them that they would afterwards find an idol in his likeness in the river. So he disappeared, and as he foretold, they found the idol, which they set up and worship to this day. The copies of the stanzas made by Madhurâ Kavi and dictated by Śatakôpa still exist, are looked upon as equal to the *Vêdas*, and are recited in front of the idol, while the *Vêdas* are recited behind the idol. The tamarind tree can also now be seen, though it is too old to produce any fruit. Madhurâ Kavi after this composed stanzas in honour of Śatakôpa.

IV.

Kulaśêkara Alwâr.

He was born of the royal family of Travancore, and in the course of time he became râja, and ruled his country so well that the weak did not suffer from the strong. After a few years he began to read religious books, and his eyes were opened to the transitoriness of the world. Then, without neglecting the affairs of state, he tried to serve God also. He took the advice of good and learned men in secular and religious matters. He read all the sacred books with great assiduity, especially the *Râmâyaṇa*. Being completely engrossed in this, and coming to the part where Râma prepares to do battle with 1,400 Râkshasas, he became much disturbed and gave orders for all his army to come out, putting himself at the head of them, imagining that he was to go to the help of Râma. Then his ministers, seeing in what state of mind he was, read to him the account of the battle, of the victory of Râma, and of the safety of his army. The *râja* hearing this and being satisfied, ordered his army back, and returned quietly.

After this, at one time, the ministers became envious of his *gurus*, and wishing to injure them, they caused some jewels to be hidden in the temple, giving out that the *gurus* had stolen and hidden them there. Then the *râja* ordered a cobra to be brought and put on the hands of the *gurus*, saying that if they were guilty the cobra would bite them ; if innocent, it would not. As it did not harm them at all, the ministers were frightened and confessed their truth, and brought the jewels.

Then the *râja* went on a pilgrimage to Tirupati with a large retinue and afterwards to Śrîrangam and showed in all his life that to serve man is to please God. He wrote works both in Tamil and Sanskrit.

V.

Vishṇu Chitta Alwâr.

He was born in the nature of Garuḍa. His parents were Brâhmans, but did not educate him well He was, however, naturally religious, and became a devout worshipper of Vâtapatrasayi, the local god. He attached himself to the temple as a gardener, where he did all the menial service. Once the Pândya Râja, a learned man, was roaming incognito through the town at night, when he heard a Brâhmaṇ reciting a Sanskrit stanza. He stopped the Brâhmaṇ, and asked him whence he came and whither he was going. The Brâhmaṇ replied that he was on a pilgrimage to Gangâ. Then the Râja asked him to tell him the meaning of the stanzas, which he did as follows: — "Men store up provisions in the summer for use in the rainy season, they gather it in the day to

use at night, they put by money in their youth for use in their old age; in the same way they should serve God in this life to gain happiness in the future life."

The Râja took this to heart, and went to his palace, and consulted with his learned adviser, **Selvanambi,** as to how he should carry out this precept. At that time the Saivas were in the majority, and the Vaishṇavas in the minority The Râja was a Saiva, but Selvanambi was a Vaishṇava. Selvanambi told the Râja that he must proceed to meditate on the "Cause of all causes." Upon the Râja asking how this was to be done, Selvanambi told him that it would be necessary to gather together the learned men of all sects, and to put all their tenets to the test. This was to be done by having a bag of treasure tied up to the crossbeam of his palace gate. A meeting of the learned men must then be proclaimed, and each one must argue in defence of his own particular tenet. At the giving forth of the most powerful of the arguments, the bag of treasure, by its own force and without being touched, would fall down. The declaimer of this argument would then be taken by the Râja as his *guru.* The Râja followed Selvanambi's advice and in consequence a great assembly of learned men began to gather at the court.

Meanwhile **the god Vâtapatrasayi, wishing to reveal himself through Vishnu Chitta,** appeared before him, and told him to go to the Pândya Râja's court, and there establish Vishṇu as the highest and real Tattva, who must be meditated upon in order to secure eternal life. But Vishnu Chitta was very fearful to attempt such an enterprise, and pleaded his unfitness. The god, however, told him that he need not fear, as he would himself put the necessary words into his mouth, and thereupon ordered the temple palanquin for Vishṇu Chitta, and commanded some of the temple retinue to accompany him to the Râja's court.

On the way there all the arguments required for the occasion came into Vishṇu Chitta's mind, so that after arriving there and being given a good seat, he began to converse with the *pandits* without fear, and argued with such force that all their objections gave way, and finally he made a powerful speech, in which he established **Nârâyaṇa as the Paratattva.** At the end of this speech the bag of treasure fell down of its own accord, so that all were doubly convinced, and the Râja begged Vishṇu Chitta to take him as his disciple and instruct him in the true way. This was done, and the Râja and many others became Vaishnavas.

On one state occasion, as the Râja was accompanied by Vishṇu Chitta in the royal procession, Vishṇu appeared in the sky in all His glory riding on Garuda. Vishṇu Chitta beholding him, and fearing lest some "evil eye" amongst the crowd might injuriously affect the beautiful person of Vishṇu, began to bless him in order to ward off the evil, in doing which Vishṇu Chitta took the two bells of the elephant on which he sat, and clanged them together, chanting at the same time the twelve stanzas that go by the name of **Tiruppallandu,** "The Blessing of many years to God."

After this Vishṇu Chitta bade the Râja farewell, and went back to his own place, but the Râja established an institution in which all castes without distinction were instructed in Vaishṇavism.

The twelve stanzas of the *Tiruppallandu* are as follows :—

Tiruppallandu.

The Beatitude.

1.

Saith Vishṇu Chitta: —

"Blessed are the beautiful feet of the Lord Almighty, for many years and for many millions of years. He shines like the sparkling of diamonds and his powerful arms subdue the wicked!"

2.

"Blessed be the inseparable communion between thy servants and thyself, for many years and many years.

"Blessed be thy Consort, in whom all beauty attains its perfection. whose form, radiant with fadeless youth, rests always in thy bosom.

"Blessed be thy disc, of divine transcendental splendour which sheds all around its pure light. Blessed be thy conch, which proclaims thy victorious name!"

3.

Vishnu Chitta saith to the people : —

"O people, do you desire life? Then come forth. Take up this earth and perfume into your hands. And be one with us. One in all our weal and woe. In our brotherhood there is no place for worldliness. For seven generations we have been faithful Vaishṇavas. As Vishṇu's devoted servants, we bless him who invaded Lanka and laid it waste!"

4.

"Before you are lost in the eternal solitude of Kaivalya, come forth, and join our brotherhood. Throw away the bonds of caste. Come with us, and chant the holy words '*Namô Nârâyanâya*'. Proclaim the blessings of this gospel in all towns and villages and to all people. Give it freely to high and low. Here we are men, devoted to this holy mission. Let us go on, chanting blessings to our Lord!"

5.

"He is the Supreme Lord of all the solar systems. The Destroyer of all the enemies of mankind. Vanquisher of the senses. Come forth, each humble servant in his kingdom, and worship his holy feet, and chant his thousand holy names. Leap over your old caste barriers, and sing to him blessings of many years and many years."

6.

"I, my father, and my father's father, his father, and his father's father, all these, throughout seven generations, have faithfully served him, who is the twilight dusk of Srâvana, incarnate as man and lion, and put an end to the enemy. Let us do away with all hindrances to eternal bliss, and hail him with blessings of many years and many years!"

7.

"We hail him with blessings of many years, who wields the ever-revolving ruddy disc of transcendent brilliancy. We are all stamped with the mark of his luminous holy disc on our shoulders. He commanded the disc to cut off the two thousand hands of Bâṇâsura, from whose arms poured down the hot red blood in torrents!"

8.

"He provides me with good nourishing rice and clarified butter, and enables me to serve him continually, and gives me with his own hands a costly necklace and a pair of earrings, and covers me with sweet scents. All this he does to purify my soul. And so to him I chant blessings of many years, whose banner bears the emblem of Garuda, the serpent's foe!"

9.

"We clothe ourselves with yellow garments of silk used by thee. We feed on what is left by thee on thy plate. We bedeck ourselves with the garlands of *tulaśî* and sweet scented flowers, which once decorated thy holy person. Such devoted servants are we, that whatever are thy behests we perform them with willing hearts. We celebrate thy birthday every year in Śrâvana. We hail thee with blessings of many years, who dancest on the serpent's head!"

10.

"The very day on which we entered into thy service by a written bond, we obtained salvation. O Lord, our God, as thy servants we gain emancipation, and are raised up with all thy subjects in thy kingdom. Thou didst take birth upon thee on the auspicious day of Rôhiṇi, in Madurâ of all plenty. Thou, who hast lept into the well of the cobra Kaliṅga and hast danced on his hoods, we hail with blessings of many years!"

11.

"I am as old a servant of thine as is **Selvanambi of Tirukkôtiyûr.** O holy being, Selvanambi is a zealous devotee and is the ruler of Tirukkôtiyûr. His heart is set on his religion, and on those who follow thee. There is not one single unlawful strife in his dominions. His capital is the gem of the towns.

"I chant thy holy blessings of many years, loving thee in the right way, taught me through the unbroken line of *âchâryas.* These are truly holy beings. I chant to thee blessings of many years in many ways."

12.

"The holy blessings of many years are sung by Vishṇu Chitta. They are the very outpouring of his pure love and devotion, They are sung in the name of the holiest and highest being, who bears the bow named Saruga. This **Vishnu Chitta is of Srîvillipattûr in the Tinevelli country.**

"His heart is in these pious hymns. Those who chant them will for many many years surround the Paramâtmâ. They will be in blessed communion with him for eternity."

VI.

Andal.

After **Vishṇu Chitta** returned to Srîvillipattûr, he was one day working in the temple garden as usual, and digging near a *tulasî* tree, when he was astonished to find under it, concealed in the ground, a female infant. He took it home and reared it carefully. When the child was about five or six years old he began to teach her, and gave her the name of **Kodai.** The child had been born supernaturally, in **the nature** of **Bhûdêvî,** the Earth goddess. She grew well, both in body and soul, and even at this early age she was able to compose poems in Tamil, which were always full of love and devotion to Vishnu. She became as a daughter and a great joy and delight to Vishṇu Chitta, and he procured all the jewels he could to adorn her with.

One day he had, in his customary manner, prepared flower garlands and laid them, in readiness to take to the temple, in a basket. Meanwhile, his daughter, wishing to deck herself, put on her jewels and began to look about for flowers to place in her hair. Seeing the flower garlands in the basket, she took them out, decked her hair with them, and as she had no looking-glass, went to a well, looked in, and beholding her beautiful face there, was satisfied, and returned, took off the flowers and placed them carefully back in the basket, so that they looked as if they had not been touched. This she did on many occasions, quite unnoticed by her father, but one day he unexpectedly caught sight of her wearing the flowers and looking into the well. He was angry and much distressed, and reproved her, saying that she had committed a sin in using flowers dedicated to God, to all of which she did not reply. Then Vishnu Chitta prepared fresh garlands and took them to the temple. On his arrival there, he found he could not open the door of the shrine. While wondering at the cause, he heard a voice from within, which asked him why he came so late. Then with sorrow and fear he replied that his daughter had been using the flowers which he had already prepared, and therefore he had been obliged to make fresh garlands. Then the voice spoke again, saying that the garlands first prepared had been made all the more fragrant by the touch of his daughter. Then Vishnu Chitta understood that his daughter must have a divine nature, and from that time began to treat her with reverence.

When she became of age, her father asked her whom she wished to marry. She replied that she would not marry any man. Then he felt anxious about her, as he saw that she was not the same as other women Her great pleasure was to get him to describe the various shrines of **Vishṇu.** In the course of these descriptions she heard about **Krishṇa's** incarnation, and his *lîlâs,* and how the *gôpîs* served Krishṇa for a month, so that rain should fall on Nandugôkala, and how they served a double purpose in this — they gained the boon of rain for the country, and attained Krishṇa for their own emancipation. When she heard all this, she was entranced with the beauty of such thoughts, and fervently longed to do the same and attain emancipation. So she then selected some virgins of her caste, of whom she took the lead, and every morning she rose at four o'clock and woke her

companions, and they all together went and bathed in the tank at the temple, and afterwards performed service to God. This they did for a month, and each day **Kodai Andal composed** a poem describing the day's procedure. **thirty poems** altogether

When the month was over, her father received a message from Śrîrangam, commanding him to bring his daughter there, and give her in marriage to God, Śrî Ranganâtha With the messenger was sent all the paraphernalia necessary for a wedding, and so with great wonder, Vishnu Chitta set out with his daughter for Śrirangam. Arrived there, Kodai Andal was conducted with much pomp and ceremony into the presence of the idol, with which she went through the marriage ceremony. She was then taken with the idol into the sanctuary, whereupon she vanished from sight. While Vishnu Chitta was lamenting her loss, he heard a voice proclaiming that his daughter was in all bliss with God, and that he, Vishnu Chitta, was regarded henceforth by God as his own relative. Upon this, Vishṇu Chitta was filled with joy and returned home, and wrote many stanzas on this wondrous event.

VII.

Tondaradippodi Alwâr.

He was born in **the nature of Vishnu's garland,** named **Vanamâla,** in a village called **Mandangudi near Śrîrangam.** He was first called **Vipranârâyaṇa,** and was well brought up by his father, and used constantly to go to Śrîrangam and became very devoted to God there. Like Vishṇu Chitta, he employed himself in growing flowers and preparing them for garlands to decorate the idol

While engaged one day thus in the garden with his flowers, a Vêśyâ called **Dêvadâsî** and her sister, returning home in the retinue of the **Chola Râja of Urayûr,** being very tired, sat down with her sister to rest herself under the shade of the trees. As it was a beautiful garden, where all the year round fruit and flowers bloomed in their seasons, being refreshed with the balmy breezes that blew there, they expressed their admiration and delight with the place. Presently they caught sight of Vipranârâyana, who, with bare body covered with hair, with strings of beads of *tulaśî* and lotus round his neck, and with the twelve *nâmams* marked upon his person, looked in their eyes like a wild savage in that lovely spot. Observing after some time, that he took no notice whatever of them, Dêvadâsî said to her sister: "This seems to be a sort of idiot. No other man could be so insensible to my beauty and my singing, which will attract even an ascetic." Then her sister said, "He is no ordinary man, but a devotee, your rolling eyes, sweet voice, and beauty will not affect him. If you could ever attract his attention, I should consider you the cleverest of the Vêśyâs and would be your servant for six months" Then Dêvadâsî replied, "Let us see! I shall succeed! If I do not, I will serve you for six months!" So they made this compact.

Immediately Dêvadâsî went and disguised herself as a female devotee and approached Vipranârâyaṇa, and humbly prostrated herself before him He started back in amazement and asked what she wanted. She then said, "I am a Vêśyâ, and am forced to earn money in this bad way by my mother; but this life is hateful to me, and is itself a result of my past bad *karma*. I am now terrified that by committing any more sin I shall sink into hell. Save me, by letting me associate with you and allowing me to help you in the work of the garden." So Vipranârâyana consented and allowed her to stay, from which time she began zealously to help him in his garden work In this way, by her arts she soon managed to beguile him, and at last persuaded him to leave the temple and come with her to her house. Here, unable to free himself from her baneful influence, he stayed on; in the meanwhile, she, finding out that he possessed some property, persuaded him to make all of it over to her. After this, she cruelly told him to go and drove him away. Though obliged to leave her, he still hovered round in wretchedness near her house.

On a certain day it happened that **Vishnu and Lakshmî** were walking along the street, when Lakshmî caught sight of Vipranârâyana, and seeing him in this pitiable condition and knowing about his former godly state, felt great compassion for him and began to plead for him to Vishṇu, asking why he had allowed his former true devotee to be made a mere plaything of and sink into

this misery. Vishṇu was touched with her words and determined to put an end to Vipranârâyana's wretchedness. So he himself went to the temple, took away from it one of the golden vessels, proceeded with it to Dêvadâsî's house and knocked at her door. When she opened it, he said he was Vipranârâyana's servant, by name **Alagiyâmanavala** (beautiful bridegroom), who had been sent by his master with this golden vessel as a present to her. She thereupon took the vessel and told the servant to go, but sent for Vipranârâyana and received him back with kindness The next morning the temple servants found the vessel missing and reported the loss to the *râja*, who ordered the arrest of all the priests. While this was going on, and the priests were being led to prison, one of Dêvadâsî's female attendants coming to the spot and asking the reason of this, and being told, exclaimed that she had seen this very golden vessel under her mistress's pillow Instantly they sent and arrested Dêvadâsî, and seeing Vipranârâyaṇa with her, arrested him as well While the two were being led to the *râja*, the shame and misery of his condition came upon Vipranârâyana with full force and he came to his senses, and began to realize the greatness of his sins and bitterly repented. Then the *râja* ordered the vessel to be taken back to the temple and the two to be severely punished: but Dêvadâsî pleaded her innocence and declared that one calling himself Alagiyâmanavala gave it to her in the name of Vipranârâyaṇa. But when Vipranârâyaṇa was asked, he said he knew nothing of this at all. Then the *râja* wondered much, knowing that Vipranârâyana would not tell a lie so he postponed the enquiry and sent them away. That night he had a dream, in which it was revealed to him that neither Dêvadâsî nor Vipranârâyaṇa had stolen the vessel, but that in order to free Vipranârâyana from Dêvadâsî's clutches, Vishṇu himself had brought this about. In the morning the *râja* dismissed the case and liberated them both.

Then Vipranârâyana humbly underwent the purification ceremony, and was received back into the temple, where with thankful heart, in the shrine before the idol, he composed the stanza,— "They who serve God with their whole heart are able to purify the most sinful." Hence he became even more devoted to God's service than before and changed his name to **Tonderâdippodi**, which means," — "The dust of the feet of God's servants."

VIII.

Tiruppani Alwâr.

He was born supernaturally in **the nature of Srîvatsa**, a mark on the breast of Vishnu. He was found in a paddy-field in **Urayûr** by a **Panchamma**, and brought up by him. At that time the Kingdom of **Chôla** was ruled by a **Râja** named **Dharmavarma**. **Tiruppani** was well instructed in religion and also became a very good singer and musician, and always carried a *vina* with him. At the same time he increased in love and devotion towards God It was his custom to rise before dawn and go to the river **Kâvêrî**, and bathe and dress, and before the Brâhmaṇs came there, he would make a figure of the temple in the sand and stand before it and chant hymns: this done, he would destroy the figure, and go away

One day, while doing this, he became so lost in extasy that he forgot how the time was passing and continued singing there when the Brâhmans came to bathe and fetch water for the temple. The chief priest, by name **Srîlôkasarangamahamuniandra**, seeing a Panchamma standing there, was very angry and called out to him to go away, but Tiruppani, in his transport, did not hear anything. Then the priest took up a stone and threw it at Tiruppani, whom it struck and wounded on the forehead, causing the blood to flow. At this, Tiruppani opened his eyes and realized that all the Brâhmaṇs were standing there and thinking that he had committed a great sin, he ran away as fast as he could.

The Brâhmaṇs then performed all the necessary ablutions and afterwards the priest mounted his elephant, and with the umbrella and all the usual pomp, returned to the temple. Arrived there he found to his amazement that he was unable to open the door of the inner shrine. Then understanding that the god was angry, he bethought himself that he had committed a great sin, in stoning the Panchamma, and repenting, he begged to be forgiven. Whereupon a voice from within

told him that he must find Tiruppani, and carry him on his shoulders in to the shrine. Rejoicing in thus finding a means for showing his repentance, the priest departed, and the next morning after performing the usual morning ceremonies, he sought out and found where Tiruppani was, who, seeing the priest approach, and conscious of his own mean condition, began to draw back and get out of the way. But the priest called to him to stop, ran to him, and prostrated himself before him, proclaiming at the same time that he, Tiruppani, was received by the god. Then Tiruppani in great amazement said that he felt so low that he could not dare to put his foot on the threshold of the god's shrine. Then the priest, after much persuasion, at last got Tiruppani to yield to being carried on his shoulders , and in this way conveyed him to the shrine and put him down near to the idol. Immediately **Ranganâtha** revealed himself in all his glory, whereupon Tiruppani, transported with joy, composed ten stanzas, describing the person of the god from head to foot and played on his *vîna*. When he had finished, he exclaimed with fervent joy, — "After beholding this glorious sight I do not desire to open my eyes on anything else!" Upon uttering these words, before the astonished gaze of the bystanders, he appeared to enter through the feet of the revealed god into his very person.

IX.

Tirumangai Alwâr.

He was born in a place called **Kurayalûr near Tiruvali Tirunagiri,** in the Chôla Country, **in the nature of the bow of Vishṇu,** — of Mlechchha parents, his father's name being **Nîla.** He was first called **Nîlâniṟattan,** and served as a soldier under the Chôla Râja. He showed so much valour and courage that the *râja* raised him to be Commander-in-Chief, and also a ruler over portion of the Kingdom.

While he was thus ruling wisely and well, although engrossed in worldly affairs, on a certain day, some Apsarasas came down to swim and play in a beautiful pound, covered with water-lilies, near his chief town. Amongst them was one who wandered away by herself to another pond to gather some blue lilies, and there she was left by the others, who went away. Whereupon she took the form of a human maiden and remained there. One day a devoted Vaishnava went to that pond to bathe, and seeing her there, asked who she was. She then said, "I am an Apsaras, and have been living with my companions in great enjoyment in the beautiful country of the Himâlayas. One day, in the mountains, while **Kapila Âchârya** was giving instruction to some Rishis, I passed by, and seeing one of the Rishis was a cripple, I mocked at him. Upon this Kapila became very angry, and cursed me to become a human being and the wife of an outcast. Then I fell at the feet of Kapila and implored his forgiveness, so somewhat relenting, he replied, "Nîlâniṟattan is born in the nature of the bow of Vishnu in order to save the world: if you take human form and become his wife, and convert him to Vaishnavism, the curse will cease to affect you." With this object I came hither. The Vaishnava having no children, asked her to come back with him as his daughter, to which she gladly consented ; so he took her home to his wife, who with joy adopted her as a child. They called her **Kâmalavallî** (Blue Lily) and instructed her in their creed, and so she grew to be a beautiful woman.

Nîlâniṟattan, having heard of her beauty, wished to go and see for himself. After seeing her, he was struck with her loveliness, and enquiring about her of the Vaishṇavas, was told about her, and on her father lamenting that it was difficult to find a suitable bridegroom for her, Nîlâniṟattan offered himself and was accepted by them. However, when their wishes were expressed to the girl, she declared, that unless he became converted to Vaishnavism, she could not marry him. So Nîlâniṟattan became a pupil of an *âchârya,* and was initiated into Vaishnavism, and changed his name into **Tirumangai,** and presented himself before Kâmalavallî with all marks. Before the marriage she made him promise that he would feed a thousand Vaishṇavas daily and look after their religious studies Then the marriage took place and he began to carry out his promise.

In doing this he spent so much money, that he was not able to pay the Government dues. The *râja* hearing of this, was very angry and sent one of the generals, **Chandîśvara,** to arrest

Tirumangai for debt. The general was accompanied by foot-soldiers, elephants and carts. When Tirumangai saw this concourse, he sent out his own soldiers to meet them and they fought together, until Chaudîśvara and his soldiers were routed. The general's son returning, with much dismay, reported this to the *râja*, who thereupon, with the help of some neighbouring *râjas*, went himself and attacked Tirumangai, who routed him also and gained possession of the kingdom. Then the *râja* disguised himself as a Brâhmaṇ and went to Tirumangai, and begged as a gift the kingdom, which had been gained from the *râja*: this being granted, the *râja*, furthermore by a cunning contrivance, managed to obtain possession of Tirumangai's person and sent him as a prisoner to the temple of **Tirunarayûr.**

While Tirumangai was left in the temple and was suffering from want of food, Lakshmî seeing it, brought the matter to the notice of Vishṇu, who, thereupon, commanded the priests of the temple to give the offerings of rice and milk to Tirumangai, who after this, remaining a long time as a prisoner, became very downcast, and prayed that he might rather be imprisoned in **Kandi** or **Tirupati.** That night he dreamt that God told him that he should be sent to Kandi and obtain money to pay his debts. So it happened that he was sent to Kandi, guarded by warders, but not receiving any money there, became still more downcast. But one night he dreamt that God told him to go to the banks of the **Vêgavatî** to a certain spot, the exact position of which was given , so early the next morning he went to the place described and there found a quantity of money, with which he paid off all his debts, and with the remaining money he continued as before to feed and support the Vaishṇavas.

On one occasion the police guards came to him and demanded that he should supply them with corn; not knowing how to do this, with an anxious mind he went to sleep that night, and was told in a dream that if he went to the same place where he had found the money and collected heaps of sand there, they would become corn. He did this and called the guards to take away the corn, with some money, and present it to the *râja*, which they did with great amazement. When the *râja* saw it, he was awestruck and said it was like the miraculously lengthened garment of Draupadî, and understood that Tirumangai obtained these gifts through the grace of God, therefore he would not touch them, but sent back the corn and money to Tirumangai, begging his forgiveness, who used them in charity.

At last, all this money being exhausted, Tirumangai and his advisers consulted together, and resolved to obtain funds to carry on their charitable work by means of highway robbery, and bethought themselves first of **a temple of Buddha,** which contained a golden image, but the door of the shrine was very high up and they did not know how to open it. Then Tirumangai thought of a device. Knowing where the architect of the temple lived, they went a long journey to him and reported that the image in the temple was robbed. The architect expressed much astonishment, saying he could not understand how anyone could get at it, and furthermore unguardedly divulged to them the secret of the opening of the door. Then, with their object gained, they took a ship back, which they loaded with areca-nuts, and by a cunning trick obliged the owner to pay half the value of the cargo. On landing they went at once to the temple and opened the small door, which was extremely narrow. Tirumangai told his brother-in-law **Yatirâja** to go in and hand out the idol, which he did, but when he tried to get out again, he found he could only squeeze his head through the door. Being stuck there, and fearing to be caught like that, he begged of them rather to cut off his head, which they did and went away. But this coming to the notice of **Lakshmî,** she had the head of **Yatirâja** replaced and restored him to life, and going to Vishṇu she asked him what was the meaning of all this, and why he allowed Tirumangai to commit so many bad actions. Vishṇu replied that Tirumangai's sufferings would now soon come to an end, and directed that she should disguise herself as a bride, while he would appear as a bridegroom.

At this time Tirumangai was engaged in building the walls of the temple at Śrîrangam, so that his need for money was very urgent, and he was constantly frequenting the highways. One day, while he was at this work, the bride and bridegroom, covered with jewels, appeared before him. He at once seized them, and as they made no resistance he robbed them of every

thing and tied the jewels up in a bundle. But when he tried to lift the bundle, he found it to be immovable. Then in astonishment he asked the bridegroom by what *mantra* the bundle was rendered immovable. The bridegroom told Tirumangai to kneel down and touch his feet, and said he would repeat the *mantra* he had received from his *âchârya*, and added that he himself was the meaning. Saying which, he suddenly appeared before the eyes of Tirumangai in all his glory. Then Tirumangai was enabled to see all the badness of his past actions, and was converted, and began to compose verses expressing his repentance. Then Vishnu disappeared, after having told Tirumangai to take all the jewels and clear off all the debt owing for the building. But when Tirumangai set about to do this, he found that even this sum was not sufficient to pay all the work-people; so after thinking he took the remaining unpaid people on to a ship and sailed out to a deep part of the sea, and then asked them what they most desired — "Heaven or money." On their all replying "Heaven," he wrecked the ship, and had them all drowned and came back. After he had returned alone, all the relatives of the drowned work-people surrounded him and demanded them back, and asked what had become of them. He replied that he was unable to answer at once, but would give a reply next morning. In a dream that night he was told that he must tell the relatives of the dead people to call upon each one they wanted by name. In the morning he did this, and upon the relatives calling each one they wanted by name, all the dead people answered that they were all happy with God and advised the relatives to become the followers of Tirumangai.

After this Tirumangai was directed to go on a pilgrimage with his relations and friends and sing and chant in all the holy shrines in India from Cape Comorin to the Himâlayas, and on his journey to instruct everyone and establish Vaishnavite institutions. This he did and by his ability and wisdom gained many followers, and attracted many learned men who did him great honour. On his return Tirumangai went to the temple of Śrîrangam and prayed God to show him all the exploits of the ten Avatârs, whereupon God told Tirumangai that he could take the form of an idol and experience all the exploits. God also told Yatirâja to have an idol made of Tirumangai and take it to his birthplace, and there establish the worship of Tirumangai, which continues to this day.

SOME ANGLO-INDIAN WORTHIES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY LAVINIA MARY ANSTEY.

(Continued from p. 176.)

No. II.

WALTER CLAVELL.[11]

UNLIKE William Jearsey, whose career was traced in the first of these articles, Walter Clavell spent but a small portion of his life in India. His stay extended over only nine years, 1666—1677. Yet, during this period, he exercised quite as much influence in "the Bay" as did his fiery contemporary at Masulipatam and Fort St. George.

Walter Clavell was born in 1658 and was the second son of Roger Clavell and his wife Elizabeth. The family was well known in Dorsetshire at an early date, being first established at Leeston in Purbeck Island, and later, *circ.* 1426, acquiring the estates of Smedmore, to which, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, Winfrith was added.

Of Walter Clavell's youthful days no record has been found. He first comes into notice in connection with Indian affairs in January 1667, when, owing to reports of disturbances at Fort St. George, and a rumour that the late Agent, Sir Edward Winter, had seized and imprisoned George Foxcroft, his successor, the Directors of the East India Company decided to send out "a person on the *Charles* to comand the Souldiers." Major Cogan, Mr. Clarke and Walter Clavell were nominated; and the

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11 *Sources of Information.* — India Office Records, *viz*, Factory Records (Fort St. George, Hugli, Masulipatam and Miscellaneous), Letter Books, Court Books, O. C Collection, Diary of Streynsham Master, Log of the *President*, Hutchins' History of Dorset, C. R. Wilson's Early Annals of Bengal; Wills at Somerset House.

latter was chosen as a Factor for Fort St George, his securities being Roger Clavell, of Lincolns Inn, Esqr. (probably his elder brother) and Matthew Hollworthy of London, Knight Walter Clavell was then twenty-nine years old. The Directors wrote to Fort St. George, "We have enterteyned Mr. Walter Clavell, whoe hath the character of an able, and well deserving person, at the sallary of £70 per annum for the terme of 5 years, whome wee doe apoint to bee one of the Counsell" Clavell was instructed to re-instate Foxcroft, the deposed Agent, "if alive," and then to deal with the rebellious Sir Edward Winter. But before these orders were confirmed, Mr. Thomas Winter induced the Directors to partially overlook his brother's "unparalleled conduct," and a full pardon from his Majesty was sent out to the delinquent and his supporters, if they returned to their allegiance. Winter was further to be allowed to remain "in his former condition on the Coast." However, later reports of the ex-governor's doings so incensed the Directors that they obtained a second Royal Commission empowering a Council, consisting of William Jearsey, Captain Richard Goodlad of the *Rainbow*, Walter Clavell and others to require Sir Edward to deliver up Fort St George, and to re-instate George Foxcroft under pain of being treated as a rebel and a traitor "For his encouragement" Walter Clavell was allowed to trade in such "commodities as are allowed to Mr. Foxcroft." In case of the deposed Agent's death, Clavell was to assist in the direction of affairs at Fort St. George, and if he found Winter still in possession of the Fort, he was to proceed to Masulipatam and consult with William Jearsey. All these elaborate instructions were useless as far as Clavell was concerned. The departure of Captain Samuel Smith with the *Charles* was delayed until April 1667, and then it was too late in the year to proceed to "the Coast." The ship accordingly was sent to Surat, and Clavell was ordered to make his way overland to Fort St. George. The voyage was unusually long, even for those days, and it was not until May of 1668 that he reached Goa. In October of that year, Foxcroft and the Council at Fort St. George wrote to the Directors giving an account of their deliverance from the machinations of Sir Edward Winter. They remarked that they understood that Clavell had been entrusted with the original of His Majesty's Commission before the commanders of the *Loyal Subject* and *Rainbow* had sailed, that these ships had arrived, but that nothing had been heard of Clavell except that he "long since arrived at Goa, and had he been in health and made any ornary hast as such a business required, he might have prevented these worthy Gentlemen in the worst they effected." Clavell, however, was *not* "in health." He was delayed at Goa by "long and dangerous sickness." On his recovery, he journeyed to Golconda and thence to Masulipatam, where he arrived at the end of the year 1668. Finally, he reached Fort St George, on the *Loyall Merchant*, in January 1669. He appears to have had one official anterview with Winter, for, in April 1669, the late Agent wrote from Madapollam to his brother, stating that Walter Clavell and Robert Fleetwood were sent to him by Foxcroft to say that there no further demands on his (Winter's) estate.

Finding his mission already performed, Clavell petitioned for, and received the consent of Foxcroft to go to "the Bay" in April 1669. On the 7th December of that year, the Directors wrote to Fort St. George that they noted many of their Factors "designed for the Coast" had gone to "the Bay," and among the names mentioned is that of "Mr. Walter Clavell." In the same letter he was appointed to be "Second in the Bay." On the departure of Shem Bridges for England, Clavell became acting Chief, and was confirmed in that post by the Directors, at a salary of £100 per annum, under date 13th December 1672. In December 1669, "a kinswoman of Sir Matthew Holworthy who is intended to be a wife to Mr. Walter Clavell" and her maid-servant were permitted to go to "the Bay" free of charge. Clavell's attachment to Mistress Holworthy was probably of some years standing and would account for Sir Matthew's acting as security for Clavell on his election to the Company's service, as previously stated. The lady, whose name was Prudence, died in 1673, for, in September of that year, we find the note, in a letter from Richard Edwards at Balasor, "Mrs. Clavell departed this life the 20th Currt. or thereabout." Clavell's second wife, Martha, who survived him only one day, was the daughter of Thomas Woodruff, a London Merchant.

In June 1672, Walter Clavell procured a "Phirwanna"[12] from "Shaster Caun,"[13] a copy of which is preserved at the India Office, together with the "Nabobs Letter."[14] There are, in fact, two

[12] *Parwāna.* [13] Shāyistā Khān. [14] *Factory Records, Miscellaneous, No 3.*

versions of this "Phirwanna," one entered at the end of the Diary of Streynsham Master and referred to by Yule,[15] and another as given here. In both cases the gist is the same, although the actual wording differs.

"Translation of Nabob Shaster Caoun the Prefect of Bengall his Phirwanna or writing for a free Trade granted to the Honble. East India Company in Decca June 1672.

Bee it knowne (in the third day of the Moone and Month Raboull Onul[16] And in the 15th yeare of the raigne of Aurung Shaw) to all Ministers of State, farmers of the Customes &ca. Comanders and Officers that now are or Hereafter Shall be in place under the Kings Goverment from Decca to Rojamall and Albaer, the Government of the Kingdome of Bengall and Orixa, that I have Lately received a Complaynt from Mr. Walter Clavell Englishman, that whereas the English Companys trade and Negotiations have all along by a Gratious Edict graunted them by Shaw Jehan . Backned by another in their favor by Sultan Sujah and Continued by Nabob Caoun Caunah[17] and my Selfe, bin Custome free and without any Molestation, Now the Said Companyes business every where meetes with a Stopp the which on examination finding to be true and that it proceeded out of Mistake, being involved in the Imbarque Laid on the Dutch Companys Comerce in respect of a great enormitie their Cheife Lately Comitted at Hugely of which noe fault Can be Layd to the English Companys Charge. I therefore give strict order to all Sorts of Governours and officers in the two kingdomes above Mentioned that according to the aforesaid Edicts, they Carry themselves in their respective places of Comand and that whatever Goods the English Company shall send from Ballasore or an other place whether by water or by Land up into the Countrey or bring downe Goods from any place within the Countrey whether they bring it by Land or by water to Ballasore or any other place Let them not be hindred or Molested by any manner of Embarque or exaction, but let them freely goe, And where ever their Factoryes are Setled in all equall thinges be helpefull to them and in case it shall appear that any one with whome they deale shall be indebted to any of their Factors imployed in any place under this abovesaid Government, you force them to pay what found really due without giving protection to any debtor whatsoever, or trouble to any such Factor And whatsoever boates whether of their owne or hired, they Send with their Goods to any place, Let noe one Stopp or Molest, Now whereas the Dutch Companyes business in respect of enormityes by them Comitted, by my strict Order hath bin and Still is Stopped and that all officers and Governors Not discerning the ones business from the other, have Stopped both, I doe now give Order in that the English have not Comitted any Such fault that their trade should not be molested That or [? as] heretofore the English Companyes business hath bene Carryed on without stopp or Embarque that it now be Soe continued. Which I hereby Signifie to all and every of you in your severall places of trust and Government severely Comanding that I heare noe more Complaynts from the English Concerning this matter."

"Translation of ditto Nabobs Letter to Mr. Clavell Sent him with a Vest.

To Mr. Walter Clavell be it knowne that of My Gracious pleasure I have heard this Complaynt, intimating the generall Stop of the Companyes business under my government which was occasioned by the Stopp I Comanded to be Layde on the Dutch Comerce, my Said Order being in many places alsoe executed on the English Company, in which respect And to take away all pretences issued out a new edict that noe one presume to harm the English Companyes Negotiations And as further demonstration of my great favour to you I have Sent you a Vest, bidding you be of good Cheere willing you to Manadge the Companyes business with all content and Alacrity."

In a "Generall" from Balasor to the Court of Directors, dated January 1673, Walter Clavell is said to have obtained this new "Phirwanna" by "presenting the Nabob with Looking Glasses and Cloth and the like to the Diwan and other officers." However, the finely worded document seems to have done but little towards ameliorating the position of the English. Indeed, as early as

[15] *Diary of William Hedges*, Vol. III. p 190 and f. n. [16] Rabī'al-awal. [17] Khān Khānān.

the end of 1672, Clavell was complaining bitterly to Fort St. George of the exactions of "Shasteh Khan"[18] and "Mellick Cossum."[19]

To turn from official to social life. Two letters from Walter Clavell to his friend Mr. Richard Edwards, "Merchant in Cassimbazar," dated from Balasor the 3rd and 17th June 1673, are very quaintly worded and are worth quoting : —

"Esteemed Friend I have received yours of the 3d May with two paire of Slippers doe exceed the measure of my foot a Little however rather then faile they will fit my foot most rarely, therefore pray goe on with the Investment and when you have shod mee so long till you find I am overbooted charge me with a bill and I shall pay it at sight, if as you say you have met with a shoemaker that keepes his word you are a happy man you were best make much of him you will hardly find his fellow in all this Countrey, if you can you have better skill at finding then the rest of your neighbours, wee have no news my hearty respects tendered to you I rest Your Assured friend

Walter Clavell.

Pray send mee a bottle of Ink. W. C."

The second letter is also on the subject of slippers : —

"Mr. Richard Edwards I have yours of the last of May with the two pairs of Slippers which as the former are a Little too big that being amended I cannot have too many of them, when you find I have run pretty well my credit out then bee sure to charge mee home, wee have no news from the Coast nor of Late from England else you should receive it from Your assured friend to Serve you

Walter Clavell."

From 1672 to 1676, Clavell was quarrelling with Joseph Hall, factor at Kasimbazar, who, if half his accusations were true, must have suffered much at the hands of the Chief and the Second (Matthias Vincent) at the Bay. Hall was very bitter in his attacks, and wrote long letters of complaint both to Fort St. George and to certain of the Directors in London. He accused Clavell of appropriating the effects of Mr. Marsh, a Company's servant who died in Balasor ; he declared that the Governor of Hugli was disgusted at the non-residence of the English Chief in that place; he further stated that neither of the clergy would administer the Sacrament to Clavell and his friends, who had "desired it rather for a cloak to their knavery then for the Good of their Soules." Hall complained that Clavell ordered a "Pallace" to be built for himself at Balasor, and that, in 1675, he was in that town for seventeen days "Leaving his Wife to bee Governesse at Hugly." The discontented factor declared that it was due to his own energy that the "Phirwanna" was obtained from the *nawāb* of Cuttack, and that, without his intervention, the privileges would have been lost through Clavell's negligence. A more serious accusation brought by Hall against Clavell was that the English Chief "sided with the Dutch Directore" in 1672, and, by omitting to visit the Governor of Balasor cost the Company 4000 rupees. This charge was repeated by Herne, another malcontent. It is difficult to ascertain whether Hall was really the injured person he represented himself to be. He certainly appears to have received but scant courtesy at the hands of Messrs. Clavell and Vincent, nor did he fare better when the dispute was referred to the decision of the Supervisor, Streynsham Master.

The complaints of Clavell's enemies were not without effect for, in February 1676, in the "Memorandum" given to Major Puckle, who was about to make a tour to all the factories subordinate to Fort St. George, in order to redress any grievances, we find : — "Mr. Clavell (now Chief at the Bay) for overrateing the Companys Goods 40 Pr Cent great private Tradeing &c and keeping the Generall Books himself contrary to the Companys Order." Clavell was at Fort St. George at the time, and apparently managed to make out a good case for himself, for we hear no more of the enquiry. In a further charge brought against him by Valentine Nurse, another uneasy spirit at that period, Major Puckle decided in Clavell's favour.

No doubt these various statements were somewhat exaggerated, and the position of "the Chief at the Bay" never seems to have been seriously imperilled by them. His sudden death too, may have saved him from falling into disgrace with the Directors at home. That they were not altogether pleased with Clavell in 1676 is evident from their letter to Fort St. George, wherein they remarked

[18] Shāyista Khān, Nawāb of Bengal.

[19] Malik Qāsmi, Governor of Hugli.

that they were "sensible enough that by divisions in the Bay our Business hath been much Impeded for severall years" and also, in the same letter, "wee note . . . that Mr. Clavell and Mr. Vincent doe laugh and despise at our Agency at the Fort, and doe expect that you have called Mr. Clavell to an account for it whilst he was with you, and that the busines of the Bay will be fully settled by Mr. Master and Mr. Puckle at their goeing down, for we shall not allow any of our Servants of what quality soever to contemn our Authority which those doe that contemn any that act by it."

In September 1676 Clavell sent a "congratulatory Letter" to Streynsham Master on his arrival in the Bay to inspect the Company's Factories, and on the 23rd of the month an official meeting took place at Kasimbazar between the "Chief at the Bay" and the "Supervisor."

Streynsham Master lost no time in fulfilling his mission. On the 27th of September he instituted an enquiry in to the circumstances attending the death of Raghū the *poddār*. The proceedings lasted until the 4th October. Walter Clavell was present during the whole enquiry and himself gave evidence in the case. Matthias Vincent, Chief at Kasimbazar, who was accused of causing the death of the *poddār* was acquitted of blame.

Streynsham Master remained at Kasimbazar until the 8th of November, and during that time, presided at the daily Consultations, Walter Clavell being next in order of precedence. From the 18th until the 27th of October the Supervisor was occupied in the examinations of the charges brought by Joseph Hall and John Smith against Walter Clavell, and by the counter charges of Matthias Vincent against Hall. It was at Clavell's own request that his conduct was investigated by Streynsham Master. The enquiry resulted in a verdict, on the 2nd of November, against both Hall and Smith, who were dismissed the Company's service.

During his stay in Kasimbazar Clavell was instructed by the Agent as to the keeping of accounts and the general re-organisation of affairs in the Bay. He returned to Hugli in time to receive Master on his arrival there on the 10th of November 1676. In the following week they visited the Dutch at their Factory, when "the Directore was very obligeing." It was at this time that "Mr. Walter Clavell was desired to draw up Instructions to Mr. Hervy and Mr. Nedham for the management of the Honble. Companyes business at Dacca, and alsoe directions to Mr. Reade for the business in Hugly in the absence of the rest of the Councell." On the 25th of November these were "Read and approved."

Affairs at Hugli being settled, Clavell accompanied Streynsham Master to Balasor. On the 9th of December they visited Mirza Wali, the Governor, "who treated us very Courteously." A week later, there is the entry — "Mr. Clavell haveing drawne up two papers, one an account and relation of the trade and affairs of Hugly, the other an account of the commerce of Ballasore, they were both read and delivered to Mr. Masters." These papers are extremely valuable, since they describe, in detail, the method of carrying on the Company's trade in Bengal and the means employed for their investments in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Very full extracts from both papers are given by Yule.[20]

On the 18th December 1676, Walter Clavell accompanied Streynsham Master to the river's mouth and remained with him until he set sail, on the *Loyall Eagle*, three days later, when they parted on the best of terms.

Early in the next year, 1677, Clavell was instructed to use all possible means to obtain a *farmān* from the Mogol. The Council at Fort St. George wrote as follows: — "Wee doe hereby enorder you to take the best course you can to procure a Phirmaund from the Moghull, and that you take care the business be well managed with all frugallity, and that it may answer the end by obtaining an effectuall Phirmaund and Priviledges for the Honoble. Companys future Security and encouragement and for their trade, according to the tenour of the Honoble. Companys own orders of the 23d December 1674 and 13 March preceding . . . and if you could conveniently get it so worded as to suppress all Such wild pretences as aforesaid it would do very well." The instructions were followed by copies of letters to be presented to "Mellick Cassim, to Nabob

[20] *Diary of William Hedges*, Vol. II pp. 238—240.

Amirall Umro to Hodgee Saffy Cawn and to Reynan Dilloll"[21] with a view of enlisting their influence in securing the *farmān*. Instead of replying to these various directions, Clavell only wrote a letter full of complaints of the unjust exactions of "the Nabob of Decca." He was answered that the Council at Fort St. George knew "no remedy but patience" and he was again urged to use "a speedy and effectuall endeavour to obtaine the Phirmaund for the future." However, in July, after Shāyistā Khān had been recalled to Court, the gentlemen at Fort St George disclaimed all responsibility in the matter and told Clavell to use his own judgment as to presenting an address to "Prince Azzum"[22] about "the Phirmaund." They further suggested that Job Charnock, the Chief at Patna, or some other experienced Englishman should be sent to the Mogol's Court, and that an attempt should be made to get the *farmān* worded "as Sha Shajahs Nishan[23] is, rather than as the Dutch Phirmaund."

There is no record as to what steps Clavell took to carry out the orders from the Court of Directors and from Fort St. George. He resented a proposal that the Council at "the Bay" should meet at Hugli to discuss the matter, and his aversion to leave Balasor was commented on at Kasimbazar in letters from that place.

On the 3rd of August 1677, a Council was held at Walter Clavell's house in Balasor, "he being very sick." On the following day he died of a fever, to which his wife and "little infant" succumbed twenty four hours later. Mrs. Clavell's death was attributed to "fever caused by excess of grief" for her husband's death. Matthias Vincent was at Kasimbazar at the time and was thus apprised of his superior's death by Messrs. Reade and Byam: — "This evening wee have the Unwellcome news of Mr. Walter Clavells and his Ladies decease by Violent feavours Some other English Dead there allsoe and nine or ten more desperate ill of the Same distemper God Almighty Graunt wee may make good use of those Examples and prepare us for our owne chainge when he shall think fitt to make it."

Walter Clavell left three surviving children, William, Edward and Walter. William was the son of Walter Clavell's first wife Prudence. Strangely enough, there is no mention of him in his father's will, though apparently he was still in India. He died in Bengal in 1680 leaving no issue. By his second wife Martha, sister-in-law to Sir Edward Littleton, Clavell had two sons. The younger was baptised at Kasimbazar on the 29th September 1678 by "Mr. Samuel Epes minister of Ship *Society*." In 1681 the two children were sent to England on the ship *President*. The younger, Walter, became a barrister of the Middle Temple and died unmarried in 1740. Edward Clavell succeeded to the family estate of Smedmore, Dorset, was Sheriff of the County in 1702 and died in 1738, leaving a son George, the last of the name. George Clavell died in 1773 and the estate reverted to his sister Margaret who had married William Richards. Their son William took the name and arms of Clavell, but died without issue in 1817.

Walter Clavell's will is preserved at Somerset House. It is dated the 2nd August 1677 and is a long and interesting document. That he was a man of substance will be seen by the following extracts:—

"In the name of God Amen. The Second day of August in the yeare of our Lord One Thousand Six hundred Seaventy and Seaven I Walter Clavell of Bengall in East India Merchant Second sonne of Roger Clavell of Lancots in the parish of Winfrith Nuborough in the County of Dorset Esquire being sicke in body . . . Doe make Constitute ordain and declare this my last will and Testament in manner and forme following . . . my Body to be buried in Quiet manner in or near the Tomb where my wife Prudence was buried if I dye in Ballasore And if in any other place to be buried at the discretion of my overseers . . . I remitt to my deare Brother Mr. George Mumperson . . . all money due to me from him by any Bill Bond or any other Accompt whatsoever and doe desire Sir Mathew Holworthy and the Relict of my Brother Roger Clavell deceased to cancell and deliver up all Bills Bonds and other Specialities concerning the same Item I doe remitt unto the Relict of my Brother Roger Clavell her Heires Executors and Administrators all moneys due to me from her or any of them by Bill Bond or any other Accompt whatsoever and desire Sir Mathew Holworthy to deliver up all Bonds Bills and other Specialities concerning the

21 *I. e.*, Malik Qāsim, Nawāb Amīru'l-umarā, Hājī Safī Khān, Ray Nandilāl.

22 Sultan' Azīm, the new *nawāb*.

23 Shāh Shūjā's *nishān*.

same. I give unto my dearly beloved wife Martha Clavell the house I now live in in Ballasore together with all outhouses Gardens and appurtenances thereunto belonging during her stay in India And after her leaving India or death which shall First happen then to Matthew Vincent in Cassambazer in Bengall aforesaid Merchant and to his heires for ever Item I will and bequeath unto my honored Father aforesaid and to my honored mother Mrs. Ann Clavell And to her Five children And to my honored Father Mr. Thomas Woodroof and to his sonne Thomas and daughters Sarah and Dorcas And to the Relict of my said Brother Roger Clavell and to his sonne And to as many daughters as were begotten by him which shall be liveing and to my Brother George Mumperson, and to my sister his wife and to their Two sons or which of them shall be liveing And to my Brother Edward Littleton and Elizabeth his Wife and to Jane and Elizabeth their daughters To all of which of them I doe give Tenn pounds a piece to be paid by my Executrix at her arrival in England Onely the tenn pounds to Edward Littleton and his wife and each of his daughters I order to be paid within one yeare of my decease Item I give to my slave Anthony his freedome from being a slave And doe hereby give him one hundred Rupees to be put into the hands of my overseers whom I desire to keep it by them or improve it for him till they think him fitt to manage it himself. Alsoe I doe give unto him the said Anthony soe much money as will purchase him a certainty and three rupees per mouth during his life to be disposed of at the discretion of my Overseers But in such manner that he shall not be able to receive more then three rupees in any one Month Item I give unto John Byam of Hugly in Bengall aforesaid merchant one hundred and twenty rupees Item I doe give and bequeath unto my said wife Martha all the plate househould stuffe which I am now possessed of in India alsoe all her wearing Jewells now in her possession and to her heires for ever Item I give and bequeath unto the Relict aforesaid of my said Brother George Mumperson all the houshold stuffe which she hath of mine in her hands and to her heires for ever Item I give unto the Churchwardens and other the overseers of the poor of the Parish of Winfreth aforesaid for the use of the poore thereof the summe of Five pounds To be paid by my Executrix Item I give unto the Churchwardens and other the overseers of the poore of the parish of St. Peter in Dorchester in the county of Dorset for the use of the said poore the summe of Five pounds to be paid by my Executrix Item I give unto the Churchwardens and other the everseers of the poore of Sherborne for the use of the poore thereof the summe of five pounds to be paid by my Executrix Item I doe give and bequeath all the rest of my goods and Chattles unto my said wife Martha (whom I make Executrix of this my last will and Testament) and to my Two sonns to be equally divided amongst them . . . And I doe nominate order and appoint for the overseers of this my last will and Testament Matthias Vincent aforesaid John Marshall of Ballasore aforesaid and Edward Littleton aforesaid . . . And whereas at this present my said deare wife Martha is dangerously sick If therefore it shall please God to take her away in this fitt of sicknes I doe order and appoint Mr. George Trenchard of London merchant to be the sole Executor of this my Last will and Testament In case of the death of my said wife in this fitt of sicknes I doe alsoe order and appoint the said George Trenchard to be Guardian to my said Two Sonnes untill they shall come to age . . . In Witnes whereof I have hereunto Sett my hand and seale in Ballasore the day and year above written. (Walter Clavell) Published and declared to be the last will and testament of the said Walter Clavell in the presence of John Marshall John Goldsborough Edmund Bugden Isaac Laurence."

Martha Clavell's will is dated on the day of her husband's death, 4th August 1677 and was proved in London in August 1678. She desired her estate to be equally divided between her two sons Edward and Walter. She left a quantity of jewellery, e. g. a "great diamond ring" a "great ruby ring" "flat diamond rings" &c. She bequeathed her clothes to her sister Elizabeth Littleton and three gold chains to Jane Littleton, her niece. She left trinkets to Elizabeth Bugden wife of Edmund Bugden and to Rebecca her daughter. Mrs. Bugden was desired to take charge of Edward and Walter Clavell until they could be sent to their Aunt, Mrs. Littleton, who was to arrange for their journey to England They left India, as previously stated, in 1681, and remained under the guardianship of Mr. Trenchard until their majority.

(*To be continued.*)

INDEX.

INDEX OF ALL THE PRAKRIT WORDS OCCURRING IN PISCHEL'S "GRAMMATIK DER PRAKRIT-SPRACHEN."

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[THE Index of words at the end of Professor Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* contains only a selection of the typical forms occurring in the work. It contains about two thousand entries. The following Index was prepared for me for use in the Linguistic Survey of India by Mr. Wickremasinghe. It contains every word occurring in Professor Pischel's work, and includes something like twenty thousand entries. I have found this Index so very useful in my own work that I am glad to have the opportunity of placing at the disposal of my brother-students. It is published with the full consent of Professor Pischel and of Mr. Wickremasinghe.

The references are to the paragraph numbers of the original Grammar. The following contractions are employed :—

A = Apabhraṃśa.	JŚ. = Jaina-Śaurasenī.
Ā = Āvantī.	M = Māhārāstrī.
AMg = Ardhamāgadhī.	Mg. = Māgadhī.
CP. = Cūlikāpaiśācī.	P. = Paiśācī.
D. = Dākṣiṇātyā.	Pkt. = Prākṛt.
Ḍh. = Ḍhakkī.	Ś. = Śaurasenī.
JM. = Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī.	Skt. = Sanskrit.

The system of spelling is necessarily that of Professor Pischel's Grammar, and differs from that employed by the *Indian Antiquary*. — GEORGE A. GRIERSON.]

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kh

"co. AMg. 173."

Should come after "eīnaṃ" in Part CDXXVIII., Vol. XXXIV., April, 1905.

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